THE

LONDON MAGAZINE:

AND

MONTHLY CHRONOLOGER.

MDCCXXXIX.



MULTUM IN PARVO.

LONDON:

Printed for T. ASTLEY, at the Rose over-againſt the North-Door of St. *Paul*'s.


10
45
FEB

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JANUARY, 1739.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Craftſman, Dec. 30. N° 651.

The preſent State of TRADE, *and its Importance to the Nation.*

IT is Demonſtration, that a *declining Trade* must render a Nation weaker and weaker, by exhauſting the *publick Wealth*, and conſequently ſinking the Value of *Landed Eſtates*. The Conſequences of this will be the more dangerous, if at the ſame Time their *Rivals in Trade and Power* increaſe in Wealth, and are daily extending their *Commerce* and *Dominions*; ſince, in caſe of a War, it will produce a like Inequality of *Power*; or if *ſuch a flouriſhing Nation* ſhould think fit to keep *great Armies* in Pay, in Time of Peace, the *other* muſt be at ſuch an Expence as is neceſſary for their Preſervation, and to prevent their being ſurpriz'd; which will ſoon waſte a Treaſure, already impair'd, by an *Over-balance in Trade*. But if the People happen to grow *effeminate*, *luxurious*, *corrupt*, and *undiſciplin'd*, whilſt their Neighbours improve in the *Arts of War*, as well as *Peace*, their Condition will be ſtill more dangerous; for every Nation muſt be judg'd weak or ſtrong, by Compariſon with their *Neighbours* and *Rivals*.

These Poſitions, perhaps, may not be agreeable to *ſome Perſons*, whoſe Views are confin'd to the *preſent Time*, and who have no farther Regard than to their *own Eaſe* and *Security*; which makes them endeavour to amuſe the Publick, by concealing the Truth, and gloſſing Things over, in order to evade ſuch an Enquiry as is neceſſary for the Preſervation of our *Rights* and *Properties*.

My Adverſary in the *Gazetteer*, contents himſelf with inſtancing our *Buildings*, *Furniture*, *wrought Plate*, *Jewels*, and the *Reduction of Intereſt*, as Proofs of our *flouriſhing Circumſtances*, and the Increaſe of our *national Wealth*. But, as an *ingenious Writer* very juſtly obſerves, "our *Buildings*, *Furniture*, *wrought Plate* and *Jewels*, are Arguments of our *Luxury*, but no Proof of the Increaſe of our *Wealth*; and the preſent

ſent eſtabliſhed State of *publick Credit* is ſo far from being an inconteſtable Proof of our *Trade* being in a flouriſhing Condition, that it is a Demonſtration to the contrary." (See Vol. VII. p. 617.) Don't we frequently ſee *Buildings, Furniture,* &c. ſold for one Third of their prime Coſt, and ſometimes for leſs? Are they not daily advertis'd for Sale? Are not great Numbers of *Houſes* in Town, as well as in the Country, un-tenanted? Are not Rents falling in almoſt every Part of the Nation? Are not our *poor Manufacturers* reduced to great Neceſſities, for Want of *Employment*, and the Reduction of their *Wages*, which have driven them almoſt to *Extremities?* Are not all theſe plain Indications of the *Decay of Trade?* As to the *Reduction of Intereſt*, it only proves the Scarcity of *landed*, as well as *perſonal Securities*, and conſequently the growing Poverty of the Nation; for *perſonal* and *landed Securities* being very difficult, it occaſions all the floating Money to be laid out in the *publick Funds*, where People receive their *Intereſt* quarterly, and flatter themſelves with Hopes that the *Principal* is ſecure. Whereas *perſonal Security* is deem'd precarious, by Means of the many Obſtructions, Loſſes, and Bankruptcies in Trade. *Landed Eſtates* are ſo much entangled with Marriage-Settlements, younger Childrens Portions, Entails, Debts and Mortgages, that there is no depending on one in ten. Beſides, as they ſink in Value, the *Farmers* not being able to pay their Rents duly, without very great Difficulty, few of thoſe Securities, which are really good, are able to diſcharge the *Intereſt* punctually. For theſe Reaſons, ſuch Perſons as have Money by them, chuſe to inveſt it in the *publick Funds*, at a very low Intereſt, rather than hazard it in a *precarious Trade*; or lend it out even upon *Mortgages*, where there *Principal* may be in Danger; or, if that ſhould happen to be well ſecur'd, they cannot command either their *Principal* or *Intereſt*, when their Occaſions require it. This is undoubtedly a true State of the Caſe, and ſo far from being a Proof of a *flouriſhing Trade*, that it manifeſtly proves the Loſs of *private Credit*, the Decay of our *Commerce* and *Manufactures*, and the *growing Poverty of the Nation*.

Of all Things, we ſeem to be the moſt ſecure, and to have the leaſt Concern in Matters of *Trade*; tho' nothing is of greater Conſequence, or more deſerving our Attention and Care; for, if the Value of *landed Eſtates* depends on our *Commerce*; if our *Liberty* and *Property* will become precarious without it; if the ſuperior Art and Policy of the *French* have ſupplanted us in ſeveral Branches of *Trade*, and render'd our former Regulations inſufficient; if our *Luxury* and *Manner of Living* tend to the enriching of other Nations, are manifeſtly deſtructive of our *Manufactures*, and have reduced great Numbers of People to Want and Extremity; if there are divers Obſtructions and Innovations in our *Trade*, which occaſion a Balance in our Diſfavour; if our Condition is conſumptive and our Wealth is waſting, by the preſent Management and Courſe of Things; if theſe Points are plain and obvious to every Man of common Senſe, who will be at the Pains of enquiring into our *preſent State*, it certainly follows, that all Ranks and Degrees of People will be affected by it, and therefore it becomes them, in Regard to their *private Intereſt*, as well as the *Publick*, to examine the paſt and preſent State of our *Trade*, and ſeek for a proper and legal Regulation; that all *deſtructive Schemes* and *private Intereſts* may be diſcountenanc'd, and

all

all poſſible Encouragement given to *our own Manufactures.*

Dr. *Davenant* obſerves, "that the Care and Protection of *Trade* is ſhewn, in general, by giving it Favour and Encouragement from the *Laws* and *Government*; for which Reaſon, in *wiſe Countries*, whatever Neceſſity preſſes, they lay their *Taxes* with all poſſible Regard and Tenderneſs to *foreign Traffick*; they nurſe it up, and handle it gently, and ſuffer it to receive no Damage or Diſturbance, at leaſt from amongſt *themſelves.*"

CHARLES FREEPORT.

Common Senſe, Jan. 6. N° 101.

The Theatrical Sale, with the Plan of a new Play.

IT is now about two Months ſince I obſerv'd an Advertiſement, concerning a large Parcel of Theatrical Goods to be diſpoſed of at a certain Houſe in *Soho-Square.* I was very curious to know who could be the Proprietors, and who the Purchaſers of ſuch Goods.

The Account given me was, that the late Act for regulating the Stage, had defeated *Scipio* as well as *Hannibal*, and obliged both theſe Heroes to diſband their Legions; that it had alſo forced ſeveral unfortunate Princes to abdicate their Thrones, which becoming vacant, the allodial Effects which once belong'd to theſe crown'd Heads, having been taken in Execution by the Bailiffs, were ſold to the Merchants of *Monmouth-Street*, and others.

The Armour in which the Ghoſt in *Hamlet* made its Appearance, as well as a certain Quantity of Arms, Drums, Trumpets, Colours, &c. were purchaſed by the Son of a '*Change-Ally* Broker, whoſe Father having gained immenſe Riches by the Frauds of that Profeſſion, and having purchaſed an Eſtate and a fine Seat in the Country, the Goods before mentioned are hung up in his Honour's Hall as the Trophies of his Anceſtors: *Richard* III's Shield was bought by a Braſier, and is converted into a Pot-lid: The Crown and Scepter of *Harry* VIII. went off for old Iron.

The following are Comedy Goods. Two Tinſel Suits of Cloaths, worn by Sir *Courtly Nice* and Lord *Foppington*, which bore a pretty good Price, but are not to be paid for till the Day of Marriage; they were ſeen at Court the laſt Birth-night, and thoſe who wore them were admired by the Ladies as the beſt dreſt Perſons there.

The great Hat and Whiſkers of Captain *Hackum*, were purchaſed by Commiſſion for a Perſon of Condition, lately preferr'd to the Command of a Regiment, and will be ſeen in *Hyde-Park* the next Review Day, to the great Terror of the *Spaniards.*

The old *Roſtrum* uſed by *Mark Antony* when he harangues the Populace upon the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, was purchaſed, very cheap, by Orator *Henley.* There was alſo a ſmall Parcel of Thunder and Lightning, and a Shower of Snow, the latter very much ſoil'd, but Nobody bid for them; the Sea was ſold by the Pound, at the common Price of waſte Paper; the Clouds are now hanging up in *Rag-Fair*: As to the Halters in *Timon* of *Athens*, they were not put up, but, being call'd for, the Broker acquainted the Company, they were the only Things which the Players kept for their own Uſe.

As the Converſation naturally turn'd upon the Revolutions occaſion'd by the Act for regulating the Stage, a Perſon in the Company told us, that the Projector of it, having laid a Reſtraint upon the Genius of others, was reſolved to give a Looſe to his own, and, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Laureat* and the *Gazetteers*, had al-

ready written a Farce, of which, ſome of the Actors having ſeen a Copy, it was their Opinion, that the Audience would tear up the Benches, and throw them at their Heads, if they repreſented ſuch damn'd Stuff.

I take this Opportunity, likewiſe, of acquainting the Publick, that I intend ſhortly to bring a Play upon the Stage myſelf; for I have been ſtudying for ſeveral Months how a Man that has a Talent to ridicule Vice and Folly, may be ſtill uſeful to his Country, notwithſtanding the Power given by this Act to the Chamberlain.

I remember a noble Author hath ſaid, that when the Imaginations of ingenious Men are reſtrain'd by Power, and they find that it is not ſafe for them to ſpeak their Minds, they will have Recourſe to Burleſque, or Buffoonry, to expreſs what they think. I have taken this Hint, and am reſolv'd to hold my Tongue, and yet I am determined to be deviliſh ſatyrical upon the Projector, *&c.*—To let the Publick into a Secret, my Play ſhall be danced.

The Plot of my Play, I think, is well contrived; nor are the Incidents leſs diverting; and I flatter myſelf that the Publick will think the Humour well work'd up. My Deſign is, to bring the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Europe* upon the Stage in a Political Dance. *Nivelon* has rehears'd his Part, he dances a Cardinal very well: I have alſo written a Part for Mr. *Lun*. The Parts of the *German* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries may be danced by any heavy Actors, of which, I hope, the Houſe is not unprovided: The Part of the Projector may be perform'd by a Candle-ſnuffer; for, as he will have nothing to do but to bribe, to be bubbled, and be kick'd, it is only equipping a clumſy Fellow with a Bag of Counters, and the Buſineſs is done. The Title of my Play ſhall be, *The Balance of* Europe, *with the comical and diverting Blunders of* Sacamo *the Weigh-Maſter*.

This Contrivance will go a great Way towards defeating the Doctrine of *Innuendoes*; for ſuppoſe a Poet ſhould bring an Actor of a ridiculous Figure upon the Stage, ſcratching his Head with one Hand, and pulling up his Breeches with another, what can a ſpecial Jury make of it?

I have ſome Repartees in my Play, which, I think, will ſting the bribed Party to the Quick: I promiſe there ſhall not be a Geſture or a Motion in the whole Piece, but ſhall be written on the Side of Virtue and publick Spirit; and I'll make every pretty Actreſs in the Houſe turn out her Toes for the Good of her Country.

As to the little, buſy Creature, whom I once deſcribed under the Title of the dapper *Hugonot*, (Vol. VII. p. 508.) if he ſhould thruſt himſelf in, charg'd with his Pocket Piſtol, with Deſign to inſult the Audience, I have taken Care to provide for his Entertainment; for I have contriv'd a Trap, that ſhall convey him out of Sight the Minute he ſtands up in the Pit, which Trap ſhall carry him under the Stage, where he ſhall be met by ſome of Doctor *Fauſtus*'s Devils, who ſhall beſtow a little Diſcipline upon him; after which, he ſhall be rais'd above the Stage in a Machine, by another Trap, and, in a proper Habit, be expoſed to the Deriſion of the Galleries, with an Inſcription over his Head, ſetting forth his Crimes; which, I hope, will cure him of the Itch of ſeeking Adventures, for the future, at the Theatre.

Craftſman, Jan. 6. N° 652.

Obſervations on the preſent State of Affairs, with a Letter of Oliver Cromwell's *to the* French *King*.

I Formerly gave my Readers a little Eſſay on the *new Year*, and ex-

exhorted them to begin it with *political Regeneration*. But I cannot boaſt of much Succeſs in this Attempt, for 11 *Years* paſt; tho' we have ſince had ſeveral excellent Laws made to prevent unlawful *Gin-drinking*, *Smuggling*, and *Stage-playing*. The *greateſt political Diſtempers* ſtill remain to be cured. *Luxury*, *Corruption*, *Avarice* and *Ambition* are as rampant as ever. Our *Taxes* are as high, and our *Debts* I am afraid not much diminiſh'd. Our *Trade* and *Manufactures* continue in the ſame languiſhing Condition, and will every Day grow worſe, unleſs ſome ſpeedy Remedy be apply'd. Theſe Cauſes have ſpread a Face of *Poverty* over the Nation; which hath excited Multitudes of poor Wretches to ſeveral *Acts of Violence*, notwithſtanding our *Army*, as well as the *Riot* and *Black-Acts*. Theſe Tumults are plainly owing to the *Want of Employment*, the *Sinking of their Wages*, and the *Dearneſs of Proviſions*, occaſion'd by *high Duties on moſt of the Neceſſaries of Life*; which affect the *Maſter-Workmen*, as well as the *poor Labourers*, and diſable them to pay the *uſual Price*. The ſame bad Conſequences extend to *Landed Gentlemen*, by the Breaking of their *Tenants*, or the Fall of their *Rents*, which few of them are now able to bear: Nay, it may go farther ſtill; for, *where nothing is to be had*, the *Government* cannot be ſupported, *and even the* King *muſt loſe his Right*.

Theſe are Truths well known to every Gentleman who lives the leaſt in the *Country*; *this Town* being the worſt Place in the whole Kingdom to form a Judgment of our Condition; tho' the Decay of *Trade*, and Scarcity of *Money* are too ſenſibly felt even here. I wiſh the *Tradeſmen* may not find it ſo, in the Payment of their *Chriſtmas Bills*.

As to *foreign Affairs*, the *Balance of Power* and the *Liberties of Europe* are certainly more in Danger, than at any other Period of Time, eſpecially for about 20 *Years* paſt. *France* and *Spain* have been extending their Dominions, and have ſtill ſome other Views of the ſame Kind. The *former* plainly keeps its Eye upon *Flanders* and the *Palatinate*; whilſt the latter is endeavouring to get another Province or two in *Italy*. I am afraid the preſent Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, now ſaid to be concluded, will not mend the Matter; for a cloſe Conjunction between thoſe *two Crowns* will be more formidable to *Europe* than the late *unnatural Alliance*, as 'twas call'd, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. But if they ſhould all three unite, and draw the King of *Sardinia* into the Alliance, they might canton out the beſt Part of *Europe* amongſt themſelves. I mention this only by Way of Conjecture; but there ſeems to be at preſent too good an Underſtanding amongſt them. The myſterious Affair of *Corſica* begins to explain itſelf; for if his Majeſty King *Theodore* is really confin'd in the Caſtle of *Gaeta*, by an Order from the Court of *Spain*, there muſt be ſome Juggle between *two Crowns*, whom I ſhall not mention; and, perhaps, the *Genoeſe* may have Reaſon to repent of their late Proceedings, as well as the poor *Corſicans*.

Gibraltar and *Port Mahon* are indeed abſolutely ſecur'd, for the preſent, by a numerous Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; whilſt another, ſtation'd in the *Weſt-Indies*, hath hitherto protected our *Colonies* and *Plantations* from any Attempt. Even *Georgia* is ſafe. But I muſt confeſs it a little ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* ſhould dare to continue their *Depredations* and *Inſults*, of which we have frequent Advices, whilſt the Seas are guarded by ſo *great a naval Force*. This cannot be owing to *their Right of Sovereignty over thoſe Seas*, as the *Gentlemen Hirelings* ſuggeſt; nor to *our own paſſive Obedience* and *Non Re-*

Reſiſtance, as the *Malecontents* ſeem to inſinuate; but muſt be imputed ſolely to the audacious Inſolence of a *few pyratical Villains*, who ſteal out in the Dark and ſnap up our Ships, without any ſecret Commiſſion from the *King of Spain*, or his *Governors* in *America*.

I could wiſh that *ſome* Hon. Gentlemen *at home* would be pleas'd to look over *Milton*'s Letters, written by the Direction of *Oliver Cromwell*, the *Parliament*, and *others*, to moſt of the *greateſt Potentates* and *ſovereign States of* Europe. They will there ſee what a glorious Spirit even *thoſe unlawful Governors* exerted in Defence of their Countrymen. Conſidering the Spirit of *thoſe Times*, and that there are but very few Inſtances of above *one Letter* upon the ſame Subject, it is natural to conclude that moſt of them ſucceeded, particularly thoſe of *Oliver*, who was not ſatisfy'd with *evaſive*, *prevaricating*, and *ineffectual Anſwers*, or the *Breach of any Promiſes* made to him.

Theſe Letters were written in *Latin*, and I never ſaw any Verſion of them into *Engliſh*. I ſhall therefore refer my learned Readers to the *Original*; and give thoſe, who are Strangers to *that Language*, a little Specimen of one to the *King* of *France*, as well as I can tranſlate it from ſo great a Maſter of the *Roman Style*.

To the moſt Serene Prince LOUIS *King of* FRANCE.

Moſt Serene King, my deareſt Friend and Ally.

IT is with great Reluctance that we are ſo often oblig'd to trouble *your Majeſty* with the Injuries done by your Subjects, ſince the *Renewal of the Peace*. However, we aſſure ourſelves that it was againſt *your Majeſty*'s Conſent; and we cannot refuſe to hear the Complaints of our People. It plainly appears, from the Judgment of *our Court of Admiralty*, that the Ship *Anthony* of *Diepe* was juſtly taken, before the Concluſion of the *Treaty*. Part of the Prize, amouting to about *four thouſand Hides*, was bought by *Robert Brun*, Merchant of *London*; as thoſe, who were authoriz'd to ſell it, have teſtify'd to us. About *two hundred* of theſe being exported to *Diepe*, after the *Ratification of the Treaty*, he complains that he ſold them to a *certain Currier* of that Place, and the Money being paid into the Hands of his *Factor* there, who ſtopt it, a Law-Suit was commenc'd againſt *himſelf*; and that he could not procure Juſtice in *that Court*. For this Reaſon, we thought proper to beſeech *your Majeſty*, that the whole Affair may be referr'd to *your own Council*; and that the *Money* may be no longer detain'd, under the Pretence of ſo unjuſt a Demand; for, if what was tranſacted and decided, *before the Peace*, is to be call'd into Queſtion again, *after the Peace*, we cannot underſtand of what Uſe *Treaties* are. Indeed, there will be no End of ſuch Diſputes, if ſome *exemplary Puniſhment* is not ſoon inflicted on theſe *common Violators of Treaties*, which we hope will be one of *your Majeſty*'s firſt Cares. In the mean Time, may God keep you under his moſt holy Protection.

Your Majeſty's
Moſt aſſur'd Friend,
O. CROMWELL,

From our Palace at Weſtminſter, *the* —*Day of* Sept. 1656. *Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, *&c.*

The Reader will perceive, that this vigorous Remonſtrance, to *one of the greateſt Powers in* Europe, was only in Behalf of a *ſingle Merchant*, and about a *few Hides*. How would the *old uſurping Protector* have thunder'd, if either the *French* or the *Spaniards* had, for a long Courſe of Years, not only plunder'd our *Ships*, and treated our *Seamen* with Cruelty,

ty, but likewiſe inſulted the Honour of the *Engliſh Flag*, and even ſent Defiances to *himſelf*? Let the Hiſtory of *his Life* and *Character* from *all Parties* determine this Point.

Our *preſent*, *lawful*, and *excellent Governors* have preſented ſeveral *Memorials* and *Remonſtrances*, of the ſame ſpirited Kind, to the Court of *Spain*, againſt their *long-continued Depredations*, *Ravages*, and *Inhumanities*; which have been likewiſe back'd with a *powerful Armament*; and if it ſhould be aſk'd, what *Exploits* they have perform'd, my Anſwer ſhall be, in the Words of the *m——l Writers*, that *Peace is better than War*, and that *theſe Armaments* have brought the *Spaniards* to Terms, as that at *Spithead* did ſome Years ago.

Upon the Whole, it is my ſincere Deſire, that the *approaching Seſſion of Parliament* may lay the Foundation of *many happy new Years* to his Majeſty, and all his People.

§. *To the Readers of the* CRAFTSMAN.

WHEREAS a Paper hath been lately publiſh'd by one *Hinton*, at the upper End of *Bow-Street*, *Covent-Garden*, intitled the CRAFTSMAN, and ſaid to be written by *Caleb D'Anvers*, Eſq; This is to aſſure the Publick, that the Gentlemen, who have written and conducted *that Paper* for above twelve Years paſt, have no Manner of Concern in it; and that the *original Craftſman* is now printed by *H. Goreham* in *Fleet-Street*.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

Old Common Senſe, Jan. 6. N° 100.

Project of a new Society for Monuments and Inſcriptions.

SIR,

IT has ever been the Wiſdom of the greateſt and moſt polite Nations in the World, to make uſe of ſome Means or other, to deliver down to Poſterity the Exploits of the great Generals and Stateſmen of their Times. The moſt common Expedient was that of Medals.

Now, as no Nation in *Europe* has of late Years, excell'd our own in the Arts of Peace and War, I ſhould think it neceſſary that ſome ſuch Method might be imploy'd in perpetuating them. In the Time of the late Q. *Anne*, the great Mr. *Addiſon* form'd a Scheme much like what I have juſt mentioned, *viz.* a Medallic Hiſtory. Mr. *Pope* hints at it in theſe Verſes:

O when ſhall Britain, *conſcious of her claim,*
Stand emulous of Greek *and* Roman *fame?*
In living Medals ſee her wars enroll'd,
And vanquiſh'd realms ſupply recording gold?
Here, riſing bold, the patriot's honeſt face;
There, warriours frowning in hiſtoric braſs.

Our Neighbours the *Dutch*, tho' they are often laugh'd at by us for a rude unpolite People, have excelled us in this Particular. Every great Action by Sea or Land, every honourable Peace which has been made by them for the Good of their Country, has added a Coin to the Cabinets of the Curious, as M. *Bizot* tells us in his *Hiſtoire Metallique*.

But notwithſtanding the good Succeſs and general Approbation of this Method, I cannot entirely agree with putting it in practice amongſt us. My Reaſon is this, I fear it would generally fall far ſhort of the Subject. Amongſt the *Romans*, *French*, and *Dutch* (Nations not to be compar'd to us for Politicks) who made uſe of the ordinary Means in tranſacting publick Affairs, a general Expreſſion, as *Pax Reſtituta*, *Pacator Orbis*, or *Tellus Stabilita*, might be ſufficient: But we have ſo many heightening Circumſtances attending our Treaties of Peace, Leagues of War, *&c*, *&c*. that it would be impoſſible to bring them all into the ſmall Compaſs of a Medal.

For this Reaſon, therefore, another

ther Method made uſe of by the Ancients, to wit, their Marble Inſcriptions, may be thought more ſuitable for our Imitation. Whoever has well ſurvey'd the *Marmora Arundeliana* in the Picture-Gallery at *Oxford*, will eaſily comprehend my Deſign, which I ſhall ſhortly publiſh to the World in two Volumes in Folio. Among other Things I ſhall make the following Propoſitions.

1. That a Society be eſtabliſhed (like that of the Academy of Inſcriptions and *Belles Lettres* at *Paris*) conſiſting of a Maſter, Fellows, and Aſſiſtants.

2. That proper Salaries be allow'd the Maſter, Fellows, &c. of this new Society, at the Expence of the Publick.

3. That Mr. *Ryſbrack* be invited to join himſelf to us as Aſſiſtant in Chief, and that he be retain'd by a competent Salary.

4. That none preſume to offer themſelves as Candidates for Fellowſhips, but ſuch as have, by their Writings, ſhewn themſelves qualified for ſuch a Poſt. Thus all Authors of full and true Accounts, Dedicators, Writers of Eſſays towards Characters, &c. &c, ſhall be admitted as legal Candidates.

5. That ſome convenient Place, in either of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, be alotted and ſet apart for the erecting theſe *Marmora*, Monuments, &c.

6. That the Projector (meaning your humble Servant) be by Patent appointed Preſident, or Maſter of this Society, with a Salary not exceeding 500*l. per Annum*. This I take to be very reaſonable, conſidering the great Pains I have already taken, and ſhall take, before this my Deſign can be perfected.

For a farther Account of the Rules and Orders of this Society, I muſt refer the Publick to a ſeparate Work which I have now ready for the Preſs, intitled, *Corpus Statutorum Illuſtriſſ. Societatis Anglicanæ, pro Marmoribus Erigendis, & Inſcriptionibus Inveniendis Inſtitutæ.*

I ſhall now give ſome Account of the Work, which comprehends my whole Deſign. It is divided into 4 Parts, according to the 4 ſeveral Kinds of *Marmora* therein conſidered, *viz. Hiſtorica, Honoraria, Agoniſtica, Sepulchralia.*

Under the Article of *Marmora Hiſtorica*, I comprehend all the great and ſurprizing Actions of our preſent happy Ad———n, by which it has ſo much endear'd itſelf to the good People of *England*. This Part of the Work takes in the Space of 20 Years back from this Time, ſo that it may be conſider'd as an exact Journal of our Political Tranſactions within that Term.

The *Marmoria Honoraria* are intended to do Juſtice to thoſe worthy Gentlemen, who have been any Ways concern'd in the aforeſaid good Offices to the Publick. Their ſeveral Capacities and Qualifications are diſtinctly emblazon'd; ſo that hereby I ſhall furniſh the World with a Set of Pictures, at full Length, of all our M———l Worthies. It would rejoice your Heart to ſee what a glorious Appearance they make, tho', I can aſſure you, they are drawn without the leaſt Grain of Flattery.

The *Marmora Agoniſtica* comprehend all our Political Diſputes, both Foreign and Domeſtick; that is, whether of Stateſmen at home, and between themſelves, or of the whole Nation, with other States and Kingdoms. Our late Diſpute with *Spain*, which has ended ſo much to our Advantage, will make a fine Subject for Encomium,

The *Marmora Sepulchralia* are what, indeed, we have already in Uſe amongſt us; for what elſe are the Tombs and Monuments in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, or in every Cathedral and Pariſh Church in the Nation!

tion? So that I have nothing elſe to do here, but to make Improvements. It has been with great Grief I obſerv'd the Negligence, and Partiality of our Writers of Epitaphs; for, in moſt of them, I have found the moſt ſhining Parts of a Man's Character either wholly omitted, ſlightly taken Notice of, or ſtrangely miſrepreſented. Theſe Faults will be entirely rectified by making it a publick Concern, *viz.* by permitting no one to write the Epitaph of any Perſon of Power and Authority, but ſuch as are Members of our illuſtrious Society; and that no ſuch Epitaph ſhall be publiſh'd, or inſcrib'd, without the Conſent of the whole Body. I have now by me an Example for this Kind of Writing: It is the Epitaph of a Prime Miniſter; in which I have ſet off, to the beſt Advantage, his many Virtues and good Qualities, *viz.* his *

Your humble Servant.
ARUNDELIANUS.

In our laſt, we promis'd a certain Eſſay on Riots; but as we are ſince aſſur'd, that there are many Miſrepreſentations and falſe Inſinuations in that Eſſay, with regard to the Maſter Weavers, Clothiers, &c. *in and about* Melkſham; *which are anſwer'd in the* SALISBURY JOURNAL *of the 8th of this Month; we deſire to be excus'd inſerting the ſaid Eſſay, eſpecially as we have not Room for it and the Anſwer too. Inſtead of this, we ſhall give our Readers the following particular Account of the late Riot at* Melkſham *(mention'd in our* Magazine *for* Dec. *laſt, p.* 629.) *from the ſame* Saliſbury *Journal.*

WE the principal Inhabitants and Clothiers of *Melkſham*, in the County of *Wilts*, having both heard and ſeen in the publick Papers, and otherwiſe, various Accounts of the Riots, Demolitions, Devaſtations and Robberies, committed by vaſt Numbers of Weavers and Shearmen, in Conjunction with many diſorderly People of other Occupations, have thought fit, for the true Information of the Publick, to give the following Account thereof.

Mr. *Henry Coulthurſt*, of *Melkſham* aforeſaid, having upon Application of a certain Weaver near *Trowbridge*, who was not only poor but deſtitute of Work, deliver'd him a Chain in order to weave; as he did alſo other Chains to divers Perſons, in or near the ſame County, at the uſual Price, *viz.* 14*d.* a Yard, that has been paid by him and us for many Years paſt: The ſaid firſt above-mentioned Weaver did, on *Monday* the 27th of *Nov.* laſt, the Day preceding the Beginning of the Riot at *Melkſham*, bring his Maſter Word, that the Weavers intended to cut the Chain on his Loom, unleſs he would advance one Penny *per* Yard more than was by him given for 40 Years paſt; tho' it has been falſly, wickedly, maliciouſly and induſtriouſly reported, that Mr. *Coulthurſt* put out his Chains to be wove at 10*d.* ½ and 11*d.* *per* Yard, and paid his Weavers, &c. in all Manner of Truck, an illegal Practice, neither he nor any of the Occupation of a Clothier here has been, or is guilty of.

Purſuant to the above-mentioned Threat, before the Return of the aboveſaid Weaver to his Houſe, the Weavers, &c. were in great Numbers riotouſly aſſembled, and had actually cut and deſtroyed divers Chains and Cloths in the Looms about *Trowbridge*, *Hilprington* and *Studley*. *Tueſday*, the next Day, they re-aſſembled in greater Numbers, and in their March for *Melkſham* were met by two Meſſengers ſucceſſively, ſent from Mr. *Coulthurſt*,

thurſt, who from him acquainted them, that he would, for the Prevention of farther Miſchief, advance one Penny *per* Yard, in Compliance with their exorbitant Demands; whereupon they requir'd a Note of Hand for the Performance thereof, which one of the Meſſengers, a reſponſible Man, gave them, in his Maſter's Behalf; but that not anſwering the End of Plunder and Robbery, which afterwards appeared to be their Purpoſe, they enter'd the Town of *Melkſham*, and in their Way to Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Dwelling-Houſe, cut three Chains in one Shop, the Property of other Clothiers.

Before the above-ſaid Houſe, they, the Mob, were met by Mr. *Aland*, a Shear-Grinder, who uſed all poſſible Means to appeaſe them, (Mr. *Coulthurſt* and his Family, againſt whom they breath'd Death and Deſtruction, being by this Time fled) by offering his Bond for any Sum, or his Perſon as an Hoſtage for the Payment of their above-ſaid illegal and exorbitant Demand: They yet notwithſtanding proceeded and broke open the Doors, and drove in the Windows of the ſaid Houſe; and in the moſt violent and outragious Manner beat to Pieces, and deſtroyed great Part of the Houſhold Goods, Partitions and Wainſcots; drank, carried out, and ſpilled all the Beer, Rum, Wine and Brandy, in the Cellars, and ſtaved the Caſks that contain'd it, deſtroy'd and caſt into the Water great Quantities of Warp Abb Wool in all Shapes, and all Kind of Clothing Utenſils; from whence they returned into the Market-Place, and demanded firſt a Note ſign'd by all the Clothiers in *Melkſham*, that they would for ever forward give 15*d.* *per* Yard for weaving, and 1*s.* for ſpooling. This done, they requir'd a 50*l.* Penalty to be inſerted in the ſaid Note. This comply'd with, they extorted a Bond of 1000*l.* Penalty to four of their Number for the above-ſaid Conſideration; and in the Evening retir'd to their Houſes, except two deſperate and leading Villains, who, as it is ſuppoſed, having obſerved ſome finiſh'd Cloths in the Paſſing-Shop, did re-enter the above-ſaid Houſe about Seven o'Clock at a demoliſh'd Window, with an Intent to have carry'd them off; but ſome honeſt Neighbours, who watch'd in the Houſe to ſecure the ſmall Remains of what was left there, hearing a Noiſe, ran up Stairs, and there catch'd and ſecur'd one of them, *viz.* *John Crabb*; the other eſcap'd by leaping out of an high Window, and alarm'd the Mob that were return'd home, that the ſaid *Crabb* was detain'd Priſoner in the Houſe.

Early the next Morning, *Crabb* was carry'd before three of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, *viz.* Mr. *Talbot*, Mr. *Holland* and Mr. *Montague*, who aſſembled at *Chippenham*, a Town about five Miles diſtant, and committed him to the County Gaol at *Fiſherton*. In the mean Time, a much greater Mob, not leſs than 1500, gather'd together, and march'd towards *Melkſham*, ſending two of their Number before, who told us, that unleſs we prevented the ſending this *Crabb* to Priſon, they, the ſaid Mob, would demoliſh the Remainder of Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Houſes, and do farther Miſchiefs; whereupon the Clothiers join'd in a Letter to the above-ſaid Gentlemen in the Commiſſion of the Peace, to beg the Priſoner might not be committed, and ſent a Copy of the ſaid Letter to the Mob, who were waiting ſome Ground diſtant from the Town for an Anſwer, and who it was hop'd by this Means would have been prevented from entering the Town again: This not appeaſing them, we

the

the Clothiers met them in a Body without the Town, and offer'd them what Drink and Victuals they pleas'd to demand, on Condition they would continue where they were: This not availing, they pour'd into the Town, and again went down to Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Houſe, and compleated the Deſtruction thereof, the remaining Houſhold and Clothing Goods, and Utenſils, which they threw into the Water in ſuch Quantities, that the River was for Miles down ſtrew'd with it. The Meſſenger to the Juſtices with the above-ſaid Letter, being return'd without the Priſoner, they broke into his Shear-Shop, tore what Cloths they found there to Pieces, demoliſh'd as much of the Shearing Tools as they could, and threw them into the Cart-Road. They next attack'd a new-built Free-ſtone ſaſh'd Range of Houſes; the Front of one of them, a large, but uninhabited Houſe, they beat out, until'd the reſt, and broke all the Partitions and Windows of them to Pieces, and drank great Part of the Beer of one of the Tenants, a poor Widow Woman, who kept a Publick Houſe: Not ſatisfy'd with this dreadful Deſtruction, they demoliſh'd two more of his Houſes, another Shear-Shop and Set of Shearing Tools, as they alſo did his Griſt and Fulling-Mills, in all nine Houſes, beſides the Mills. When Evening came, all the Publick Houſes in Town were fill'd with them, and out of them they iſſu'd in Parties, from Time to Time, the greateſt Part of the Night, and forced Money from all Sorts of Perſons at the Peril of their Lives and Houſes, and oblig'd the Landlords of the Publick Houſes to give them what Beer they pleas'd; and on the Refuſal of Perſons, who would not thus part with their Property, knock'd them down, and broke theirs and many others Windows all over the Town.

The next Morning, when 'twas Light enough to ſee, they again went down to the Ruins of Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Houſes, and continu'd their Devaſtations thereon, declaring they would reduce them to the ſame Condition as the City of *Jeruſalem*, *viz.* that of them there ſhould not remain one Stone upon another. And this Day, deſpairing of recovering the Priſoner, whom they thought to have intercepted in his Way to Priſon, who was ſent round by *Marlborough*, to avoid Parties of them that laid in Wait on the common Roads to reſcue him out of the Hands of Juſtice, they declar'd they would not leave the Town till they had him; and that they would level the Town, if the Clothiers did not bring and ſet him down, in the Midſt of them, in the Market-Place; but having well near devour'd all the Bread and Proviſions, ſome of their Leaders propos'd to oblige the Clothiers of the Town to enter into a Bond 10,000*l.* Penalty to produce the Priſoner in ten Days Time; which accordingly they extorted from them, declaring, that they would return at the Expiration of the above-ſaid Term, and execute the Bond themſelves; even this done, they could not be appeaſed, but ſtill continued working on the Ruins; when in the Afternoon of this Day, Mr. *Eyles*, and Mr. *Treſher*, two neighbouring Juſtices, had the Courage to ride in among them, and read the Proclamation; upon which the moſt conſiderate amongſt them diſperſed, but great Numbers of them remain'd working on the Ruins till Night.

We were threaten'd with another Viſit from them on *Monday* following; but a Detachment of Col. *Harriſon*'s Regiment of Foot marching into Town about the Middle of *Sunday* Night, by the Direction of the Magiſtrates firſt above-mention'd, put

an End to their further Mobbing. The Soldiers, with Lieutenant *Grant* at their Head, were ſadly haraſs'd, having march'd one whole Night and Half of another to our Aſſiſtance.

Henry Coultburſt,	*Samuel Shurmer,*
Samuel Rutty,	*Jer. Awdry,*
James Moore,	*William Pavie,*
John Taylor,	*Thomas Tayler,*
Samuel Sanger,	*Thomas Beaven,*
Paul Newman,	*Richard Bunter Robins,*
John Newman,	*Daniel Rutty.*

Craftſman, Jan. 13. N° 653.

Subſtance of an Act made in the Reign of HENRY V. *concerning Letters of* MARQUE: *And the Regard that has been ſhewn to Commerce ſince.*

SIR,

AMONGST the many wiſe Laws made by *Henry* V. I ſhall beg Leave to recite one: It was made in the 4th Year of his Reign, the 7th Chapter; the Title, *In what Caſes* Letters *of* Marque *are to be granted.*

The Intent of this *Act*, as it appears to me, was to give his People a Right to ſecure their Property, and retrieve their Loſſes from foreign Invaders, without ſubjecting their Cauſe to *foreign* Courts, or being liable to Delays by *Sollicitations* and *Negotiations*, till by Length of Time every Body, except themſelves, had forgot their Loſſes and Oppreſſions. The Subſtance of it is as follows:

"The King willing to take Order for the Indemnity of his Liege-People and faithful Subjects, hath declar'd in this preſent Parliament, that of all Attempts made by his Enemies upon any of his faithful Liege People, againſt the Tenour of any *Truce* taken before this Time, wherein is no expreſs mention made, that all *Marques* and *Repriſals* ſhall ceaſe; the ſame our Sovereign Lord the King will grant *Marque* in due Form to all thoſe, who feel themſelves in this Caſe griev'd. And our ſaid Lord the King will do the like to all his Liege People, that feel themſelves griev'd againſt the Tenour of any *Truce*, which betwixt *him* and any of his *Enemies* ſhall be newly taken hereafter. And to the great Comfort of his faithful Liege People, to the Intent that they may the more readily, and without long Delay, have Remedy in this Caſe; the ſame our Lord the King will, that if he or they, who feel themſelves griev'd againſt the Tenour and Form of *ſuch Truce*, within the Realm of *England*, out of the Marches of *Scotland*, or upon the *Sea*, or in the *Parts beyond the Sea*, ſhall complain to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, which for the Time ſhall be, who after ſuch Complaint heard and perceiv'd thereof, ſhall make to the Party complainant (if he the ſame require) *Letters of Requeſt*, under the Privy Seal, in a due Form; and if, after *ſuch Requeſt* made, the *Party required* does not make, within convenient Time, due Reſtitution or Satisfaction to the *Party griev'd*, then the Chancellor of *England*, for the Time being, ſhall cauſe to be made to *ſuch Party* griev'd (if he that demand) *Letters of Marque*, under the *Great Seal*, in due Form, *&c.*"

I do not pretend to be Lawyer enough to know whether this Act is now in Force; or Politician enough, to ſay, if it was in Force, whether it would be proper to put it in Execution at this Time; nor, whether it is not deficient in ſome Circumſtances.

But I cannot forbear obſerving, that it ſeems to breathe a noble Spirit, worthy of the immortal *Plantagenets*; moſt of whom carried their *Prerogative* very high, and ſometimes oppreſſed their Subjects, but always exerted themſelves in their Defence, when they were unjuſtly treated by other Princes, or States.

The *Tudor* Race did the ſame; parti-

particularly Q. *Elizabeth*, of ever-glorious Memory, who gave many Proofs that ſhe would rather loſe her *Crown*, than ſuffer her *People* to be inſulted and abus'd by any Power upon Earth.

As much as the *Stuart* Family may be blamed, in ſeveral other Particulars, I do not remember any great Complaints againſt them, upon that Account. Even *James* I. who was the moſt puſillanimous of them all, and egregiouſly bubbled by the *Spaniards*, for many Years together, once ſhew'd a Spirit in behalf of his *trading* Subjects. I cannot, at preſent, recollect any Thing of this Nature, or any Occaſion for it, in the Reign of *Charles* I. the latter Part of which was ſo terribly convuls'd with a bloody Civil War, that there was no Opportunity for him to look abroad, and Trade was almoſt intirely at a Stand. But you gave us a notable Inſtance in your laſt Paper, to which many more might be added, that tho' *Oliver Cromwell* was an Uſurper and Tyrant *at home*, he would not ſuffer even *one Engliſhman* to be mal-treated *abroad*. (ſee p. 6.) In the Reign of *Charles* II. beſides the Treaty of 1667 between *us* and *Spain*, we obtain'd the *American* Treaty, of 1670, by which our Freedom of Navigation in the *Weſt-Indies*, and our Right to the Bay of *Campeachy*, were eſtabliſhed. *James* II. was remarkably ſkill'd in maritime Affairs, and very well qualify'd, as Mr. *Addiſon* ſomewhere obſerves, to have made an excellent Prince over a *Roman-Catholick* People; but his *Religion* was ſo predominant, that it prov'd his Ruin, and brought about the *Revolution*.

The Prince of *Orange* being born and bred up in a Country, which depends upon *Trade*, had very good Notions of *Commerce*; and, when he became King of *England*, gave ſeveral Evidences of it; particularly in his Declaration of War againſt *France*, where the Injuries receiv'd by his *trading* Subjects, and the Inſults offer'd to the *Engliſh Flag*, are emphatically mention'd.

Q. *Anne* follow'd his Example, as ſoon as ſhe came to the Crown, by declaring War againſt *France* and *Spain*, in Purſuance of the Alliance, which her Predeceſſor had form'd with ſeveral great Powers of *Europe*, for preſerving, amongſt other Things, the Freedom of *Navigation* and *Commerce*. (ſee Vol. VII. p. 504.)

Every Body knows how many *Treaties* have been made ſince, on the ſame laudable Account, tho' they have not yet had the deſir'd Effect; but as there are two more *Treaties of Commerce* now on the Tapis, if not actually concluded, between the Crown of *Great Britain* and thoſe of *France* and *Spain*, there can be no Doubt that our *Trade* will, at laſt, be effectually ſecur'd; and that his Majeſty, with the Aſſiſtance of his Parliament, will out-do all his legal Predeceſſors, the *Plantagenets*, *Tudors* and *Stuarts*, as well as *Oliver Cromwell*, in the Protection of his *Leige People* and *faithful Subjects*, againſt the long-continued Inſults, Depredations, and Barbarities of *their Enemies*.

HANOVERIUS.

Weekly Miſcellany, Jan. 13. N° 316.

An APOLOGY *for the* POOR.

SIR,

I Would not be thought inſenſible of the Reſpect due to Men of Birth and Diſtinction, nor, that Pride and Beggary are too often inſeparable Companions. The good Man as well as the great one therefore, will have no Cauſe to be offended at this Letter, nor can I fear diſobliging any rich Man, who is a Friend to Religion and Virtue. The Haughty, Inſolent, and Overbearing, this Letter is addreſs'd to, whoſe Treatment of thoſe below them proves them ignorant of the Uſe of Inferiority.

riority. How would the Nature of Man be humaniz'd in this Reſpect, and what a juſt Value would be ſet upon Labour and Induſtry, did we oftner form an Idea of the *Poors* Services to Society, and view them in thoſe Employments, without which the greateſt Inconveniencies would ariſe? As we may trace the Foot-ſteps of Providence thro' every Part of created Nature, ſo in low Life, in the Abilities and Conſtitutions of the *Poor*, are the Prints of it to be remarked and admired. There are wrong Eſtimates of Perſons and Things: The idle Man of Fortune and Dreſs is prefer'd to the more uſeful Member of Society, to the *poor* Man whoſe daily Labour brings daily Service to Mankind. Grandeur and Magnificence are courted, when the *poor* Man, whoſe Labour cloaths and feeds us, is ridiculed and ſet at nought. The Eſteem of every Thing ſhould be proportion'd to its Uſefulneſs, and if the induſtrious and ingenious *Poor* can be proved beneficial to Society, I can't ſee why they ſhould not ſhare its Reſpect. Society, like a Houſe, would be greatly at a Loſs, if all its Furniture was only Ornamental. The Neceſſaries and Comforts of Life are handed up to us from the Poor. I never ſee Lace and Embroidery upon the Back of a Beau, but my Thoughts deſcend to the poor Fingers that wrought it, and to whoſe Ingenuity the *pretty Fellow* is owing. There is certainly as much Merit in weaving a fine Silk, as in Ability to buy it. Providence has lower'd the Notions and Views of ſome for the Sake of others, given different Talents and Diſpoſitions to Men, ſuitable to their different Stations. It has enur'd ſome to Labour and Hardſhips, and made them ignorant, as it were, of the Sameneſs of their Species, to render them condeſcending and ſubmiſſive to their Circumſtances. But, as a learned Author obſerves, "In the common Nature of Mankind we all agree. There is not a Joint, a Limb, a Bone nor a Sinew, not a Vein nor an Artery, Muſcle, Nerve, nor leaſt String or little Inſtrument of vital or animal Operation or Motion, but is alike to be found in the *Poor* as in the Rich." What would avail our large Eſtates, without their Labour? The Land muſt be till'd and manured, before Corn can be produced; and that muſt be afterwards threſhed and baked, before even a King can have Bread to eat. Pride and Luxury are the reigning Vices of the Age, and even here they muſt be obliged to the *Poor* for Supplies; this is a Service, I own, I am ſorry to ſee them employ'd in. I wiſh a rich Man's Luxuries, like a poor Man's Bread, were to be earned by the Sweat of his own Brow. I could wiſh to ſee an extravagant, profuſe Perſon broiling in his Kitchen, to ſet out his luxurious Dainties; then might we hope to ſee ſuch foppiſh Delicacy at an End, and that Luxuries would be unfaſhionable, by ſuch Pains to come at them. But to take one more pleaſing View of the *Poor*, let us obſerve their Cheerfulneſs and Strength, their Capacity and Inclination to help us in the moſt offenſive and diſagreeable Offices. What a Sink would the Town be without them? How unwholeſome and inſufferable, with all its Grandeur and Opulence? What Nuſances are removed, and how clean and comfortable are we made by their Labours? Could the white Hand of a Lady be laid to a Duſt-Baſket? or would any finical Compoſition of Powder and Perfume give a helping Hand to remove the Soil and Filth, which would ſicken and poiſon the Town by Continuance. In ſhort, the Porter's Knot is a more uſeful Implement than the fineſt Sword Knot; and whilſt the latter, by his

Vices

Vices may be hurtful to Society, the former, *only for the Privilege to live*, is burden'd for its Service. All our Markets are pleaſing Scenes of Labour and Induſtry; and, to conclude, there is a real Patriotiſm in the honeſt and induſtrious *Poor*, which ſhould make them valued by their Brethren and Countrymen, recommend worn-out Labour to our Pity and Relief, and remove all Deriſion and Contempt of Inferiority.

JOURNAL *of the* PROCEEDINGS *and* DEBATES *in the* POLITICAL CLUB; *continued from Page* 668, *of the Appendix for* 1738.

SIR,

I Shall now communicate a Debate, which will be, I believe, not only uſeful and entertaining to your Readers, but of ſome Service to the Publick; becauſe it will contribute to advance the Knowledge of the Origin and true Nature of our Conſtitution. It is an Obſervation of the famous *Machiavel*, That no Sort of free Government can be long preſerved, unleſs it be often brought back to its original Form. This is a juſt Obſervation; and the Reaſon is, That a limited Power, place it where you will, whether in one Man, or in an Aſſembly, will always be incroaching, and endeavouring to get free from thoſe Limitations or Reſtraints, that were laid upon it at its original Eſtabliſhment; therefore, it muſt at laſt become abſolute, if you do not, every now and then, ſtrip it of its unjuſt Acquiſitions, and refix thoſe Fetters which, by Art or Time, it has found Means to throw off. For this Reaſon, it behoves every Freeman to make himſelf thoroughly acquainted with the Original and true Nature of the Conſtitution of that Government, under which he lives; otherwiſe, he may be deceived, and led in to ſupport thoſe Meaſures, which muſt render the Government abſolute, or to oppoſe thoſe Meaſures, which are neceſſary for preventing its becoming ſo.

This Truth, every Gentleman in our Club has always before his Eyes, which makes the Nature of Government in general, and of our own in particular, often the Subject of Converſation; and at one of our late Meetings, the Diſcourſe happened to turn upon that Maxim of our Government, which ſays, That the executive Power muſt be wholly lodged in the Crown; whereupon a Queſtion aroſe, Whether the Diſpoſal of, or Nomination to, all Poſts or Places of Honour, Truſt, or Profit, belonged to, and was included in, that which is called the executive Power of the Crown? Or, in other Words, Whether the King ought, by the original and true Conſtitution of our Government, to have the abſolute and arbitrary Diſpoſal of all Poſts, or Places of Honour, Truſt, or Profit, concerned in the executive Part of our Government? It was agreed, that he ought not to have the Diſpoſal of all; but ſeveral Gentlemen, and particularly the Hon. *Solon*, inſiſted, that by the original and true Conſtitution of our Government, this Power was, in ſome Meaſure, lodged wholly in the People; that the People originally named or confirmed all the Magiſtrates and Officers neceſſary for the Support of our Government; and that after they were ſo named, they were to act in the Name of, and by proper Orders from the King, which was all that was meant by the executive Power's being wholly lodged in the Crown. Upon this, a Queſtion was ſtated, Whether by the original Form of our Government, the People in ſome Shape or other ought not to have the Nomination of, or, at leaſt, a Controul over, all the Magiſtrates

giſtrates and Officers neceſſary for the Support of our Government? This Queſtion was ordered to be debated at our next Meeting, and the firſt that ſpoke upon it, was the Hon. *Solon*, who ſpoke thus:

Mr. Preſident,
Sir,

THO' I was the Perſon that firſt ſtarted this Queſtion in the Club, and am now going to ſpeak in its Favour, yet, I hope, it will not be inferred from any Thing I have ſaid, or am to ſay, that I am no Friend to Monarchy, or to our happy Conſtitution. On the contrary, I think, a limited Monarchy the beſt and moſt natural Form of Government, and, I think, our monarchical Form of Government, according to its original Inſtitution, as well regulated as any Monarchy that was ever eſtabliſhed. I ſay, Sir, according to its original Inſtitution; for tho' Circumſtances have made ſome Alterations neceſſary, yet I am convinced, that the more we deviate from its original Form, without an apparent Neceſſity for ſo doing, the worſe it will be, the nearer we ſhall approach to the Fate of thoſe Nations, who have already ſubmitted to the Yoak of arbitrary Power.

Upon the preſent Queſtion, Sir, it is neceſſary, and therefore I ſhall conſider the Origin and Nature of Government in general; then, I ſhall conſider the Origin and Nature of that Government, which we are ſo happy as to have eſtabliſhed amongſt us; and laſtly, I ſhall conſider ſome of the chief Alterations, which Time has introduced, or Change of Circumſtances made neceſſary.

As Mankind, Sir, not only ſtand in Need of mutual Aſſiſtance, but delight in the Company and Converſation of one another, it is natural for them to form themſelves into Societies. If all Men were governed by Reaſon and Juſtice, ſo that no Man had any Thing to fear but from wild Beaſts, the Inclemencies of Weather, or his own bodily Infirmities, theſe Societies would, probably, reach no farther than a friendly Intercourſe, and the Supporting of one another in Sickneſs, and againſt the Attempts of ravenous Creatures; but, as moſt Men are governed by violent and unruly Paſſions, by which Means Man becomes, of all Creatures, the moſt terrible to Man; therefore, in every Place, ſome certain Number or Set of Men are obliged to unite together for their mutual Defence, not only againſt the Violence and Injuſtice of other Men, but againſt the Violence and Injuſtice of one another; and, for this Purpoſe, it becomes neceſſary for the Members of each reſpective Society, to ſubmit to certain Regulations, by which the Society is to be governed or preſerved.

This, Sir, is ſo natural, and ſo agreeable to Reaſon, that it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe any Number of Men could remain for any Space of Time together, without forming themſelves into ſome Sort of Society for their mutual Comfort and Relief. The natural State of Man therefore, is not, as Mr. *Hobbs* has ſuppoſed, a State of War, but a State of Peace; for War never flows from Reaſon, but from the Impetuoſity of, or giving a Looſe to, ſome human Paſſion; and the dangerous, uncomfortable and helpleſs Condition, in which every Man muſt ſoon find himſelf, if he lives alone, or with but one Woman along with him, muſt neceſſarily oblige him to bridle his Paſſions, and to ſubmit to live, not only in a Sort of Society, but under a certain Form of Government, with ſome other Men. This, I ſay, Sir, has always been, and muſt always be, the

the Caſe with Men, if we ſuppoſe them rational Creatures: They muſt form themſelves into one or more Societies, for their mutual Protection, not only againſt foreign Danger, but againſt the Violence and Injuſtice of one another; and every Society muſt have ſome Sort of eſtabliſhed Government.

Tho' it be natural for Men to form themſelves into Societies, yet, Sir, we may properly ſay, that Society itſelf is either natural or accidental. Natural Society, I call that which is formed among thoſe of one Family; and, accidental Society, I call that which is formed by two or more Men who have no Relation to one another, nor any other natural Obligation to aſſiſt each other, but that which proceeds from their own Reaſon, and from their being Creatures of the ſame Species. That Society between a Man and a Woman, which we call Marriage, is of the firſt Kind; and after they have procreated Children, they and their Children form a new Sort of Society, which we call a Family; for, while the Parents are alive, it is natural for the Children, even after they are come to Maturity, to unite all together, under the Government of the Father, for the Support and Protection of the Family. Then after the Death of the Parents, it is natural for the Children to unite together, for their mutual Support, under the Government of the eldeſt Brother; by which Means they form a new Sort of natural Society, which I ſhall call a Clan. This new Sort of natural Society may, and, if they have no great Intercourſe with Foreigners, probably will be continued down through many Generations, even until they come to be a numerous and mighty People, under the Government of the Repreſentative of the eldeſt Tribe or Branch of their Clan, who, for that Reaſon, I ſhall call their Chief; for while they continue unmixt, and unaſſociated with any other People or Clan, they continue to be what I have called a natural Society; but when two or more Families, or two or more Clans, otherwiſe independent of one another, join together in one Society, their Society is from that Time to be called an accidental Society; becauſe it does not proceed from any particular natural Cauſe, but from the Accident of their being in the Neighbourhood of one another, and induced to unite together for their mutual Defence or Conveniency.

From the firſt Hiſtories of all thoſe Nations, that were not firſt planted by Colonies from other Nations, and even from the preſent Cuſtoms of thoſe Nations, which have never had any great Intercourſe with Foreigners, it it highly probable, that the firſt Societies eſtabliſhed were all Clans, or natural Societies formed of Men who were all deſcended from the ſame Stock or common Father. The *Jews* were ſo, and continue ſo to this Day: The little Societies we find formed among the Natives in *America*, are all a Sort of Clans; and in the *Northern* Parts of this Iſland, from whence I have borrowed the Words Clan and Chief, they have ſtill a great Regard to what they call Clanſhip, and have been very exact in preſerving diſtinct Accounts of their ſeveral Genealogies, which was in antient Times the principal Buſineſs of their Druids and Bards, tho' of late Years it ſeems to be the Buſineſs of their old Women only.

Theſe Remarks, Sir, you may perhaps think foreign to the Purpoſe; but what particularly induced me to take Notice of this Diſtinction between natural and accidental Societies, is, that it ſeems plain from the Accounts the *Romans* have left us of thoſe who were, in their Days,

the Inhabitants of *Germany:* I ſay, it ſeems plain from theſe Accounts, that they were all divided into natural Societies or Clans. *Tacitus*, in his Deſcription of the *Semnons*, ſays expreſsly, "That at a ſtated Time of the Year, all the ſeveral People, *deſcended from the ſame Stock*, aſſemble by their Deputies in a Wood, conſecrated by the Idolatries of their Forefathers, and by ſuperſtitious Awe in Times of old." From whence, and from many other Paſſages in Hiſtory, we may conclude, that the ſeveral diſtinct Names of Nations then inhabiting *Germany*, which we read of in Hiſtory, were each the Name of a Clan, or Society of Men, all deſcended from the ſame Stock.

Whilſt any one of theſe Clans, Sir, could conveniently meet and aſſociate together, we may ſuppoſe, they continued under the ſame Government, and concerted all their Meaſures together; and that each Clan was ſubdivided into ſeveral Tribes, each Tribe into ſeveral Branches, and each Branch into ſeveral leſſer Branches, down to particular Families, which made the conſtituent Members of the loweſt or ſmalleſt Branches; for when a Man had Ten or a Dozen of Sons, it is natural to ſuppoſe, they would aſſociate together, under the Direction of the Father while he lived, and after his Death, under the Direction of the eldeſt Brother; and that their Deſcendants would form a Sort of ſubordinate Society, under the Direction of the Repreſentative of the eldeſt Brother; therefore, 'tis probable, that not only each Tribe, but each Branch, if it conſiſted of above ten Families, formed itſelf into a Sort of ſubordinate Society, each inferior Branch being ſubordinate to the Branch from which it ſprung, each principal Branch to the Tribe, and each Tribe to the Clan. This, I ſay, is probable, as long as the whole Clan could meet together, in order to concert Meaſures for the Good of the Whole; but when any Clan became ſo numerous, and poſſeſſed ſuch a large Territory, that they could not eaſily aſſemble together, it is to be ſuppoſed, that the moſt numerous Tribes would then begin to form themſelves into diſtinct Societies, under different Names and Governments, and would never concert Meaſures together, but in Caſes of the utmoſt Importance. Thus, *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Suevians* were divided into ſeveral Nations, all bearing different Names, but in general called *Suevians*; and from all our antient Hiſtories we have the ſame Account of the *Saxons*,

Theſe Conjectures, Sir, I could prove from a Multitude of Paſſages in antient Hiſtory, but I ſhall not take up your Time, or attempt to ſhew my own Learning by many Quotations; only I muſt take Notice, that the *Germans* probably called the Chief of their Clan, Tribe, or Branch, Ealderman; and as among them a Village generally conſiſted but of one Tribe or Branch, the Chief of that Tribe or Branch, who, as ſuch, had a Sort of Juriſdiction over the Village, was called the Ealderman of that Village, from whence we have our Word Alderman; therefore, it is a Miſtake to ſuppoſe, that the antient *Saxon* Word Ealderman, ſignified, when applied to a Magiſtrate, an old Man; and, I muſt, upon this Occaſion likewiſe obſerve, that the Word Elder, ſo often mentioned in the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, does not, I believe, mean an old Man, as ſome People imagine, but the Chief of a ſubordinate Tribe or Branch, that is to ſay, the Repreſentative of the eldeſt of ſeveral Brothers, whoſe Deſcendants had preſerved an Account of their ſeveral Genealogies, and therefore all acknowledged their Deſcent from one Stock or com-

common Father; for the *Jews*, as well as all other antient Nations, were extremely curious and diſtinct in preſerving an Account of their ſeveral Genealogies.

Thus, Sir, the antient *Germans* being divided into ſeveral Clans, and each Clan into ſeveral Tribes, each Tribe into ſeveral Branches, and each Branch into ſeveral ſubordinate Branches, in this Manner they lived in Time of Peace, in this Manner they encamped in Time of War, in this Manner they worſhipped their Gods, and in this Manner they fought their Battles. *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of them, ſays, "What proves the principal Incentive to their Valour is, that it is not at Random, nor by the fortuitous Conflux of Men, that their Troops and pointed Battalions are formed, but by the Conjunction of whole Families, and Tribes of Relations." This ſhews, that they fought by Tribes; and, the ſame Author having juſt before told us, "That the Number to be ſent out to War was aſcertained, out of every Village *an Hundred*;" we muſt from thence conclude, that they lived by Tribes in their Villages. The Paſſage I have already mentioned, relating to the *Semnons*, proves that they worſhipped by Clans or Tribes; and, this is farther proved from the Account the ſame Author gives us of their Method of Divining by Means of Twigs. His Words are, "Then the Prieſt of the Community, if for the Publick the Lots are conſulted, or the Father of a Family, if about a private Concern, after he has ſolemnly invoked the Gods, with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, takes up every Piece thrice, and having done thus, forms a Judgment according to the Marks before made." From all which, I think, we may, with great Probability, conclude, that in the general Aſſemblies of each Clan, they aſſembled regularly by Tribes and Branches, each Tribe and Branch under its proper Ealderman; and, that when they came to the Place of Aſſembly, the Ealdermen of the principal Tribes took their Places, each according to the Seniority of his Tribe, near the chief Ealderman or King.

Having thus, Sir, ſhewn you the Means, by which the Societies among the antient *Germans* were conſtituted, I ſhall now conſider their Form of Government; and, as far as it can be traced from Paſſages in antient Hiſtory, and ſuch Conjectures as naturally ariſe from them, or from the Nature of Things, it will, I believe, appear evident, that to their Form of Government we originally owe the happy Form of Government now eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom. Tho' the Societies formed among the antient *Germans* ſeem all to have been natural Societies or Clans, each under its proper Chief, by them called Ealderman, but by the *Romans* called King; tho' each Clan, Tribe, and Branch, ſhewed a great Reſpect to, and had a Sort of Veneration for their Ealderman, Prince or King; ſo much, that, as *Tacitus* tells us, "it was among them, Infamy during Life, and indelible Reproach, to return alive from a Battle where their Prince was ſlain;" yet, they were not ſo devoid of common Senſe as to imagine, that becauſe a Man was born a Prince or King, therefore he muſt neceſſarily be qualified for being their General in War, or Judge in Time of Peace. No: It was a Poſt of Dignity, not of Power; for, the whole Clan held a General Aſſembly once every Moon at leaſt, and in theſe Aſſemblies they choſe their General for War, and their Judge or Judges in Time of Peace. In this Choice, the King or Prince had certainly the Preference, if he

was as well qualified as any other Man of the Clan or Tribe; but, if he was too young, for their Chief often happened to be a Child, or if he was thought not properly qualified, another was choſen; and then the King or Prince ſerved only as A the Band of Union, which held the ſeveral conſtituent Tribes or Branches of that Clan or Tribe cloſely united together; for with reſpect to the King or Chief, they look'd upon the Doctrine of hereditary Right as ſacred; but as none of their Kings B had any Benefices to beſtow, nor any Dignities to confer, no knaviſh Prieſt ever took it into his Head, to tack to that uſeful and generous Doctrine, the abſurd and ſlaviſh Doctrine of paſſive Obedience.

Their Kings, Sir, had great Re- C ſpect ſhewn them upon all Occaſions, had the firſt Seats, and were the firſt Speakers in all their Aſſemblies: They were always ſurrounded by a great Number of Followers, in Peace for Grandeur, in War for Defence; but, unleſs they were D qualified, they had no Share in their Civil Government, or in the Command of their Armies; and the People, in their general Aſſembly, were to determine, whether they were qualified or not; in which Caſe, we may believe they E ſhewed a due Reſpect to their King, by not mentioning his Want of Capacity, but pretending ſome other Excuſe. By this Means, the Society or People enjoyed all the Advantages of an hereditary Monarchy, without being expoſed to any of F the Diſadvantages that attend it; and as their King could never intermeddle in Affairs beyond the Reach of his Capacity, it prevented his expoſing himſelf to the Ridicule and Contempt of his Subjects, and thereby leſſening that Veneration, G which the People naturally had for the ſacred Name of King or chief Ealderman.

Their general Aſſemblies, Sir, were, as I have ſaid, held once a Moon, or oftener, if Occaſion required, which was neceſſary, becauſe their Seſſions were but of one or a few Days Continuance. At theſe Aſſemblies the whole Clan aſſembled in Arms, and all had a Share in the Deliberation of the Aſſembly; but the Affairs that came before them were principally examined into, and determined by the King and other Chiefs; that is to ſay, by the Chief of the Clan, aſſiſted by the Chief of each conſtituent Tribe, and the great Officers that had been choſen by the People. When they had come to a Reſolution or Determination, the People approved of it, by the Brandiſh of their Javelins, or they diſapproved of it by an inarticulate Sort of Murmur; from whence we muſt conclude, that the People came there only to give their Conſent; and that if they expreſſed their Diſpleaſure, the Chiefs always took Care to amend or alter their Reſolution or Determination. Thus, by excluding the Multitude from adviſing and debating, they avoided Faction; and by having their Conſent or Approbation, they made ſure of Popularity in all their Counſels.

It was in theſe general Aſſemblies, Sir, that they made Laws for the good Government of the Society, determined upon Peace or War, choſe their Generals and chief Judges, and try'd all great Offences; and after they began to ſettle, and acquire a Property in Lands, it was in theſe Aſſemblies that all great Diſputes about ſuch Property were determined. As for Matters of leſs Importance, if they related to the Society in general, they were determined by the Chiefs of the conſtituent Tribes, and great Officers choſen by the People, aſſembled with the King, or Chief of the Clan, in a Sort of Senate or Privy Council;

ſo

ſo that the *German* Kings of old, notwithſtanding their hereditary Right, had not ſo much as a Power to chuſe their own Privy Council. As this was the Method of determining all Affairs that related to the Clan in general, we may believe, that when any Clan became numerous, each Tribe had a ſeparate Aſſembly and Senate of its own, for determining thoſe Affairs that related to that Tribe only; and when a Clan became ſo numerous, that it was not poſſible for them to meet in one general Aſſembly, ſo that each Tribe began to form itſelf into a ſeparate Clan under a diſtinct Name, a new Sort of Aſſembly, or rather Senate, was formed, which never met but upon Affairs of the utmoſt Conſequence to the whole Clan, and conſiſted only of Chiefs or Deputies, ſent by the general Aſſembly of each reſpective Tribe; and it is to be ſuppoſed that thoſe Deputies, upon their Return, reported to the general Aſſemblies of their reſpective Tribes, the Reſolutions agreed on in this ſupreme Senate; and that theſe Reſolutions were not, nor could be carried into Execution, till they were approved by the general Aſſembly of each reſpective Tribe, or at leaſt by a Majority of them.

In this Account of the antient *Germans*, I have gone, 'tis true, Sir, a great deal upon Conjecture, but my Conjectures are all ſuch as are founded in Hiſtory, or ſuch as flow from the Nature of Things, which is the Method every Man muſt take, who argues from the obſcure and defective Accounts we have of antient Nations, whoſe Hiſtories are wrote by Foreigners, or modern Hiſtorians, every one of whom, for the moſt Part, makes uſe of the Terms moſt common in his own Country or Time, and often confounds his Account of every Magiſtracy he mentions, by giving it the Name of, and making it bear a Reſemblance to, ſome Magiſtracy eſtabliſhed in his own Country, or in his own Time. Whoever reads *Tacitus* with this Caution, and compares what he ſays with thoſe lame Accounts we have of the *Germans* that afterwards ſettled in this Iſland, will ſee, that my Conjectures are all at leaſt probable; and if we conſider the Nature and Deſign of Government, we muſt conclude, that their Form of Government was one of the moſt perfect that was ever invented.

As Society, Sir, is intended for preſerving the ſeveral Members againſt foreign Danger, and for their mutual Support and Relief, ſo Government is intended for the mutual Preſervation of the ſeveral Members, againſt the Violence, Injuſtice, or Neglect of one another. By this Means, every private Injury may be eaſily prevented or puniſhed; but, the Misfortune is, that thoſe who are appointed to prevent or puniſh theſe Injuries, and who for that End are entruſted with the Power of the Society, being Men ſubject to the ſame Paſſions with others, often become the moſt violent, unjuſt, or negligent; therefore it becomes neceſſary to ſubject them to ſome Sort of Controul, and this Power of Controul can be ſafely lodged no where but in the People in general. An annual Election will not do; for the new Magiſtrates will, probably, wink at the Crimes of their Predeceſſors, in Expectation of the ſame Favour from the next Succeſſors; and, if it be lodged in any particular Set of Men, they will, probably, join and ſhare in the Oppreſſion of the Magiſtrates, ſo that the People will thereby only multiply the Number of their Oppreſſors, and add to the Violence and Weight of their Oppreſſion.

This, Sir, the *Germans* were, it ſeems, ſenſible of, and therefore they lodged not only the Election

of

of their Magiſtrates, but alſo this Power of Controul, in the whole People of the Society, who, for the Execution of this Power, aſſembled often together; ſo that no great Criminal could expect to proſper long in his Villany. But as their King or chief Ealderman was the Repreſentative of their common Father, and as he was the chief Band of Union among the principal Tribes of the Clan, and conſequently among the ſeveral Members of the Society, it was neceſſary to cultivate among their People, a Sort of ſuperſtitious Veneration for his Perſon, from whence comes our Maxim in this Kingdom, That the King can do no wrong. For this Reaſon, as they could not puniſh their King, they took Care he ſhould not be perſonally concerned in any Part of their Adminiſtration, unleſs when they judged from his natural Qualities and former Conduct, that his Behaviour in the Execution of Power, would be ſuch as would redound to the Benefit and Honour of the Society, and thereby exalt the Veneration for his Perſon, which it was ſo neceſſary to inſtil and cultivate in the Breaſt of every Member. This prevented their being oppreſſed by any of their Kings, or being obliged to deſtroy that Band of Union which link'd them together, in order to get free from any ſuch Oppreſſion; for, if they happened to be diſappointed in the Opinion they had formed of their King, if he happened to miſbehave in the Command of their Armies, or in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, or to turn to the Deſtruction of his People that Power they had given him for their Protection, they could in ſome new Aſſembly ſtrip him of that Power, by naming a new General or Judge, without attempting to ſtrip him of his royal Dignity, or being liable to be accuſed of having committed any Breach of their Conſtitution.

Thus, I ſay, Sir, they ſecured themſelves from Oppreſſion, without ever being reduced to the Neceſſity of attacking, or any Way affronting the royal Dignity, in which the Unity of their Society conſiſted; and the Gradation of Power that was eſtabliſhed among them, from the chief Ealderman or King, to the Ealderman of one of the moſt inferior Branches, prevented its being in the Power of their King, or even of their Senate, to have any indirect Influence upon their general Aſſemblies; for, as every Man was under the immediate Command and Juriſdiction of the Ealderman of his own particular Branch, he was under no Neceſſity of having a particular Dependence upon the King, or upon any of the ſuperior Ealdermen; he had only ſuch a general Dependence upon them as proceeded from his being a Member of the Clan, and therefore could not be influenced by them to approve of Meaſures, which tended to the Ruin of that Clan of which he was himſelf a Member. He could in no Caſe be over-awed by Authority to act contrary to his Opinion, nor could he be induced by ſelf Intereſt to judge raſhly or partially of any Affair that came before the General Aſſembly. Whereas, if it had been in the Power of the King, or Senate, to appoint a Judge, a military Officer, a Collector of publick Taxes, and a Prieſt, in every petty Diviſion, moſt Men would have been under an immediate Dependence upon thoſe in Power, either out of Fear of being oppreſſed, or in Hopes of getting one of theſe Places; by which the true End of their General Aſſemblies would have been defeated; becauſe theſe Aſſemblies would have been always under the Management and Direction of thoſe in Power, inſtead of being ſevere Checks upon their Execution of Power.

From

From this Account, Sir, of the antient *German* Form of Government it will appear, that the People had the Nomination of, and likewiſe a Controul over, all the Magiſtrates and Officers concerned in the executive Part of their Government; and, if our preſent From of Government proceeded originally from them, it muſt be granted, that, by our original Conſtitution, the People, in ſome Shape or other, ought to have a Power to chuſe all the Magiſtrates and other Officers neceſſary for the Support of our Government, and ought likewiſe to have a Power to puniſh them for Breach or Neglect of Duty; but, in this reſpect, and ſeveral others, many Alterations have been made; and therefore, I ſhall now proceed to conſider ſome of the chief Alterations which Time has introduced, or Change of Circumſtances made neceſſary, ſince the *Germans* or *Saxons* firſt began to ſettle in this Iſland; from whence it will appear evident, that our Conſtitution, even as it ſtands now, is chiefly founded upon the antient *German* Form of Government.

I have already ſhewn, Sir, that the *Germans* lived at home in Clans or Tribes, and that their Armies were raiſed, that they were drawn up, and that they engaged in Battle, in Tribes or Clans; therefore, I think, it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they invaded *Britain*, and ſettled here, after the ſame Manner. *Hengiſt*, who commanded the firſt Party of *Saxons* that ſettled in *Britain*, was the Son of the King or Chief of that Clan or Tribe of *Saxons*, which was then ſettled in *Batavia* now *Holland*; and the Army that came along with him, conſiſted probably of a Detachment from each Branch of that Tribe, each Detachment being commanded by its proper Ealderman or Chief; for we find the Word Ealderman mentioned in the earlieſt of our *Saxon* Annals. When the County of *Kent* was granted to them, they probably divided it among their Tribes, as the *Jews* did the Land of *Canaan*; each Tribe having a Share alotted to it, according to the Number of the Men of that Tribe, who had come over with *Hengiſt*; but as the *Saxons* that followed, came over at ſeveral different Times, and ſettled in ſeveral different Parts of the Iſland, it was impoſſible to obſerve exactly that Diſtinction of Tribes or Clans, which had been obſerved among them in *Germany*; and therefore they began to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the Territory they poſſeſſed. As ſoon as an Army of *Saxons* conquered, and got Poſſeſſion of any Part of the Iſland, their chief General or Leader, with the Conſent, as may be ſuppoſed, of a general Aſſembly, reſerving a Share for himſelf and thoſe of his own Branch, divided out the reſt to his inferior Leaders or Generals, to each in Proportion to the Number of Men he had brought over with him; and the Lands ſo granted were probably erected into ſomething like what we now call a capital Manor, which was granted to him and his Heirs, upon Condition he ſhould be always ready with his Followers in Arms, to aſſiſt the King in his Wars; from which Time the General or Leader was called Ealderman of ſuch a Diſtrict; and this inferior Leader or General, reſerving a Part to himſelf, divided the reſt out among his ſubaltern Officers upon the ſame Condition; which leſſer Diviſions were likwiſe erected into ſomething like what we now call a Manor; and each of theſe was again divided out, by each reſpective Officer, among the Soldiers under his Command, upon Condition they ſhould be always ready, with proper Arms, to follow him to the Wars. Theſe Soldiers, who were thus put in Poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of a Parcel of Land, were probably called Freeholders, or by ſome Name ſignifying the ſame Thing; becauſe they were not obliged to pay any Rent, or to perform any ſervile Offices.

Thus, Sir, the *Saxon* Goverment in this Iſland was put upon a different Footing, from what it had been upon formerly in *Germany*, and the People began to forget their Genealogies, or the Clan, Tribe, or Branch, from which they were originally deſcended: But upon Examination we ſhall find, that this new Government very much reſembled the old; for as every Freeholder was ſuppoſed to be one of the *Saxon* Clan or Nation; as the Lords of inferior Manors repreſented the Chiefs of inferior Tribes or Branches, and as the Lords or Ealdermen of capital Manors repreſented the Chiefs of thoſe principal Tribes, of which the Clans or Societies in *Germany* were compoſed, it is highly probable, that during the Heptarchy, each reſpective Witenagemote was for ſome Time an Aſſembly of all, or moſt of the *Saxons* within that Kingdom; and that they aſſembled there in Arms, in the ſame Manner they had formerly done in *Germany*, and as the *Franks* did in their *Champs de Mars* or *Mai*, for ſome Time after their ſettling in *France*; and it is likewiſe probable, that in theſe Witenagemotes, the Lords or Ealdermen of capital Manors, had the ſame Privilege which the Chiefs of the principal Tribes had, in an Aſſembly of the whole Clan in *Germany*; that is to ſay, that they, with the King and chief Officers, had the only Privilege to adviſe, debate, and reſolve or determine; and that the reſt of the Aſſembly only approved by the Clatter of their Arms, or diſapproved by a Hiſs, or ſome other Sort of inarticulate Murmur.

Then again, Sir, as the Chief or Ealderman of each ſubordinate Tribe or Branch in *Germany*, had a Sort of Command and Juriſdiction over thoſe of his Tribe; ſo the Lords of theſe new erected Manors in *Britain*, had each of them in War the Command of all the Freeholders, or Soldiers that were raiſed from his own Manor, and a Sort of Juriſdiction over all the Inhabitants within his Manor in Time of Peace, which Juriſdiction is the Foundation of our Court Baron; and as the Juriſdiction, which the Chief of a Tribe in *Germany* had over his Tribe, was exerciſed only in the general Aſſemblies of the Tribe, in which the Chief ſate only as Preſident; ſo the Juriſdiction exerciſed in our Courts Baron, is exerciſed by an Aſſembly of the Freeholders, in which the Lord of the Manor only ſits as Preſident.

To this let me add, Sir, what appears even from our Hiſtory, that during the Heptarchy, the ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms, or two or more of them, ſometimes held an Aſſembly, or rather Senate, which conſiſted, as may be ſuppoſed, of the King and Ealdermen, or Lords of Capital Manors, of each Kingdom, and in which they took into Conſideration thoſe Affairs that related to the whole *Saxon* Nation in *Britain*, or to ſuch of the *Saxon* Kingdoms as were then met together, in general; in Imitation of thoſe Aſſemblies, or ſupreme Senates, which, I have ſaid, were held in *Germany*, after a Clan came to divide itſelf into ſeveral diſtinct Societies.

From hence, Sir, we may ſee a very exact Reſemblance between that Form of Government the *Saxons* eſtabliſhed in *Britain*, and that they left behind them in their own Country; and it muſt be confeſſed, that, according to this Form of Government, whatever Honour or Reſpect a *Saxon* King might have from his Subjects, he had no great Power,

either civil or military; for he had no Juriſdiction but only as Preſident of the general Witenagemote of his Kingdom, or of his own Court Baron; and he had no Command in the Army but only over the Freeholders of his own Manors, in caſe the Witenagemote ſhould think fit to appoint another Perſon to command their Army, as they actually did after *Hengiſt*'s Death; for tho' his Son *Eſcus* ſucceeded him as King, *Ella* was choſen General by the *Saxons* of *Kent*, as well as by thoſe of *Suſſex*; nor does it appear from Hiſtory, that *Eſcus* thought this an Injury done to him, or that it was what his Subjects had not a Right to do.

'Tis true, Sir, the *Saxon* Kings in *Britain* ſoon began to aſſume more Power; for, even before the End of the Heptarchy we may ſuppoſe, that the Freeholders or People began to neglect coming to the Witenagemote; and after the Union of the ſeven Kingdoms, it became impoſſible for them all to be there; ſo that the Witenagemote began to be attended only by the Lords of Capital Manors, who being all Senators, as the Ealdermen of the principal Tribes were in *Germany*, muſt be ſuppoſed to have attended pretty cloſely near the King's Perſon; but after the ſeven Kingdoms were united into one, we may ſuppoſe, that it became unuſual, even for any Lord or Ealderman of a Capital Manor, to come either to the Senate or Witenagemote, unleſs the King deſired his Preſence by a Letter, as is now the Caſe with reſpect to our Privy Council; for, there are many Noblemen and Gentlemen Members of the Privy Council, who never come there; becauſe, it is not uſual for any to go there, but ſuch as are ſome Way concerned in the Adminiſtration, and therefore deſired to attend. This Cuſtom of being called to the Witenagemote was, probably, the Original of the King's Writ for calling a Man to what we now call the Houſe of Peers; and, from this Original, perhaps, we may derive that Power our Kings now have, of creating whomſoever they pleaſe a Peer of the Realm; for, by the antient *German* Conſtitution their King or Chief had no ſuch Power: No Man was among the antient *Germans* a Senator, or could appear in their general Aſſembly as ſuch; unleſs he was intitled to it by his Birth, as being the Chief or Ealderman of one of the principal Tribes; or unleſs he was choſen General or ſome other great Officer, by the People.

I have already ſhewn, Sir, that by the firſt *Saxon* Form of Government eſtabliſhed in this Iſland, the King had very little Power either civil or military. He had not the ſupreme Command over the Armies of his Country, unleſs he was choſen General by the People; and, with reſpect to Juriſdiction, every Capital Manor, not in the King's Hands, was governed entirely by its own Lord or Ealderman, and its own Court Baron, which conſiſted of the Lords of inferior Manors, if there were any, and if none ſuch, of the Freeholders, with the Lord who ſat as Preſident; and every inferior Manor was governed by its Lord and a Court Baron of its Freeholders. If a Diſpute happened between two Ealdermen, or two Tenants of different Capital Manors, it was determined by the King and Senate; or, if it was of great Conſequence, by the Witenagemote, in both which, the King ſat only as Preſident; ſo that the King had no Juriſdiction but as Preſident of the Witenagemote and Senate, or as Preſident of the Baron Courts within his own Manors: He could appoint no Officer or Judge within the Bounds of another Lord's

Manor; but even before, and eſpecially upon the Union of the ſeveral *Saxon* Kingdoms, ſuch a great Number of Manors came into the Hands of the Crown, that the King could not be preſent at every one of his Court Barons, and therefore he appointed an Officer to repreſent him, and to take Care of his Manors within ſuch a Diſtrict, then or ſoon after called Shire, which Officer was called a Thane, Alderman or Earl; and, as theſe Offices were often continued from Father to Son, they ſoon came to be look'd on as hereditary in the Family. Theſe Officers had at firſt, probably, no Power or Juriſdiction but over the King's Manors; but, when the Senate and Witenagemote began to be unfrequented, and to conſiſt only of the King's Officers and Favourites, theſe Officers began to aſſume that Power which formerly belonged to the Senate or Witenagemote. They began to determine the Diſputes that happened between the Lords or Tenants of different Manors within their reſpective Diſtricts; and, being generally of themſelves Men of great Power, they began at laſt to aſſume a Sort of abſolute Power over the whole Diſtrict; which Power, both in civil and military Affairs, they often exerciſed by a Deputy or Delegate; and as theſe Deputies or Delegates had no Court Baron, nor any other Aſſembly joined with them in Power, they probably made that Uſe of it, which is generally made of Power, when it comes to be exerciſed by a ſingle Perſon without any Controul; which made it neceſſary for our great King *Alfred* to hang up ſuch a great Number of Judges, and to eſtabliſh a new Sort of Juriſdiction over the whole Kingdom.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I think myſelf obliged to take ſome Notice of the Alterations that were made in our Conſtitution by this great King and Lawgiver. With reſpect to our Witenagemotes, I do not find that he made any Alteration, but that of appointing them to be held twice a Year; and with reſpect to the Senate, or King's Privy Council, he appointed three ſolemn Meetings every Year, at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*, which from thence were afterwards called Courts *de More*, becauſe they aſſembled according to Cuſtom, and have by Hiſtorians been miſtaken for Witenagemotes. But with reſpect to Juriſdiction, he introduced a quite new Method: He divided the whole Kingdom into Shires or Counties, each Shire into Trithings, each Trithing into Hundreds, and each Hundred into Tithings: In each Tithing, which conſiſted of ten Families of, as I believe, Freeholders, they choſe a Tithing-Man, who had a Sort of Juriſdiction over the reſt; and they were in many Reſpects, a Sort of Pledges or Securities for the Behaviour of one another, and of all thoſe that lived within the Tithing: In each Hundred there was a Court conſiſting of all the Suitors or Freeholders of the Hundred, in which the Sheriff's Baily ſate as Preſident; and in each County there was a Court, conſiſting of all the Suitors or Freeholders of the County, in which the Sheriff, who was choſen by them, ſate as Preſident. With reſpect to theſe Courts, there was an Appeal from the Tithing, to the Hundred Court, from thence to the County Court, and from the County Court to the King's Court, which was held in each County by the King's Chancellor, or by ſome other Perſon or Perſons appointed by the King: And from the King's Court there lay an Appeal to the Witenagemote, as we may judge from the Juriſdiction now exerciſed by the Houſe of Peers.

Then, Sir, with reſpect to military Affairs, that wiſe King put the Militia

Militia under ſuch Regulations, that there was in each County a proper Number of Men well armed, ready to march at an Hour's Warning, under a Leader choſen by the County; and all thoſe Leaders to be under the Command of a General in Chief appointed by the King. Thus in appointing the chief Judges and Generals, this King reſerved to himſelf a greater Power than belonged to the antient *German* Kings; but as theſe Chiefs were under the Controul of the Witenagemote, and probably not named without the Approbation of that Aſſembly, when ſuch Approbation could be had, this Power aſſumed by the King, might be beneficial in ſuch a large Kingdom, and could never be of any great Detriment to the Commonwealth.

Every one, Sir, may ſee the Reſemblance between theſe new Regulations and the antient Cuſtoms of *Germany*; for here the Counties repreſented the principal Tribes of a Clan in *Germany*, the Hundreds repreſented the Branches of a Tribe, and the Tithings repreſented the inferior Branches; and in each Diviſion, there was a general Aſſembly and a Preſident, in the ſame Manner as there was of Old in each Diviſion of a Clan in *Germany*. But theſe Regulations were made by *Alfred*, only by Way of Addition to the Form of Government at firſt eſtabliſhed among the *Saxons* in *Britain*. He did not aboliſh or diminiſh the Power or Juriſdiction of the Lords of capital Manors, nor did he attempt to take away the Privilege they had of appearing in the Witenagemote, as Senators or Counſellors to the King, or the Privilege they had of being preſent, and giving their Advice in the Senate or Privy Council; therefore we muſt conclude, that all Lords of capital Manors, after his Reign, as well as before, not only might be preſent in the Witenagemote and Senate, but were obliged to attend, if the King required their Preſence; and that thoſe Diſputes that were determined, or Crimes that were tried, in the County, Hundred, or Tithing Courts, were chiefly, where the two Parties concerned were of different capital Manors.

Now, Sir, as the Laws and Form of Government eſtabliſhed, or regulated, by King *Alfred*, were, I believe, chiefly what prevailed in *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Time; and as the whole Nation ſo often petitioned, and ſo often ventured their Lives and Fortunes, for having thoſe Laws reſtored to them after the Conqueſt; I muſt beg Leave, before I proceed further, to ſtate in a few Words, what I take to have been the Form of Government in *Alfred*'s and *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Time. With reſpect to the Legiſlative Power, the King could not make any Laws, impoſe any Taxes, or make any Alterations in the Form of Government, without the Conſent of the Witenagemote, or general Aſſembly of the Nation; and the conſtituent Members of this Witenagemote, were, I think, the King, the Lords of capital Manors, the great Officers, and the *Saxon* People in general. As to the King, and Lords of capital Manors, I believe no Man will doubt, but that they were Members from the Beginning of the *Saxon* Eſtabliſhment in *Britain*; and I muſt think, that every Lord of a capital Manor was obliged to be preſent, if the King or Aſſembly required it; and that every ſuch Lord was not only a Member, but appeared there as a Senator and Counſellor; that is to ſay, that all ſuch Lords came there to conſult, adviſe, and determine, and not merely to hear and give their Conſent; for as theſe Lords came in Place of the Ealdermen of the principal Tribes of a Clan in *Germany*,

they had probably the ſame Buſineſs in our Witenagemotes, that the Chiefs of ſuch Tribes had in the general Aſſembly of the Clan in *Germany*. To theſe Lords of capital Manors, we muſt join the chief Officers of State, and the King's Relations; who were called there as Senators or Counſellors by the King; for with reſpect to the Officers of State, and thoſe of Royal Blood, our Kings ſeem to have a greater Power than the Kings of *Germany* had: They appointed moſt of the former, and had a Power of giving to the others a Place as Senators in our national Aſſemblies. To theſe we muſt likewiſe add, the Deputies from our Cities and Royal Boroughs; for as every one of them in their corporate Capacity was a Lord of a capital Manor, and as they could not appear in the Witenagemote in their corporate Capacity, they ſent each a Deputy or Deputies, who ſate in the Witenagemote, and had the ſame Privileges that other Lords of Manors had. Theſe are they, I believe, who were called *Procuratores* in a Witenagemote held in the Reign of *Kenwolf* King of *Mercia*; and they are called by the ſame Name in *Æthelſtan*'s Charter to the Abbey of *Abingdon*; for tho' this be a new Meaning put upon that *Latin* Word, yet, I believe, upon Conſideration, it will appear more natural, and more conſonant to the *Saxon* Form of Government, than any that has been hitherto put upon it.

This Speech to be concluded, and the Debate continued in our next.

Common Senſe, Jan. 20. N° 103.

The ART *and* MISCHIEF *of* DIVIDING.

Divide & impera.

SIR,

THE Union of a People has been ever found their ſtrongeſt Support; it has not only enabled ſome very ſmall States to reſiſt the moſt potent Empires, but it has alſo raiſed them to a Pitch of Greatneſs, which, in their Turn, render'd them formidable.

There are few Inſtances of Conqueſts from without, where inteſtine Diviſions have not firſt open'd a Way to the *Arms of the Invaders*; and there is not one ſingle Example of *domeſtick Tyranny*, which does not owe its Riſe to this Cauſe. The *Friends* of *Oppreſſion* can never be more than a *Party*, and they can only ſucceed by dividing *thoſe* into *Parties*, whoſe *collected Strength* would prove too powerful for them to conquer. This Truth is ſo clearly demonſtrable, that it gives us the ſureſt Teſt by which to try the different *Deſigns* of Men, and to mark out the *Invaders* from the *Friends of Liberty*.

To divide thoſe who are to be deſtroy'd is the *oldeſt* and the moſt *univerſally practiſed Maxim* of *Tyrants*, and is ſo viſibly calculated for its *deteſtable End*, that it is itſelf a Demonſtration of the Deſign. A *Stratagem* ſo well *known*, and ſo often brought into *Execution*, one ſhould think would be hardly ſufficient to *impoſe* ſtill upon the *World*; but the Fact is otherwiſe, the *Device* ſtill *ſucceeds*; nor ſhould I be ſurprized, if ſome *truly pious* and *ſage Divines* would conſtrue its repeated and wonderful Succeſſes, into a miraculous Effect of the *Hand* of *Providence*, *eſtabliſhing* and *ſupporting* the *divine Right of Kings*.

But *this Maxim* is not confined alone to the *Service* of *crown'd Heads*; it may equally ſerve for every *Scheme* of *Power* in all the *ſubordinate Spheres* of *Government*, and be employed to ſecure an unjuſt *Monopoly* of *Authority* and *Wealth* to an *ambitious* and *rapacious Miniſter*. Such a Man, under *monarchical Government*, will firſt *ſeparate* the *King* from his *People*, but chiefly

chiefly from *those* who *best* deserve *Favour*, that he may engross it, *intire* to *himself*; he will *weaken* and *remove* all the *natural Supports* of the *Throne*, and substitute *Devices* and *Expedients* of his *own* in their Stead, to which no other Minister would descend. When this is done, he will easily prove every other Man *unfit* to supply his *Place*, he will shew how essential *he* and his *Power* are to the Security of *that* which *leans wholly upon them*, and from thence demonstrate that every Assault on him threatens Ruin to the entire Fabrick.

Thus rivetted and secured, he will form a *Party* for *himself*, of *those*, who by the *Weakness* of their *Understandings*, the *Necessity* of their *Circumstances*, and the *Meanness* and *Depravity* of their *Hearts*, are the easiest *bribed* into *any Measures*, are the most *obsequious Instruments* in the *Execution* of *them*. Thus he shall compose a *chosen People* from the *Poor*, the *Dull*, and the *Wicked*, but with *Necks* more *pliant* and *supple*, than that *favour'd Generation*'s, of whom we read in the *sacred Story*.

Those who wear the *Marks* of his *political Reprobation*, the *Brave*, the *Wise*, and the *Honest*, he will endeavour to render *suspicious* to the *Multitude*, and to *each other*; he will revive among them *antient* and *exploded Prejudices*; he will frighten the *Weak* and the *Credulous*, with *fabled Apparitions* of a long since *departed Spirit*; he will impute to *some*, ambitious *Designs* and *self-interested Views*, distinct from the *common Object*; to *others*, the *Mistakes* and *Follies* of their *Youth*; as if *Errors* in *Judgment* were never to be amended by *succeeding Reflection* and *Experience*; *Prejudice of Education*, never to be got the better of, by *Truth* and *enlightened Reason*; and, lastly, as if a *total Alteration* of *Circumstances* could not render *that* glaringly *criminal* at *one Time*, which, *at another*, might have worn a more *favourable Appearance*.

But if there should be *one*, who, by the Felicity of his *Birth* and *Education*, was early enter'd in the *glorious Cause* of *Liberty*, to which he ever after *adhered*; if bless'd with an ample *paternal* Fortune, he gave equal Proofs of a *disinterested Spirit*, when in *publick Employments*, and of a *prudent OEconomy*, in his *domestick Management*; if, by a *Temper* thus happily composed, *saving* but not *avaritious*, he is equally removed from *Desires of Gain*, or Fears of Want; if there be *such a Man* of *unblemish'd Morals*, of a *superior Understanding*, and of a *Spirit sensible*, perhaps too much so, to the *least Reproach*; what can *Ministerial Malice* invent to defame him? *What* can be *devised* by the *Tools* of *Power*, much less *proposed* to *such a Man*, which their own corrupt Minds could think sufficient to make him part with a *Character* and *Name*, which no *Fortune* and no *Place* or *Title* can equal?

But if, in Despite of *Truth*, *Reason*, and *Probability*, *Calumnies* will be devised, reflecting on *such a Person*; if, for this End, *absurd Tales* be framed, to *impose* upon the *Publick*; should not *they* resent it as an *Indignity* offer'd to their *Understandings*?

Such an Attempt would, no doubt, be received by every one with suitable *Scorn* and *Indignation*, except *those* who have been long taught to *refuse nothing*. It would link *those* firmer together whom it would be *intended to divide*, and inspire, with new *Spirit*, an *Opposition* to *those*, who would thus give new Proofs of their *Insufficiency* to govern, by the *Absurdity* and *Meanness* of their *Expedients*; and of their Designs to *destroy*, by their *Attempts* to *disunite*.

Uni-

Universal Spectator, Jan. 20. N° 537.

The Force of CUSTOM.

SIR,

THE Empire of *Cuſtom* is, of all others, not only the firmeſt and moſt immoveable, but the moſt extenſive and univerſal: It influences all Ages, People, and Nations; ſways alike the Learned and the moſt Illiterate, and has in its Chains the greateſt Potentate and the meaneſt Slave.

It makes the worſt Climate as agreeable as the beſt, and the moſt barren Region as pleaſing as the moſt fruitful; it makes extreme Cold not to pinch under the Poles, nor extreme Heat to ſcorch under the Æquator; Ice and Snow it makes as delightful to the Inhabitants of *Greenland*, as the moſt odoriferous, flowery Scenes to thoſe of *Arabia Felix*; it gives an Elegance of Feature to a thick Lip, or a flat Noſe, and Delicacy of Complexion to the moſt tawny Skin; it makes the moſt ſalutiferous Things do us no good, and the moſt noxious no harm; it deſtroys the Effect of the moſt wholſome Phyſick, and makes Poiſon itſelf, not only harmleſs, but nutritious.

It makes a low Station in Life as agreeable as a high one; a Cottage as happy as a Palace; Plainneſs and Simplicity as entertaining as Pomp and Pageantry; and a mean, ordinary Diet as reliſhing and grateful as the richeſt and moſt luxurious; it turns Averſions into Inclinations, Indifference into Eſteem, and Hatred itſelf into Fondneſs.

My Lord *Bacon* obſerves, upon the Tyranny of *Cuſtom*, 'That among the 'Indians, the Sect of their wiſe Men, 'lay themſelves quietly upon a Stack 'of Wood, and ſo ſacrifice them- 'ſelves by Fire; and that the Wives 'ſtrive to be buried by the Corpſes 'of their Huſbands.' Tho' theſe Things may be done by them, in a great Meaſure, out of a miſtaken religious Principle, yet it is Cuſtom, no doubt, which contributes mightily to reconcile their Thoughts to them.

They who have been accuſtom'd to frequent Calamities and Misfortunes, bear them in a quite different Manner from thoſe who have *not* been ſo accuſtom'd; the Weight of them is comparatively light upon his Shoulders, who has been long loaded with them. A Man is harden'd by the Exerciſe of Endurance, the Mind being in this Reſpect like the Body, which the more it is exercis'd with hard Labour, the more able it is to undergo it; not being weaken'd, but ſtrengthen'd by it.

It has ſuch a Power over us, that it makes ſome of the Organs of Senſe tranſmit the uſual Operations of external Objects, without our Perception of them; it makes Noiſe as ſedate as Silence, and Motion as ſtill as Reſt.

It makes us regardleſs of Harmony, and not diſpleas'd with Diſcord; it makes us neither value our Health, nor murmur at Sickneſs; it makes us in many Caſes both inſenſible of our Happineſs, and forgetful of our Miſery; it makes ſome Wives very little delighted with the beſt of Huſbands, and others very little diſturb'd with the worſt. I have read of a certain People in the World, 'That it is a common Rule 'among them, if the Woman be 'not beaten by her Huſband with 'a Whip once a Week, ſhe will not 'be good, and therefore they look 'for it orderly; and the Women 'ſay, that if their Huſbands did 'not beat them, they ſhould not 'love them.' What is it but *Cuſtom* that can make Huſbands ſo brutiſh, as to diſcipline their Wives in ſuch a Manner; or the Wives ſo weak as to think this Diſcipline of the Whip neceſſary to teach them to love their Huſbands?

When

When *Alcibiades* wonder'd how *Socrates* had ſo much Patience, that he could bear at home the Noiſe of his brawling Wife, *Xantippe*, that Philoſopher anſwer'd him, 'I have 'been ſo long accuſtom'd to it, that 'I regard it no more, than if I was 'to hear the Noiſe of a Wheel, that 'draws Water out of a Well.'

As many Things are liked for no other Reaſon but becauſe we have been uſed to them, ſo many Things are diſliked only becauſe we have not been uſed to them. I have heard a Man ſay, that he is now almoſt as ſick, if he has not a Pipe of Tobacco, as he was when he try'd to ſmoke his firſt Pipe.

All our Virtues, to arrive at any Degree of Perfection, muſt be confirm'd by Cuſtom; either Virtue or Vice, when become habitual, is proceeding apace to its Maturity; and the farther it has gone, the ſpeedier Advances is it making.

Cuſtom is weak, and but ſmall at its Beginning; but if either encourag'd, or ſuffer'd to go on, it grows amazingly ſtrong, and attains an immenſe Stature: In its Infancy, it is in our Power to check and deſtroy it at Pleaſure; but it is one of the moſt difficult Things in the World to be conquer'd, when it is eſtabliſh'd by Age.

Let a Man give over any Way of Life he has been long employ'd in, and the Want of Employment will be as troubleſome to him, as Labour itſelf to one brought up in Lazineſs and Indolence.

Cuſtom gives ſuch a Turn and Bent to the Mind, that it muſt be a long Time after we have given it over, before we can recover the Mind to its firſt Straitneſs; and then ſome Time is requir'd again, before we can bend it any other Way.

Thoſe, whoſe Lives are conſtantly changing from one Object to another, are as much under the Power of Cuſtom as any other People; becauſe, tho' they are not accuſtom'd to any particular Action or Buſineſs, they are, which is the ſame Thing, accuſtom'd to act upon one and the ſame *Principle*, a Principle of Levity and Inconſtancy, to which they are equally enſlav'd with thoſe, over whom Cuſtom exerciſes its Dominion another Way.

A remarkable Occurrence in the Place where I am, occaſion'd the foregoing Reflections: As it is *really* a true one, I will relate it to you.

The Lady of a very corpulent Gentleman being lately indiſpos'd, thought proper to have a Bed to herſelf, that ſhe might repoſe the better by lying alone: But ſhe was quite miſtaken; for inſtead of ſleeping better without her Huſband, ſhe could not ſleep at all; and the Reaſon of it, which may ſeem a very odd one, was this; that ſhe found ſhe wanted her Huſband, who was a loud *Snorer*, to ſnore her aſleep; her *not* hearing this Noiſe being as great a Hindrance to her Reſt, as the hearing it would have been to one not uſed to it.

Craftſman, Jan. 20. N° 654.

Of the Duty of Magiſtrates, Penal Laws, &c.

SIR,

THE Unſteadineſs in human Nature proceeds more from *Affections* than *Reaſon*. *Tempers* differ, and *Faſhions* change; but, in Matters of *Judgment* moſt agree. I would not be underſtood to mean any Thing farther than what is neceſſary for *Order* and *Society*. This Opinion the *great Law-giver* himſelf ſeems to confirm, when he gave that Command, *Do as you would be done by*, which ſubmits to an equitable Determination of the reſpective Agent, thoſe Actions, by which others are influenc'd. *This Injunction* is founded on *Truth* and *Juſtice*. Conſcience and Self-conviction

viction are the ſtrongeſt Evidences to produce the *former*; and when that is clear'd, but a ſmall Share of Capacity is required to judge *uprightly*, according to *this Law*. As the Word *Power* is taken in the common Acceptation, there is no ſuch Thing lodg'd with any Man; I mean, every Body is enjoin'd to follow the Dictates of *Reaſon* and *Virtue*; and, as human Perfection will aid, to ſhun the Enticements of *Vice* and *perſonal Affections*. Every Breach of *this Law* is an Injuſtice to Mankind in general; and the higher Stations *thoſe Perſons* are placed in, who tranſgreſs it, there is the greater Number of *Sufferers*. Nothing can be more contrary to the Intent of *this divine Command*, than thoſe common Poſitions; *that* Princes *may beſtow their Favours as they pleaſe, and every Body may do what they will with* their own; for, according to *this ſacred Doctrine*, we are not allowed to make any partial, or corrupt Uſes of whatever we are poſſeſs'd.

Princes, were the Partiality of *Self* ſet aſide, would not beſtow their Favours where there was not ſome Merit. I do not mean the Merit of flattering *favourite Vices*; or gaining Power for *arbitrary Purpoſes*; but ariſing from *Juſtice* and *Benevolence*. *Miniſters* would not, in this Caſe, grow rich, at the Expence of the *Publick*. *Soldiers* would not plunder the *Innocent* and *Defenceleſs*. The *Spaniard* would not invade our *Property*, or we ourſelves the *Liberty* and *Property* of one another. In following *this Law*, the *Judge* would put himſelf into the State of the *Priſoner*, and with Concern pronounce that Sentence, which his Office obliges him to do. Had *this Law* generally prevail'd, *penal Laws* would have been uſeleſs; for each Man, being endow'd with the ſame good Diſpoſition, towards his *Neighbour* as *himſelf*, would have been more concern'd about doing *Right*, than afraid of loſing *Poſſeſſions*. *Ambition* and *Avarice* would have had no Exiſtence; but *Diffidence* and *Fear of Partiality*, in our Caſes, might have made it expedient to ſubſtitute *Magiſtrates*, who would have been choſen from amongſt the *wiſeſt of the People*. *Juſtice* would never have been delay'd; for as *Stipendiaries* think they cannot do too little for their Wages, *virtuous Men* are indefatigable in their Purſuits of doing good. The Jargon of *Weſtminſter-Hall* would have been as uſeleſs, as it hath been pernicious.—In all Probability, this was one of the Perfections, which the Error of our *firſt Parents* loſt. But that is a Speculation very remote.—It is certain, that we find ourſelves in a very different Situation; and that *Vice* rides triumphant, in Defiance of *Pains*, *Penalties*, and the *ſtricteſt Laws*, that can be made.

Extruite immanes ſcopulos, attollite turres;
Cingite vos fluviis; vaſtas opponite ſylvas;
Non dabitis murum ſceleri ——
Claudian. con. Hon. IV. *p.* 633.

It would be needleſs to prove, that, let *Laws* be ever ſo wiſely ordain'd, if they are not vigorouſly executed, it were better they had never been made; tho' in our own Country, when the *Legiſlature* hath had *Bills* under Conſideration, I have heard a certain Set of People, *without Doors*, argue for paſſing a *Bill, in Terrorem*, tho' at the ſame Time they could not deny that it was too ſevere for *Execution*. I have been aſtoniſh'd to think how ſtrangely ignorant, or knaviſh, and how ready for Slavery *ſuch Wretches* muſt be. Surely, *Laws* not fit to be *executed* are not fit to be *made*.

On the contrary, I think, where *Offences* are frequently and notoriouſly committed, and the *Laws* againſt them not duly executed, for a certain Time, *ſuch Laws* ought to be abrogated of Courſe, without

any particular Repeal of the *Legiſlature*; for a Nation that can ſubſiſt without puniſhing *Offenders*, may ſubſiſt without the *Power of puniſhing them*. This might poſſibly be attended with the good Conſequence of making *Magiſtrates* exert themſelves; and the Fear of loſing *Laws*, would be a Sort of Obligation to have them *duly executed*; which might, in ſome Degree, prevent any colluſive Gain made by *trading Juſtices*, if there ever ſhould be *ſuch Men*.

The *moral Laws* of moſt Nations have been nearly the ſame, in all Ages; and the *Laws* that have been made for many hundred Years paſt, are chiefly calculated to inflict ſtill *greater Puniſhments* on the *ſame Vices*. But the Difference is not ſo great in the *Laws* themſelves, as in the *Magiſtrates*; the Vigilance and Steadineſs of the *latter* would be much more conducive to the Well-ordering of a Nation, than *ſevere* and *ſanguinary Puniſhments*.

The *greateſt Puniſhments* are deſign'd for the *greateſt* and *moſt hardn'd Offenders*; but *Vice*, before it becomes habitual, may be eaſily check'd; and that is the Duty of a *careful Magiſtrate*. Would not a *Magiſtrate* deſerve much better of his Country, who preſerv'd the Lives of Men, by forcing them into *Induſtry* and *Labour*, than in procuring them to be hang'd for *Offences*, which *Idleneſs* and *Want* had tempted them to commit? Tho' the *latter* ought to be done, the *former* ought not to be left undone.

The Integrity and Gravity of *Miniſters of Juſtice*, commands an Awe and Reverence from the lower People, and Reſpect from all.

In commune jubes ſi quid, cenſeſque tenendum,
Primus juſſa ſubi; tunc obſervantior æqui
Fit populus; nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipſum
Authorem parere ſibi; componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum; nec ſic inflectere ſenſus
Humanos edicta *valent, ut vita* regentis.
Claud. con. Hon. 4. v. 206.

This was very good Advice to a *young Emperor*; and in *free States*, where the *People* have the greateſt Share in making *their own Laws*, it is likewiſe good Advice to the *ſubordinate Magiſtrates*.

Where *Magiſtrates* are diſſolute in their *Morals*, or partial in the Adminiſtration of the *Laws*; if they aſſume a Power of diſpenſing with *ſome Laws*, and to *ſome People*, whilſt they put *others* rigorouſly in Force, which they know will be agreeable to their *Pay-Maſters*, or threaten to put others in Force, from which moſt Contributions may be raiſed, ſuch *polluted Management* will render the *Laws* themſelves odious.

The *bare Increaſe of a Crime*, is not always a Reaſon for making *Puniſhments more ſevere*. *Cautious Law-Makers* ought to have full Satisfaction, that the *Magiſtrates* have done their Duty, and that the Growth of the Offence hath ariſen from the *Inſufficiency of the Law*, and not from any Neglect in the *Miniſters of Juſtice*; for, if the Defect is owing to *them*, it would be as ridiculous to give *thoſe Men* larger Powers, who did not know how to uſe what they had already, as to put a Sword into the Hands of a *Madman*.

Nemo prudens punit, quia peccatum eſt, ſed ne peccetur. But if *Vengeance* is more concern'd in the forming of *Laws* than *Juſtice*; if *ſevere Penalties* are encreas'd, upon the Suggeſtion of a *few*; or, perhaps, on account of a *private Pique*, and to ſerve *particular Ends*; they are Shots at Random amongſt a Croud, by which many will be hurt, but no Body knows upon whom the Bullet may light. The moſt *conſiderate Magiſtrates* will execute *ſuch Laws* with Reluctance; and the ſeverer the *Penalties* are, the greater will be the Oppoſition and Diſobedience of the People *Such partial Laws* will never be ſubmitted to, in the *ordinary Courſe of Juſtice*; and when-

ever it is neceſſary to add *extraordinary Force*, in the Place of *legal Authority*, to aid the *civil Power*; I ſay, whenever theſe Things happen in a Country, that ever was *free*, let them boaſt of their *Conſtitution* and *Liberties* as much as they pleaſe; but their wiſe Neighbours will ſhake their Heads, and either pity or inſult their forlorn Condition.

Of *all Delinquents*, none can do ſo much Miſchef as *Miniſters* and *Magiſtrates*. Common Rogueries fall upon Particulars only; but the Miſdeeds of *Rulers* may be *publick Calamities*. Whoever therefore injudiciouſly curbs the *People*, in order to encreaſe the Power of *Place-Men*, ties up a *Dwarf* to unſhackle a *Giant*. It is the ſame Thing as if one's *Head* was to be cut off, in order to cure the *Tooth-ach*.

The mildeſt Execution of *penal Laws* cannot juſtify a *ſuperfluous Addition of Power*; for *Policy* may produce a *temporary Lenity*. But when *Miniſters* and *Magiſtrates* are earneſt to multiply *penal Laws*, and not as vigorous in the *Execution of them*, it may be more ſtrongly concluded, that they act from a *Thirſt of Power*, not a *Principle of Juſtice*, and that their leaſt Aim is the making People *honeſt*.

Let *Solon*'s Reflection be a Warning to *us*. "If you now ſmart, *ſaid he*, blame not the *heavenly Powers*; for they are good. The Fault is only *our own*. We gave him all our *Forts*; we took the *Chain*, and now he makes us *Slaves*; yet we complain."

I have often conſider'd, whether it would not be moſt adviſeable, in a *free State*, to have but *few penal Laws*, and thoſe not very *ſevere*, but to be executed *without Remiſſion*. A *Prince*, let him be ever ſo wiſe and good, cannot judge of *proper Objects* for his Forgiveneſs, but as repreſented by *Perſons about him*; and how conſcientious *ſuch Men* are not to miſuſe the *Royal Clemency*, or how deteſtable it will be in them to barter their *Maſter's Mercy*, in order to fill their *own Pockets*, we may eaſily gueſs, if the *Courtiers* and *Miniſters* of this Age are like thoſe mention'd in Hiſtory; for, in *Ben. Johnſon*'s Time, there ſeems to have been ſomething of this Kind of Traffick in *England*;

Ridway *robb'd* Duncote *of three hundred pound,*
Ridway *was taken, arraign'd, and condemn'd to die,*
But for his money was a courtier *found*
Begg'd Ridway's *pardon*—Duncote *now doth cry,*
Robb'd both of money, *and the* law's *relief,*
The courtier *is become the greateſt thief.*

It is a very wiſe Maxim, never to place more Power in *any Branch of a State*, than what is abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the *whole*. *Power* is the Offspring of *Vice*, and a very *tender* and *careful Daughter* ſhe makes; for ſhe never lets her *Parent* want any Thing ſhe can procure her. Let it be always remember'd, that *People in Power*, who want to *enlarge* it, are endeavouring to incroach upon *others*; and *thoſe*, who deſire to reſtrain them, are only ſtruggling to ſecure themſelves.

What pow'r was fit, I did on all beſtow,
Nor rais'd the poor *too high, nor preſs'd too low*
The rich, *that rul'd, and every office bore;*
Confin'd by laws, *they could not hurt the poor.*
Both parties *I ſecur'd from lawleſs might;*
So none prevail'd upon another's right.
See Plutarch's *Life of* Solon.

In raiſing *Taxes*, *Exciſes upon Home-Conſumption*, &c. it may be neceſſary (for the *Support of Government*, and to encourage *beneficial Commerce*) to make *penal Laws*, and to render Actions *puniſhable*, which before were *no Crimes in themſelves*. But the *Exigency of State* only can juſtify *theſe Laws*; which ſhould be very cautiouſly and ſparingly made; for as *that Man* is beſt, who hath the *feweſt Faults*, ſo *that Country* will be moſt virtuous, which hath the *feweſt Snares* and *Temptations for Offences*.

Theſe Laws are commonly put under

under the Management of *Magiſtrates*, who are paid for their *Time* and *Care*. Their *Strictneſs* recommends them to *farther Preferment*, and their Neglect loſes them a *beneficial Office*. The *ſubordinate Magiſtrates*, who have the Execution of the *Laws*, merely *moral*, are not upon this Foot in many Countries; ſo that unleſs they are endow'd with a more than ordinary Share of *Virtue* and *publick Spirit*, there can be no great Wonder that the *moral Laws* fall aſleep, whilſt the *others* will not let any Body reſt.

Where the Penalties of *theſe Laws* are burthenſome; when it is equally, and as ſeverely puniſhable, to *defraud the Cuſtoms*, as to *break an Houſe*, the common People will ſoon learn to make no Difference. All the Conſideration will be, where is the *beſt Booty*. Thus *Murders*, *Robberies*, and all *Breaches* of *moral Laws*, as well as the *Invaſion of Property*, will become more familiar and frequent, where *penal Laws* abound. The *Remiſſion of Crimes* may enlarge *Power* equal to the beſtowing of *Largeſſes*; and it is a much cheaper Benefaction, for all Men had much rather be freed from *Puniſhment* than gain *Preferment*; and the Exaction of a *Fine*, which might poſſibly ruin a *Man* and his Family, might terrify him into a *Reſiſtance*, where a *Bribe*, of a much greater Value, would not be receiv'd; for in a *Country*, ſo circumſtanc'd, I can eaſily conceive, that a *Man in Trade* may innocently fall within the *Letter of the Laws*. When there are any *popular Elections*, how fatally *this Truſt* may be us'd by *bad Men*, is very evident.

Common Senſe, N° 102.

WE juſt mention'd, in our Paper of the 6th (ſee p. 3, 4.) that the Projector had written a Farce; ſince which, a Copy of it was ſent us by a Perſon to whom it was communicated. It muſt be obſerv'd, that the Projector, his Brother, the Poet Laureat, and 16 of the *Gazetteer* Authors, having join'd all their Heads together, the following Piece was produced, and was to have been acted by the *French* Players, if they had continued here this Winter. [*The Introduction, which is in* French, *is thus tranſlated.*]

The SCENE *is* PARIS.

The SCHOOL *of* POLITICKS: *Or*, PANTALON *made a Miniſter. Being a Parody of the laſt Scene of the* Malade Imaginaire, *of* Moliere.

THE Scene opens with the Proceſſion of the Miniſterial Faculty, to the Sound of Muſick.

The Collectors of the Cuſtoms, the Officers of the Poſt-Office, the Clerks of the Treaſury, the Directors of the ſeveral Companies, the Court Chaplains, Doctor *Codex*, a Troop of Penſioners conſiſting of Perſons of all Profeſſions, the Poet Laureat, Mother *Oſborne*, the Lord *Fanny*, the Chevalier *Billy*, Pimps, Spies and Informers, walk croſs the Stage.

After theſe move, two by two, the Commiſſioners of all the Taxes; then the Doctors in Politicks; who place themſelves on each Side of the Stage.

The Preſident is dreſt in a large Perriwig, made of Bank Notes curl'd up; his Coat is lined with Army Debentures, turn'd up and trimm'd with Navy Debentures; his Shoulder-Knot is made of the Bank Contract, and Forage Contract: — He has a large Purſe, full of Guineas, tied to his Waiſt, which he diſtributes among the Company before he takes his Place.

The firſt Doctor is in the Habit of a *Harlequin*, his Coat being loaded with Treaties, Preliminaries, Conventions, Memorials, &c.

The Preſident is ſeated in an

arm'd Chair placed in the Middle of the Stage; *Pantalon*, who is to be receiv'd a Miniſter, is placed upon a ſmall Chair at the lower End.

The reſt being *Latin*, we ſhall refer ſuch of our Readers as do not underſtand that Language, to the Vicar of the Pariſh to tranſlate it for them.

Le Preſident.

SAvantiſſimi Doctores,
Politici Profeſſores,
Qui hic aſſemblati eſtis;
Et vos alteri Meſſiores,
Commiſſionares & Collectores,
Inimici de les *Tories*;
Atque tota Campagnia,
Sit Vobiſcum Harmonia,
Salus, Favor, & Argentum,
Atque bonum Appetitum.
Non poſſum, Docti Confreri,
En moi ſatis Admireri,
Qualis bona Inventio
Eſt Politica Profeſſio,
Quæ, ſuo nomine ſolo,
Facit a Jogo vivere
Tant des Gens omni Genere.
Dunque il eſt noſtræ Sapientiæ,
Boni Senſus atque Prudentiæ,
De fortment travailliare
A nos bene conſervare,
Et prendere Guardam a non recivere
In noſtro Corpore Indocto
Quam Perſonas incapabiles
Et totas Dignas remplire
Iſtas Plaças honorabiles.
C'eſt pour cela, que nunc convocati eſtis
Et credo quod trouvabitis
Dignam Materiam Miniſtri
In Savanti Homine, que voici,
Quem dono ad interrogandum,
Et a Fond Examinandum,
Veſtris Incapacitatibus.

Premier Docteur.

Si mihi Licentiam dat Dominus Præſes,
Et tanti Docti Doctores,
Et Aſſiſtantes Illuſtres,
Au tres ſavanti Candidato,
Quem æſtimo & honoro,
Demandabo Cauſam & Rationem quare
Argentum facit bene votare?

Pantalon.

Mihi a docto Doctore
Demandatur Cauſam & Rationem quare,
Argentum facit bene votare?
A quoi reſpondeo,
Quia eſt in eo
Virtus dormitiva,
Cujus eſt natura
Conſcientiam aſſoupire.

Chœur.

Bene, Bene, reſpondiſti;
Dignus, Dignus, es intrare
In noſtro docto Corpore.

Second Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
Quid, in Affaris Forinibus,
Convenit facere?

Pantalon.

A Principio Bravare,
Poſtea Guarantare,
Enſuita Mediare.

Chœur.

Bene, Bene, &c. *ut ſupra.*

Troſieme Docteur.

Mais ſi duo Puiſſances,
Imperator & Hollandoiſes
Non volunt agreare,
B Quid Methodum trouvare?

Pantalon.

Cum Ambobus Traitare,
Ambos Guarantare,
Cum Ambobus Rumpare.

Quatrieme Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
Si habes Expedimentum,
C Bene Probatum & Inventum,
Tenere ſemper Contentum
Liberum noſtrum *****?

Pantalon.

Plaças multas donare,
Poſtea haranguare,
Enſuita votare.

Cinquieme Docteur.

Sed ſi P——
D Electum ſit male-contentum,
Vult Miniſtrum chaſſere,
Quid illi facere?

Pantalon.

Houſam bene purgare,
Novas Plaças creare,
Poſtea haranguare,
Enſuita votare.

Sixſieme Docteur.

E Docte Domine Candidate,
Propono tibi ad reſpondendum,
Quid eſt nobis faciendum,
Si *Diego* non vult accommodare,
Si Navitas vult plunderare
Merchandas noſtras maſſacrare,
Et Oreillos Matellorum amputare?

Pantalon.

F Flotam magnam aſſemblare,
Poſtea multo fanforonare,
Sub Pœnâ Mortis Ordonare
Admirallos de non battare.

Septieme Docteur.

Demandabo tibi, Docte Candidate,
Quid ad E—— governandam,
Et Animas noſtras conſervandam,
Trouvas a propos facere?
G *Pantalon.*

Beneficium donare,
Poſtea conſecrare,
Enſuita tranſlatare.

Huitieme Docteur.

Super iſtas Policias
Doctus Candidatus dixit Miravillias:
Mais, ſi non ennuio Dominum Præſidem,
Doctiſſimam Facultatem,
Et totam honorabilem
Companiam econtantem,
Faciam illi unam Queſtionem,
Cum exercitu in Pace
Quid convenit facere?

Pantalon.

Soldieros Powderare,
Officieros far votare,
Malvotantes caſhierare.

Cbœur.

Bene, Bene, reſpondiſti, &c. *ut ſupra.*

Le Preſident a *Pantalon.*

Juras guardare Statuta
Per Facultatem præſcripta,
Sine Senſu aut Jugeamento?

Pantalon.

Juro.

Le Preſident.

Eſſere, in Omnibus
Debatis & Queſtionibus,
Meo Aviſo,
Aut bono, aut mauvaiſo?

Pantalon.

Juro.

Le Preſident.

De non jamais ſervire
Miniſtris aucunis
Quam nobis præſentibus
Pro Amicis noſtris providentibus,
La Nation dût elle crevare,
Et tota *Europa* abimare?

Pantalon.

Juro.

Le Preſident.

Ego, cum bono Stipendio,
Dono tibi, & concedo,
Virtutem & Puiſſanciam
Traitandi,
Guarantandi,
Mediandi,
Blunderandi,
Confoundendi,
Corrumpendi,
Pillagendi,
Stockjobbandi,
Ruinandi,
Dominandi,
Impunè per totam Nationem.

Les Exciſemen, Commiſſionaires, &c. *vienent faire la Reverence en Cadence a* Pantalon.

Pantalon.

Miniſtres Eminentiſſimi
Tuque Præſes prudentiſſime,
Ce ſeroit, ſans Doute, a moi Choſa folla
Inepta & ridicula,
Vobis Louangeas donare,
Qui non Louangeas deſervatis,
Nec d'etre blamati curatis,
Dummodo bene mangeatis,
Et Plaças veſtras poſſidetis;
Agreate que, avec meo Voto,
Pro toto Remerciamento,
Rendam Gratiam Corpori tam Docto;
Vobis, Vobis debeo
Bien plus que a Naturæ, & a Patri meo.
Natura, & Pater meus,
Duncium me habent factum;
A Mais vous (ce que eſt bien plus)
Me havetis factum Miniſtrum,
Qui hoc in Corpore, que viola,
Imprimat Reſentimentum
Quod durerà tant que meum Employmentum.

Cbœur.

Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat,
Novus Miniſtrus, qui tam bene reſpondit,
Mille, Mille Annis, & mangeat, & parlet,
B Et parlet, & negotiet, & bibet.

Les Commiſſaires, &c. *danſant au Son des Inſtruments.*

Premier Docteur.

Puiſſe toti Anni
Luy eſſere boni,
Et favorabiles,
Et non habere jamai
C Quam courtas Seſſiones
Parvas Oppoſitiones,
Et magnas Acquiſitiones.

Exeunt Omnes.

Anglice.——Away with them all.

Daily Gazetteer, Jan. 22. N° 1119.

To the Gentlemen that met at Salters-
D Hall *on* Wedneſday *the 9th of* November *laſt. (Vol.* VII. *p.* 570.*)*

Gentlemen,

THERE is no Man who has a true Value for our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, but muſt have
E a ſenſible Concern for the Situation you are in with Reſpect to the *Corporation and Teſt Acts*. Thoſe who were the moſt particularly acquainted with your glorious Behaviour towards the End of a late Reign, muſt be the moſt ſenſibly touch'd on this Account. Of this Number, in both
F theſe Reſpects, I acknowledge myſelf to be one: And I frankly declare, that none of the leaſt Pleaſures I expected, on the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*'s ſucceeding to this Crown, was to ſee you immediately put into a Capacity of being re-
G warded, with the moſt deſerving Subjects of *Great Britain*. But alas! this moſt deſirable Event, tho' upon the very Brink of being brought about,

about, unfortunately miſcarried, and from that fatal Hour no Opportunity has ever ſince offered itſelf to reſume ſo righteous a Work: And, indeed, I do not wonder that you are in ſome Meaſure uneaſy; and this Uneaſineſs, I apprehend, chiefly A ariſes from your Suſpicion that your *Friends*, or in other Words, the *Whigs*, when in Power, never had any Inclination, or ſo much as any Thought of taking the Yoke off your Necks, and conſequently never will. Now, I believe, it will B be doing you an agreeable Office, if I could ſatisfy you, that in this Matter you are not fully informed: Tho' one would wonder how you ſhould ever come to doubt of the Whigs Inclination to ſerve you, becauſe ſerving you, is ſerving themC ſelves. You and we mean the ſame Thing; *Liberty in the State*, that is, to be govern'd by known Laws, and not by the arbitrary Will of one Man: *Liberty in the Church*, that is, to worſhip God thro' Chriſt, according to the Dictates of a Man's D Conſcience, freely, and without any poſitive or negative Compulſion: Theſe are the Points we both alike purſue; thoſe that oppoſe us, act upon directly oppoſite Principles: *Slavery in the State*, that is, *A Jure Divino Tyrant*, whoſe Will is his E only Law: *Slavery in the Church*, that is, *Forms* inſtead of *Piety*, and every Kind of Compulſion, the moſt horrid to Nature, and the moſt barbarous that can be invented. In this Situation, how is it poſſible but your Friends would be glad to F ſtrengthen your Hands, and weaken thoſe of the common Enemy? However, as nothing of this Kind has been effectually done, (after ſo long waiting) it is not ſtrange you ſhould have ſome Apprehenſion nothing was ever intended to be done. To re-G move this Miſtake, give me Leave to acquaint you with a Fact, of which, perhaps, none of you have been appriz'd.

As ſoon as the unnatural Rebellion in the firſt Year of his late Majeſty's Reign, was happily quell'd, a moſt excellent Perſon in every Reſpect, and who was deſervedly reſtored, upon the Succeſſion's taking Place, to the higheſt *Civil Poſt* in the Nation, from whence he had been removed for his Zeal to that Succeſſion: This great Man finding the Time to be come, when Juſtice might be done to you, and the true Proteſtant Intereſt ſecured for ever, according to all human Probability, propos'd two Laws to his Majeſty; the firſt was, *An Act to take off the Teſt Act as to you*; and at the ſame Time turn the *Corporation Act* upon the firſt Contrivers of it, by giving his Majeſty the ſame Power K. *Charles* II. had over Corporations; which was, to remove all thoſe who he ſhould apprehend were diſaffected to his Government. The other Act which his Lordſhip propos'd, was, *An univerſal Act of Grace to all concerned in the Rebellion*. Theſe two Bills, by his Majeſty's Permiſſion, as in other uncommon Caſes, were to have gone hand in hand, and they certainly had both paſſed into Laws, and I believe without a ſingle Negative in either Houſe, had it not been for the violent Oppoſition of one Perſon (now no more) that hindered them from being propos'd: Neither did his Oppoſition ariſe from the Unreaſonableneſs of doing what you deſire; but from quite another Conſideration, as needleſs as improper to relate. So that here you ſee, Gentlemen, you have not been altogether forgotten by your Friends, ever ſince they had it in their Power to ſerve you: And that with regard to you, they were unanimous, however they might differ in another political Point. I had not mentioned this, but that I thought it neceſſary to remove the great Objection, *That your Friends had never any Thought of ſerving you:*

The

The Concluſion drawn from which Opinion by their and your Enemies, is, *That they never will.* But if this Fact be allowed to be true, as undoubtedly it is, then the Argument turns the other Way; which is, if the *Whigs*, when they were in Power, and had Opportunity, did endeavour to relieve you, and had certainly done it, but for the unfortunate Obſtinacy of one Perſon, they will certainly relieve you, whenever it may be in their Power hereafter: And is there not too much Reaſon to apprehend the ſame Opportunity may ſoon offer itſelf again? Is there not as *evil a Spirit* working in the Nation at this very Juncture as ever was known? It ſtops at nothing! The King, his Miniſters, the Parliament, are all arraigned together! This is ſuch a *Spirit* as never was ſeen in the World before, in a Country where the People are in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Liberty and Property, under the Protection of Laws adminiſtred with the utmoſt Candour, Knowledge and Integrity! And if this Spirit ſhould break out again into open Rebellion, Can you doubt but the ſame Providence, which has ſo often appeared on our Side, will aſſiſt us again? Is this then a Time for us to be quarrelling among ourſelves? But, as what I have juſt now mentioned, is not a Thing to be deſired (tho', if it ſhould happen, we ought to make better Uſe of it than we did before; and indeed we cannot fail of doing it, for Reaſons too obvious to need relating:) As this is not a Thing, I ſay, to be deſired, give me leave to obſerve to you, that there ſeems to be ſomething elſe ariſing in your Favour, from a Quarter where you might have the leaſt Reaſon to expect it: I mean, from thoſe who have behaved hitherto with the greateſt Averſion (not to ſay Acrimony) towards you. There have been ſeveral in the Church of *England* for ſome Years paſt, who have carried their Notions about the Sacrament to ſuch a Pitch of Extravagance, that many of the wiſeſt and moſt learned Divines amongſt them, that have been reckoned the trueſt Supports of the Church, have been ſtartled at the monſtrous Doctrines they have advanced; and one of them has, with great Strength of Reaſon, lately oppos'd them in Print: And if this Argument is carried but a little farther, all that you require may be eaſily granted; at leaſt it will become Perſons of your Diſcretion and Temper, to wait a little to ſee what Turn this Matter may take. Nothing is more common, than for the People of *England* to run from one Extream to another. Many have preach'd for ſome Years paſt, that the *Papiſts* are better than the *Diſſenters*; they have ſaid this ſo long, that the People take them at their Words, and go even a little farther, and think *them* better than *Churchmen*.

This is one of the principal Cauſes why *Popery* has encreaſed ſo prodigiouſly of late Years: But now ſome of the moſt diſcerning of the Clergy begin to ſee, that the Papiſts are juſt ready to get up upon their Backs; and if this Apprehenſion ſhould make them *cry aloud to the People*, the People will ſoon ſee how much they have been impos'd upon: And when utter Deſtruction threatens, the Clergy themſelves may be very glad of your Aſſiſtance. Much ſtranger Things than theſe have happen'd in this Kingdom; and of all the *Junctures* that have been known theſe many Years, *this*, certainly, in a moſt particular Manner, requires you not to run the Hazard of hurting yourſelves and your Friends, by any extraordinary Motion on your Part. Beſides, there is, methinks, one Circumſtance, tho' I believe it is not much attended to, which ought to contribute not a little, towards making you the eaſier

in

in your preſent Situation, hard as it may ſeem to you; and that is, that you are in the ſame Condition with the *greateſt Man* in the Kingdom *; he does not wear the Crown, but upon ſubmitting to the ſame Terms which are requir'd of any one of you, to enjoy whatever Poſt of Honour or Profit you might be rais'd to. And if you will but conſider coolly of the Matter, would it not be ſomething ſtrange, that a greater Indulgence ſhould in any Reſpect be ſhown to a *Subject*, than to the *King* himſelf? And would not this be an odd Sort of an Application to a Prince: "Sir, I deſire your Majeſty to beſtow an Employment or Poſt upon me; but, I hope you will not think I can do that to qualify myſelf for receiving it, which you have done to put yourſelf into a Capacity of being able to beſtow it upon me." I really think this deſerves your ſerious Attention, and to that I ſubmit it. I am, with great Truth,

Yours, &c. UNKNOWN.

Common Senſe, Jan. 27. N° 104.

Of MODERN EDUCATION.

WHEN I reflect on the Manner of Education among the Antients, and compare it with the Modern, I admire the Perfection of the one, and lament the Degeneracy of the other. Good Soldiers, Orators, and Poets, were the Fruits of their Care; whereas, thro' the Luxury and Idleneſs of our Modern Youth, I fear we ſhall find very few of either: Our Children are habituated to Folly, and genteelly learn to prefer faſhionable Vice to obſolete Virtue: They ſuck in Pride and Vanity almoſt with their Milk, and are taught to chatter Nonſenſe before they can ſpeak plain. Our Sex (I mean thoſe of Fortune) only know how to ſtudy Pleaſure and court Idleneſs, to make Luxury their Buſineſs, and Gallantry their Glory. The fair Sex are not more prudently managed; even in Children we ſee Affectation in Miniature, and the Sex's Vanity in four Years old; they give themſelves Airs in hanging-Sleeves, and liſp fluent Nonſenſe in a Bib and Apron: The Toilette is their Altar, and Flattery the Idol; to be admir'd is their ſole Aim; to this they ſacrifice Beauty, Honour, Reputation, and every Thing that only can gain the Empire they aſpire to.

While Children are thus educated, what can we expect, but ſenſeleſs Coxcombs from one Sex, and affected Coquets from the other. When Boys ſip Tea for 2 Hours in a Morning, and Girls loll out 4 or 5 at the Dreſſing-Table, our Men will be effeminate, our Women ridiculous.

The *Romans* inur'd their Youth to Hardſhips, to fit them for early Exploits: They always made them earn their Breakfaſt with pitching Bars, throwing Javelins, hunting wild Beaſts, *&c.* And among the *Baleârides*, the Mothers us'd to ſet up their Childrens Breakfaſts on the Branch of a high Tree, at ſome Diſtance, which the Children were to ſling at and knock down, or go without any Thing that Morning; which tended to eſtabliſh the Character of that People, ſo famous for their Strength and Agility in that Art.

A PROBLEM *uſeful for* NAVIGATORS.

GIVEN the Sun's Altitude and Azimuth at two † Obſervations, on the ſame Forenoon; it is thence required, to find the Latitude of the Place, Day of the Month, and Hour of the Day, when thoſe Obſervations were made? And to give a Theorem in Words?

NAUTILUS.

* *The firſt Condition in the Act of Parliament, which ſettles the Crown on the illuſtrious Houſe of* Hanover, *is in theſe Words, 'Whoſoever ſhall hereafter come to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown, ſhall 'join in Communion with the Church of* England, *as by Law eſtabliſh'd.'*

† *Obſerv'd. between* March *and* June, *the Sun's Altitude* { 52° 34′ / 64 45 } *Azimuth* { 120° / 150 } *from the* North.

Man's Happineſs, the Contemplation of GOD *and his Works, and the Practice of Virtue. In a* LETTER *to a Friend.*

Eſtne Dei ſedes, niſi terra, & pontus & aer,
Et cœlum & virtus? ſuperos quid quærimus ultra? [*veris.*
Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris. *Lucan. Lib.* ix.

FRiendſhip, thou ſacred name, my muſe inſpire,
With flowing numbers, and poetick fire.
Conſcious to *thee*, my chearful fancy roves,
Thro' verdant ſhades, and ſolitary groves,
O'er happy plains, where rivers gently flow,
Or barren climes, and endleſs tracts of ſnow.
With pleaſure, ſhe ſurveys the fertile ſeats,
The ſilent horrors, and obſcure retreats.
With *thee* my *Scipio* views the varying ſcenes,
Th' aſpiring mountains, and the humbler plains:
While then thoſe lower beauties we admire,
Let beauty infinite, the fancy fire.
Vaſt is the power that form'd this lovely ball,
Immenſe the Being that preſides o'er all.
At his command from chaos order roſe,
And harmony on nature he beſtows.
Let univerſal nature then proclaim,
The beauteous Author of this goodly frame.
All ſpace is conſcious to the ruling Mind,
Who happy reigns, unrival'd, unconfin'd.
Angels and men to him their beings owe,
With diff'ring ranks of creatures here below.
Let men and angels then his praiſe proclaim,
Declare his goodneſs, and adore his name.
Summer and ſpring return at his command,
Who ſpreads a table with a lib'ral hand,
For birds, and ſavage beaſts, their food provides,
Directs the juſt, and o'er his fate preſides.
Th' aſpiring mountains, and the moſſy rocks,
He ſtores with num'rous herds and bleating flocks,
With rip'ning corn, the humbler valley fills,
With herbs, and fragrant flow'rs, and murm'ring rills;
The ſtreams in ſweet *Mæanders* gently play,
Or in a rapid torrent ſeek the ſea.
The feather'd choir with muſick fill the air,
And life and joy convey to every ear;
Pleas'd with exiſtence, hymning forth *thy* praiſe,
O great Creator! in unſtudied lays.
Tow'ring, the joyful lark aſcends on high,
And mounts melodious, to the azure ſky;
The blackbird, linnet, and the warbling thruſh,
Salute the ear, from ev'ry neighb'ring buſh.
Thou ſource of vital light, whoſe glad'ning rays
Enliven nature, celebrate his praiſe;
And join ye fragrant flowers, ye waving trees,
The ſounding echo, and the whiſp'ring breeze,
Whilſt thunders roar, and livid light'nings play,
And thick'ning clouds obſcure the face of day.
All *theſe* proclaim the God, whoſe power controls
The winged light'ning, and the thunder rolls.
The frighted ſailer ſees the ſtorm ariſe,
Tempeſts on tempeſts, gathering o'er the ſkies.
With furious noiſe the toſſing billows roar,
And raging dreadful, laſh the ſounding ſhore.
Impetuous winds, in circling eddies play,
Tear off his maſts, and ſweep whole ſhips away.
Diſmay'd, he prays the Ruler of the deep,
Th' Almighty ſpeaks, the bluſt'ring billows keep.
Storms hear the word, and *ſeas* their limits keep.
You, who expatiate o'er the *moral* plan,
And trace the various paſſions of the man,
Teach what his happineſs, and what his end,
Where virtuous practices, or vicious tend,
With *Pope*, in tuneful numbers let him know,
'Virtue alone is happineſs below.'
Deluded men by jarring paſſions toſt,
Purſue their falſe advices, and are loſt.
Pleaſures, the fancy flatt'ring, dance in view,
Still they elude men, yet they ſtill purſue.
Before the eye the gilded fantom plays,
But like an *ignis fatuus* betrays.
Some ſhort-liv'd joys perhaps in vice they find,
Which leave a ſting, remorſe, and fears behind,
Deſtroy their freedom, and their peace of mind.
Enclio, what are the comforts of *thy* ſtore?
Thy diſcontented mind ſtill craving more.
Old *Enclio*'s rich, 'tis true; yet want he fears,
Is poor 'midſt wealth, and rack'd by anxious cares.
Ah *Enclio!* what avail thy lands and wealth,
When time hath meaſur'd out thy life and health?
Peru and *Mexico* can't bribe the grave,
Nor from its ſilent womb the living ſave.
Say, ye who walk in honour's gaudy ſhew,
The mis'ries that from power, and ribbands flow.
External paint and ſmiles adorn the great,
And glitt'ring pomp proclaims the happy ſtate.
But who their diſappointments can reveal?
The fears, remorſe, and inward pains they feel?
O give me virtue in a calm retreat!
I'll envy not the honours of the great.
Bleſt with contentment, I ſhall not repine,
When beaux with liveries and coaches ſhine.
Too often greatneſs proves a fatal ſnare,
And loads its owners with perplexing care.
Happier the man, whoſe joys from *virtue* flow, [*know.*
Who ſtrives himſelf, and his *own* good to
Calm are his comforts, and his joys ſincere,
Unhurt by envy, undiſturb'd by fear.
The *real* wants of nature are but few,
Look not on honours then with envious view,
Superfluous things, with mod'rate heart purſue.

The flying days, and months, are hurrying on,
Years preſs on years, impatient to be gone.
Devouring time ſhall overwhelm in duſt,
The pompous building, and the marble buſt;
From honours tear the man, and blot the name,
With joy recorded in the rolls of fame.
With haſty ſteps comes on th' important hour,
When angry fires the ſyſtem ſhall devour;
Imperial cities loſe their haughty names,
And ſnowy *Alps* melt down in liquid flames.
See! wild ſurprize the guilty ſoul confounds,
How pale, when *Michael*'s ſolemn trumpet ſounds!
He views his judge in awful pomp array'd,
And darting vengeance, at his guilty head.
Convinc'd, he owns the ſentence juſt and right,
And ſinks to realms of everlaſting night.
That hour, my friend, ſhall crown *thee* with applauſe,
Who firmly fix'd, adher'ſt to virtue's cauſe.
Triumphal honours, raviſhing in view,
And bright'ning joys, ſhall be conferr'd on *you*.
To *virtue* fix'd, we'll paſs life's flying hours,
And mount together to the heav'nly bowers;
There in the gardens of unbounded ſpring,
With heav'n's ſociety for ever ſing.
With ſweeteſt notes we'll join the bleſt above,
And live ſecurely in immortal love.
Together we'll ſurvey the bliſsful ſcene,
The fields for ever gay, the groves for ever green.

LÆLIUS.

JOB *curſing his Birth-day*, Chap. iii. *Imitated, by a Gentleman in the* GOUT.

WHEN *Job* had taſted all the ills of life,
From ſatan, and (his ſubſtitute) a wife,
By friends deſerted, all his ſervants fled,
His ſubſtance plunder'd, all his children dead,
His God withdrawn, and all but conſcience loſt,
Stripp'd to his ſkin, and that with boils embоſs'd,
Preſs'd beyond patience, the dejected ſaint,
In mournful numbers, thus began his plaint.
That night be in eternal darkneſs clad,
When my conception made my parents glad;
May roaring tempeſts, with that darkneſs blend,
And dreadful earthquakes, rocks and mountains rend:
May hoſtile dæmons wage inteſtine wars,
Eclipſe the moon, and puff out all the ſtars;
Sally by myriads, from their duſky cells,
And din the air with their infernal yells:
In concert, may the ſcreech owls join their notes,
And howling wolves, aſſiſt with open throats.
Such curſe and darkneſs, may that night attend,
That both may never know reſpite, nor end.
Nor let that night alone my curſes bear,
But may my birth-day, equal curſes ſhare;
May pointed thunder, arm'd with blazing fire,
With baleful hurricanes of wind conſpire,
In dreadful ſtorms, to rattle round the globe,
And leave the world, as deſolate, as *Job*.
May not the ſun emit one genial ray,
To bleſs that wretched, execrable day:
And as the herd exclude the hunted deer,
So may that day be baniſh'd from the year;
No future annals, e'er admit it room,
But mine, and heaven's curſes, be its doom.
As luckleſs time, may its memorial die,
While toads, and ravens, croak its elegy;
All harmony be dumb, the viol mute,
The harp unſtrung, and diſcord ſeize the lute;
Be nothing heard, but dying priſ'ners groans,
The widows ſighs, and injur'd orphans moans.
And he that firſt, with too officious care,
Inform'd my father, he had got an heir,
Or impotent, or childleſs, may he be,
Or have a ſon, all over ſores like me.
And ſhe that foremoſt, of the friendly train,
That lent their aid, to ſooth my mother's pain,
(Fond to be firſt, when nature's throws were done,)
With joy inform'd her, heaven had ſent a ſon,
For her reward, her tongue be blaſted dumb,
Her breaſts be dry, inſatiate be her womb.
O why did nature, when ſhe laid my plan,
Not err, and make me, any thing but man?
Or if her handy-work muſt not be ſpoil'd,
Why was the mother ſpar'd, to ſave the child?
O that I had been an abortive doom'd!
Or where I was conceiv'd, had been intomb'd!
Why did not error blaſt the midwife's ſkill?
Or envy prompt her fatal hand to kill?
That ſo, when nature, had perform'd her part,
I might have periſh'd, by miſguided art:
Or if her hand, her will had diſobey'd,
Why was the nurſe not ſummon'd to her aid?
Why did her care, thoſe miſeries poſtpone,
Which now oppreſs, and under which I groan?
O that her milk, as on her breaſt I hung,
Had been as poiſon, to corrode my tongue!
Or that when ſleep had ſeiz'd her drowſy head,
She in ſome midnight dream, had cruſh'd me dead:
Then had I ſunk into that ſweet repoſe,
Which all men ſeek, but no man living knows.
Let kings, that ſwell with monumental pride,
To bribe oblivion, marble piles provide,
That when (reluctant) they their crowns reſign,
Their duſt may find an empire in a ſhrine;
Yet he that makes his bed in native clay,
Shall ſleep as ſafe, and wake as freſh as they.
In clay or marble, death is ſtill the ſame,
'Tis all a grave, and differs, but in name;
In both, corruption is the common lot,
Where rich, and poor, without diſtinction rot.
The priſ'ner there does triumph o'er his chains,
And there the ſervant manumiſſion gains.
'Tis there the wicked terminate their rage,
And there the weary ends his painful ſtage.

But

But why muſt mortals be condemn'd to know
Short tranſient joys, for permanence of woe?
To ſpin out life, in unremitting pain,
Yet wiſh for death, and court the grave in vain?
My tears return, more certain than my meat,
And anguiſh palls my appetite to eat.
What uſe are eyes? what benefit the ſun,
To wretched me, to ſee myſelf undone?
Rather than be with eyes, to pain confin'd,
'Tis better far, to be at eaſe, and blind.
I that was firſt of *Eaſtern* chiefs confeſs'd,
And was of more, than heart could wiſh, poſſeſs'd,
That was the idol of the gazing crowd,
My nod was law, and at my frowns they all bow'd;
Yet now, that heaven has ſtripp'd me of my
Baſely inſult, and triumph in my fall;
Deaf to my moans, relentleſs to my wrongs,
Make me the jeſt, and hero of their ſongs.
There's not a morning I uncloſe mine eyes,
But with the ſun, my pains and ſorrows riſe;
Yet in the evening, not with him decline;
Unhappy *Job!* was ever grief like thine?

Upon GENIUS. *By the Author of* Quintilian's Complaint. (Vol. IV. p. 40.)

OF *nature*'s gifts ſo variouſly beſtow'd,
Some are to all, but all to none allow'd;
A diff'rent *genius*, diff'rent products ſhows,
Here's this excels in *verſe*, and that in *proſe*.
The world's an ample *ſtage*, where every mind
Is to a certain *character* aſſign'd;
The num'rous motions of the plaſtic ſoul,
Maintain the parts, and vivify the whole.
Scribonius can inform the nimble plume,
And his bold ſtrokes a beauteous ſhape aſſume;
A bird, a ſerpent, quadrupeds, or men,
Are but the *daſh* of his creating pen.
Of lively fancy, and correct command,
Are all the noble pieces of his hand.
In dubious knowledge of the ſpangled ſkies,
The young *Stellario*'s excellency lies;
Thro' optic glaſs he ſees the *wanderers* rove,
And tells of *ſynods* in the ſpheres above;
Shows when the ſhady *moon* ſhall hide the light
Of *Titan*'s beams from wond'ring mortals ſight;
Informs the liſt'ning world of future chance,
Which he preſages from the *myſtic dance*
Of ſplendent orbs, that mingl'd influence give,
To ſuch as on this *globe* inferior live.
Of theſe unſkill'd, *Gloſſinus* only cares,
What crop of words each diſtant climate bears;
What ſpeech at *Athens* reigns, and what at *Rome*, come.
And from what founts the modern lingua's
Thus ev'ry man by careful *nature* led,
Has in his gifts ſome good improvement made;
For he that faithful follows *nature*'s call,
May ſhine in *ſome*, but none are born to *all*.

The Exeter *Maidens* PETITION, *humbly addreſſed to the* Hon. Houſe of Commons.

SIRS,

WE, the *maids* of *Exon* city,
(The *maids*, good lack! the more's the pity)
Do humbly offer this petition,
To repreſent our ſad condition; [is,
Which once made known, our hope and truſt
Your honours will afford us juſtice:
But leſt our tender ſenſe of wrongs,
And *volubility* of tongues,
Should make us treſpaſs on your leaſure,
And *ſpeechify* it out of meaſure;
To ſave our breath, and eke your time,
We check our *fluent ſpeech* with rhime.
Now you muſt know—ah! can't you gueſs
The ſubject of a *maid*'s *diſtreſs*?
(Plague on the *widows* that compel us,
Thus to petition for *young fellows*)
But we were ſaying, you muſt know,
(Tho' bluſhing we declare our woe)
A virgin was deſign'd by nature
A weakly and imperfect creature;
So apt to fall, ſo apt to ſtray,
Her *wants* require a *guide*, a *ſtay*;
And then, ſo timorous of ſprites,
She dares not lie alone at nights;
Say what ſhe will, do what ſhe can,
Her heart ſtill gravitates to MAN;
From whence, 'tis evident as light,
That *marriage* is a *maiden*'s *right*,
And therefore 'tis prodigious hard,
To be from ſuch a *right* debarr'd:
Yet we (poor ſouls) can't have the freedom,
To get good *men* howe'er we need 'em:
The WIDOWS, ſirs! the rankeſt *goats*
That e'er polluted petticoats;
Thoſe *plagues*, more odious than ſmall-pox,
Thoſe *jades* more ſubtil than a fox,
Still cut us out, are ſtill before us,
And leave no lovers to adore us;
Adore us! laud, 'tis ten times worſe,
Duce take 'em——But we ſhou'd not curſe;
For tho' our number is not ſmall,
There's hardly one amongſt us all,
Scarce one—'Tis true, as *G*——'s in *Glouceſter*,
Can get a youngſter to accoſt her;
No ſingle creature e'er appear'd,
That wore but *breeches* and a *beard*,
But what they have him in a minute;
Well, certainly there's *witchcraft* in it,
And all the *devils* are but *pimps*,
To aid and ſuccour theſe their *imps*;
For tho' by ſtraining all our wits,
Kind looks, kind words, and fainting fits,
We've brought a *youngſter* to the lure,
And think the *captive* now ſecure;
When the RING glitters in our eye,
The *lawyer*'s call'd, the *parſon* nigh,
Upſtarts a *widow* in the way,
And diſappoints us of the prey!

By ſome curſt *hocus pocus* trick,
The lover leaves us in a nick;
And our confuſion to confound,
Is led directly to *Lob's-pound.*
Beſides, what makes it more provoking,
The *creatures* are for ever joking;
Tho' they've a thouſand times been told,
They need not be ſo pert and bold,
That cou'd we have the chance to try,
We would be widows, or know why.
Thank heav'n, we want not will or breath,
To kiſs or talk a ſpouſe to death:
But when the ſpiteful troop upbraids
Us, with the title of *old maids*,
(The greateſt part of us we mean)
You well may think it moves our ſpleen,
When we muſt ſuffer ſuch diſgraces,
Or what is worſe, diſplay our faces;
For tho' they're naturally ſo green,
They can't be judg'd above fifteen;
For what is green, but what is young?
Yet if the *widows* wag their tongue,
Till we afford 'em that conviction,
E'en let them wag *ſans* contradiction.
But why *old maids*, for goodneſs ſake,
Could they no likelier ſcandal make?
Since time is ſo much at our motion,
They cou'd not think to ſpread the notion;
In ſpite of regiſters and nurſes,
Whoſe blunders earn our hearty curſes,
Obſequious to a maiden's will,
Old *Time* turns backward, or ſtands ſtill:
The truth from frequent facts appears,
Some have been twenty, twenty years,
And ſome that reckon juſt a ſcore,
Were thirty, ten years ſince, or more.
Need any body now be told
That ſingle women can't grow old?
We ſhould deſpiſe their ſcurvy carriage,
Did we not deſpair of marriage,
Nor about men make all this fuſs,
Were there enough for them and us;
But 'tis the truth we repreſent t'ye,
Men are ſo ſcarce, and maids ſo plenty,
That were each man a maid to wed,
Not one in thirty would be ſped:
Then while the widows interlope,
How can a maiden live in hope?
But ſure your *honours* will determine
Something againſt the greedy vermin;
For if the creatures are allow'd,
To be ſo wanton and ſo proud,
We neither can have health nor quiet,
On *aſſa fœtida* muſt diet,
Gnaw on the ſheets, embrace the pillow,
Or cut a caper from a willow.
But leſt your *honours* ſhould ſurmiſe
That we, (more paſſionate than wiſe)
Make againſt *widows* this invective,
When 'tis the *maids* that are defective,
We, under favour, come to ſhew,
That all that can be done, we do;
We try each ſhift, turn ev'ry way,
Are never idle night or day,
Contriving or purſuing ſchemes,
Not more when waking than in dreams;
In ev'ry moment, ev'ry place,
We're doing ſomething with a grace;
In curt'ſ'ing, ſmiling, nodding, talking,
In laughing, ſinging, dancing, walking,
In romping, frowning, ogling, dreſſing,
And fifty things that want expreſſing;
At home, abroad, o'er ſnuff or tea,
We ſtrive our talents to diſplay;
But ſure the moſt becoming airs,
Are thoſe one gives one's ſelf at pray'rs,
And therefore nothing can be fitter,
Than paying viſits to St. PETER *,
Which ev'ry maid more conſtant pays,
Than canons on refection days.
Ah, ſirs! 'twou'd do you good to hear,
Our exquiſite behaviour there!
Well! ſure the church is quite enchanting,
Good company——'tis never wanting:
The liturgy——why, one may venture,
Rather than look like a diſſenter,
Or ſit and keep one's eyes quite idle,
To read a bit towards the middle;
The poſtures and the ordinances,
Quite ſuited to the ladies fancies;
Then turning eaſtward to adore,
(When we have ſhewn our charms before)
'Tis own'd, was mighty well deſign'd
To ſhew a body's ſhape behind;
And then—ſo pure, to lie perdue,
With all the company in view;
And modeſtly behind a fan,
Explore the prettieſt gentleman!
While if his ſight inſpires a whim,
We pray more frequently for him.

From Anacreon's XXIII ODE.

Εἰς Χρυσὸν.

To MYRTILLO.

IF riches could my life prolong,
Or keep me from the ſilent grave;
I'd plot, and job with all my might,
The powerful gold to hoard and ſave;

Then death would ſhake his ſands in vain,
And all his dreadful form diſplay;
Some glittering guineas ſhould diſpatch
Sir *Grim-face* to a poorer prey.

But ſince not all the wealthy ſtores,
That from *Peruvian* treaſures flow;
Nor yet the richer blaze of gems,
That on the banks of *Ganges* glow,

Our life beyond its narrow ſpan,
One ſingle moment can extend;
Why ſhould th' unmanly ſorrows flow?
Why ſhould the trickling tears deſcend?

* *The Cathedral Church of St.* Peter *in* Exon.

Since

Since to its former tranſient ſtate,
Death will to duſt this fabrick turn;
Why ſhould the thoughts of being rich,
With anxious cares my boſom burn?

While I can call the time my own,
Still may each moment ſwell with joy,
Let no deſires of future wealth
My calm tranquillity deſtroy:

Whi'e in th' uncertain ſea of life,
Along the waves I gently paſs,
Each dark anxiety of ſoul,
Forgetting in the chearful glaſs:

Myrtillo, may ſome friends like thee,
Their heads with bloomy chaplets crown'd,
Still quaff with me the flowing bowl,
And fill the joyous bumper round.

Thus may the day in gladſome mirth,
With ſocial pleaſure dance away,
Till *Sol* his beamy brightneſs hides,
And *Phœbe* ſhines a fainter ray.

Grant then, ye gods! I may poſſeſs
The nymph I love, in blooming charms,
Soft-yielding on the downy couch,
And melting in my circling arms,

Then on her panting breaſts reclin'd,
Devour each ſoft ambroſial kiſs;
Her throbbing boſom preſs to mine,
And die away in balmy bliſs.

AMINTOR.

To Miſs W——.

CHLOE! thy friendſhip ſhall no more
The ſubject of my verſe inſpire *,
Wake into life my feeble muſe,
And warm me with the ſacred fire.

At *Hymen*'s conſecrated ſhrine,
Celia has ſacrific'd her charms,
And to a country life retir'd,
Reſts in her huſband's faithful arms.

Friendſhip, like love, no rival bears,
And now religion's tie demands,
Thy *Celia*, every tender thought
Muſt give to wedlock's hallow'd bands.

Ceaſe then, dear *Chloe!* ceaſe to grieve,
Thy friendſhip muſt be at an end;
Let *Hymen* light thy marriage torch,
You'll find a lover and a friend.

Chloe! be like thy parent heav'n,
Deſirous ſtill mankind to bleſs;
O! let ſome happy favour'd ſwain
Thoſe blooming charms of thine poſſeſs.

Then other *Chloes* ſhall be born,
And other *Celias* ſee the light,
Their mother's friendly bonds renew,
And ſhine, as they, divinely bright.

AMINTOR.

Upon CHLOE, *who was awaken'd by the Singing of a Nightingale.*

AS *Chloe* wander'd in the ſhade,
And ſought at noon the cooling glade;
The birds their pretty ſongs repeat,
And lull her into ſweeteſt ſleep.

The gentle Zephyrs fan her breaſt,
And pleaſing dreams prolong her reſt:
Her thoughts to diſtant regions rove,
And *Strephon* ſeems to talk of love.

Fancy the grateful ſcene improves,
And repreſents their happy loves:
While *Strephon* ſues, nor ſues in vain,
And wiſhes to be bleſt again.

Chloe, who's ever mild and kind,
And ne'er refus'd to bleſs mankind,
Conſents that *Strephon* ſhall be rude,
To ſhew that *ſhe* has gratitude.

The ſwain had ſnatch'd one eager kiſs,
And was juſt haſt'ning to his bliſs;
When *Philomela*'s curſed noiſe,
Anticipated all her joys.

She wakes, alas! enrag'd to find
Her airy lover ſo unkind;
Complains that vows are empty air,
And how deceitful pleaſures are.

At length, deſpairing, full of grief,
And no kind ſwain to give relief;
She ſtraightway to her chamber ran,
And read *the Eſſay upon Man.*

FIDELIO.

On the Coroner's Report of the Number of Perſons who have died in the ſeveral Priſons within his Juriſdiction, who were committed there for retailing Gin, *the following Epigram was ſpoken extempore, and is recommended to the Peruſal of the Author of,* Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation.

GIN was, before the act, of *five* the bane:
But *ſeventy-five* have, ſince the act, been ſlain.
Hence it appears *informing*, crying ſin!
Is more deſtructive, *fifteen* times than *gin.*

An ANSWER *to* CLARINDA, *deſiring the Character of the deceas'd* ORINDA.

FAIR, let me paint her, without female pride,
Born high in fortune, yet an humble bride.
Say, with what rays of *love* her ſoul did ſhine,
And ſacred *friendſhip*, more than half divine.
Nature's perfection, greateſt here below,
Is in the breaſt where that is felt to glow.
Friendſhip! love's better name, to thee I bend,
To make a lover, make me firſt a friend:
In that, alone, a long remembrance lives,
It makes a record of the joy it gives;

* *See our* MAGAZINE *for* November *laſt*, page 572.

Elſe

Elſe *death* and *time*, taking *oblivion*'s part,
Had tore the preſent image from my heart;
Nor can my verſe, tho' once it ſung her praiſe,
To fame, and you, that ſhining image raiſe.
Deſcend, ye winged *virtues*, from on high!
And own the likeneſs of your near ally.
Speak, *juſtice*, queen of virtues! thou, her guide,
Speak, *patience*, *chaſtity*, who grac'd her ſide:
Say, every *virtue*'s beauty, hers we call,
As we do each, ſo ſhe reſembled all:
But moſtly thee, fair *charity*, her face
Had all thy ſoftneſs, thy inchanting grace;
Acts of compaſſion, ſecret acts of good,
By thee, and her, alike were underſtood:
Or, rather ſay, thou didſt inhabit there,
And all thy love, and power, was found in her.
But *wiſdom* rul'd, all praiſe is wiſdom's due;
She, the kind miſtreſs, and her ſervant too:
Aided by her, and bleſs'd, her tongue cou'd charm,
Bid *folly* die, and every vice diſarm;
The haughty *bigot*'s pride ſhe knew to kill,
Wake nodding *reaſon*, and reform the *will*:
Could teach grey hairs, tho' gay in blooming youth,
And force, from *prejudice*, aſſent to *truth*.
Such was *Orinda*'s mind; freſh muſic bring,
And teach my voice her outward form to ſing.
Die, poetry, die, language, all's too faint,
Such heighten'd beauties are too ſtrong for paint;
Or could ſome power that imitation find,
Her voice, ineffable, remains behind.
Pardon, *Clarinda*, if I ſay too much,
In wiſhing ſome kind youth may find you ſuch;
That, to your worth, your fortune may prove kind,
And deal out b'eſſings equal to your mind;
You, who can ſpeak, and write, and charm with eaſe,
And wait but to be ſeen, and heard to pleaſe;
Proceed, fair nymph, and blaſt the envious eye,
That *paſſion* will but flutter till ſhe die.
Advance in all your charms, and give to *fame*
A new *Orinda*, in *Clarinda*'s name.
Then ſhall ſome *poet*'s name immortal grow,
In counting praiſes he, to you, ſhall owe:
Then, when my hoarſe, and humbler verſe ſhall die,
Forgotten quite, and thrown neglected by,
His lines the injuries of time ſhall ſcorn,
And hand your praiſes to an age unborn.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Jan.* 15, 1738-9.

IN your miſcellaneous Collection for the laſt Month, you've publiſh'd an agreeable, conciſe Copy of *Latin Verſes*; and have ſubjoin'd thereto a very juſt *Encomium* on the ingenious Author. Your ſaid Sentiments whereof have encourag'd an humble Attempt, (tho' you'll probably think it, rather, a *preſumptuous* one) to render this pretty, applauded Eſſay, into our own Language.

I've took the Liberty of ſubjecting likewiſe to your Cenſure, a few ſerious, well-intended *Lines* *, very lately compos'd by one of your *Female* Correſpondents. Which, (together with the above-mention'd) you'll diſpoſe of, as you judge moſt convenient.

I am, SIR,
Your very humble Servant.

To Mr. F. S. *the Editor of* Milton's *Epiſtle.* [*Tranſlated from the* Latin.—*See the* Magazine *for* December *laſt*, p. 625.

HOW does the god of verſe his bard inſpire,
And each good judge the pleaſing piece admire!
Can you then doubt the wond'ring world's applauſe?
For ſuch concern there, ſure, can be no cauſe.
In your great ſkill, we ſafely may confide:
Lay then theſe over-modeſt fears aſide.
Many may prove of adverſe winds the ſport,
Who think to enter the *Corinthian* port,
Some are intirely deſtitute of *art*;
Others, repugnant *nature* ſtill may thwart.
This, ſir,—I frankly own, all this is true:
But what, (I humbly beg) is this to *you*?—
To you, brave ſir! who worthily preſide,
As well a *fortunate*, as *faithful* guide.
Thro' rocks, and ſecret ſhelves, and dang'rous ſands,
Th' obedient *bark* obſerves your wiſe commands.
Thro' all the various perils of the ſea,
Calliope points out the wat'ry way.
What tongue can ſpeak your praiſes, that are due?
Thou *glory of the preſent age!*—adieu!

R. D.

The PIOUS CONFLICT: *Or, The* Inſuperable *Force of natural Affection.* [*Written by a fond Mother* †, *when her poor, ſick Son lay dangerouſly ill of the* Small-Pox ‡.]

ALAS!—what diff'rent paſſions fill my breaſt,
Sometimes, with *joy*; and then, with *grief* poſſeſt!
Sometimes, I *hope*, that God my child will ſpare:
And then, again, I ſhrink into *deſpair*.
Then, I recal my *reaſon* to my aid;
And aſk myſelf,—'Of what am I afraid?
'Is it, becauſe I think, the child will go
'To heav'n ſoon; and leave this ſcene of woe?—
'For ever freed from worldly cares and ſtrife,
'The ſure attendants of this mortal life;—

* *The* Pious Conflict. † *Mrs.* Darwall. ‡ *Auguſt* 10, 1738.

'And

'And bravely fixt in bliſsful realms above,
'Where dwell no fears, but pure ſeraphic love.'
Such thoughts as theſe, awhile, allay my grief,
And bring to my tormented ſoul relief.
I'm then e'en glad to think he'll quit the ſtage,
Untainted with the vices of the age;
Where moſt run mad on ſublunary toys,
And few prepare for true, ſubſtantial joys.
I'm all ſubmiſſion to my *Maker*'s will;
My quiet mind, with *calm reflections*, fill.—
But, ah!—alas!—how ſoon they fleet away;
Or change, a thouſand times, in one ſhort day!
Then, then afreſh, I ſtraight begin to rave:—
'Muſt I ſo ſoon behold my darling's grave?—
'So quickly ſee his ſhrowd and coffin brought?
'No; no; I can't endure the diſmal thought.
'The bare imagination drives me wild;
'Nor can I live without my deareſt child.'
Then, all impatient, for his life, I *pray*;
And dread th' approach of each ſucceeding day:
Ah! *reſignation!*—why ſo ſhort a ſtay?
'O wretched mortals! ever blind to fate:
'Too ſoon dejected, and too ſoon elate.'

HORACE, *Book* II. *Ode* 14th. *Imitated.*

HOW ſwift, alas! the rolling years
Haſte to devour their deſtin'd prey!
A moth each winged minute bears;
Which ſtill, in vain, the ſtationers,
From the dead authors, ſweep away,
And troops of canker-worms, with ſecret pride,
Thro' gay vermilion leaves, and gilded covers glide.

Great *B—nt—y*, ſhould thy critic vein
Each day ſupply the teeming preſs;
Of ink ſhould'ſt thou whole rivers drain,
Not one *octavo* ſhall remain,
To ſhew thy learning and addreſs;
Oblivion drags them to her ſilent cell,
Where great king *Arthur*, and his nobles dwell.

Authors of every ſize and name,
Knights, 'ſquires, and doctors of all colours,
From the purſuit of laſting fame,
Retiring, there a manſion claim;
Dear *Dick*, ſuch is the fate of ſcholars!
And will you, with deluſive hope miſled,
For various readings toil, which never will be read?

With ſilver claſps, and corner plate,
You fortify the fav'rite book:
Fear not from worms nor time thy fate,
More cruel foes thy works await;
The butler, with th' impatient cook,
And paſtry nymphs with trunk-makers combine,
To eaſe the groaning ſhelves, and ſpoil the fair deſign.

A FLIGHT.

CHLOE, my precious! why ſo coy,
Thou dear provoking jewel!
Why will you ſtill ſuſpend my joy,
And ſtill continue cruel?
Is it becauſe I've gently woo'd,
And us'd you like a goddeſs,
That my deſires muſt be withſtood?
——Indeed it ſomething odd is!

Well then!—ſince whining makes you ſhy,
And treat me paſt endurance,
Henceforth, another way I'll try,
And court you—with aſſurance.
That I no more may meet diſgrace
In any *Paphian* battle,
I'll borrow *N—ſh*'s ſteady face
And *C—bb—r*'s tittle-tattle.

Thus arm'd, with ſnuff-box, cane and ring,
And twenty pretty fancies,
Glib nonſenſe from my tongue ſhall ſpring
In *A-la-mode* advances.
Howe'er, if all theſe methods fail,
And have no pow'r to win ye,
I'll only—turn about my tail,
And think the devil's in ye.

Str—tf—rd, Jan. 18, 1739. *J. G——n.*

The Reader will ſoon be able to make Head *and* Tail *of the following,*

On the P—t L—r—at, *and his New-Years* ODES.

APOLLO, firſt of *laureats*, woo'd,
And with love-*odes* and *ſongs* purſu'd,
In *Daphne*, publick fame.
Keeping in chace the flying fair,
Thou, *C—bb—r*, now doſt year by year,
His ſucceſſor, the ſame.

Chang'd to a laurel, his coy maid,
With proper wreath to crown his head,
Her arms did kindly lend:
Thine, turn'd into a birchen-tree,
Alike ſpreads all her boughs for thee,
But 'tis for t'other end.

De Urbe & Ponte Londinenſi.

CUM Londinenſem Neptunus viderat urbem,
In Thamiſin, ſummo, vectus, aduſque, ſalo;
Cum, ſuperimpoſitam, torrenti in flumine pontem
Viderat, & rapido ponere jura freto;
Cum tantas moles, ferrumina, caſtra, tot arcus,
Quos populi ingentis deſuper urget onus;
Hæc, pater undarum ſpectans, fluctuſque ſonoros
Confundi, innumeros & variare gyros;
Troja, vale! ſedes hæc ſit Neptunia, dixit,
Quæ, ſimul, & terris, & dominatur, aquis.

The *Spell-Monger* ſhall be inſerted in our next. Several other Pieces alſo, which we have receiv'd, are defer'd for Want of Room.

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

IN ſeveral Places in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, on the 30th of *Dec.* about 7 in the Morning, was felt a ſudden and terrible Earthquake; the Poſts, Plates, and other Utenſils rattling and rolling out of their Places, and People in Bed fearing to be tumbled out. It ſeem'd as if the Earth had mov'd out of its Place in a Line parallel to the Horizon, and again return'd to its former Situation with reciprocal Vibrations, and in a Minute or two ended with a huſhing hollow Report, and a trembling Motion.

WEDNESDAY, *Jan.* 3.

The Election of Alderman for *Cheap* Ward, in the Room of Sir *Robert Kendal Cater*, deceas'd, came on before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor. The Candidates were Sir *Joſeph Eyles*, and *Richard Hoare*, Eſq; It was the hardeſt Struggle perhaps ever known, and when the Books were clos'd, at three o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Numbers ſtood thus,

For Sir *Joſeph Eyles* 137
For *Richard Hoare*, Eſq; 136

whereupon the former was declared; but a Scrutiny was demanded by Mr. *Hoare*'s Friends, to begin on *Monday* Fortnight. The Minute the Books were clos'd, two Perſons came in to poll for Mr. *Hoare*, which would have made a Majority for him, but it was too late.

THURSDAY, 4.

Came on the Election of an Alderman for *Baſſiſhaw* Ward, in the room of Sir *Thomas Lombe*, Knt. deceas'd, when upon cloſing the Poll, the Numbers were,

For *William Baker*, Eſq; 50
For *John Elliſton*, Eſq; 32

Whereupon the former was declared duly elected.

In the Morning, about 2 a Clock, began a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning, attended with a furious Wind and Rain, which continued 2 or 3 Hours. Such Thunder and Lightning was ſcarce ever known at this Time of the Year. We had Accounts of the ſame Storm from *Bath*, *Briſtol*, and other Places.

Diſcoveries have been made of Numbers of People concerned in carrying off *Buchanan* from the Gallows: And twelve Affidavits have been made before Sir *Henry Penrice*, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, that *Buchanan* is yet living. (ſee Vol. VII. p. 630.)

A Charter has paſs'd the Great Seal for an Hoſpital for Foundling Children.

THURSDAY, 18.

Both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and were protogu'd to *Thurſday*, the 1ſt of *February*.

The Clothiers are aſſociating in all Parts of the Kingdom, to petition the Parliament for an effectual Law to prevent the Exportation of Wool to *France*: A great Number of Clothiers, Wool-Combers, *&c.* being already in Town on that Account.

SATURDAY, 20.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth-Day was celebrated at *Norfolk*-Houſe, when his Royal Highneſs enter'd into the 33d Year of his Age.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the 9 following Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Martha London* and *Eliz. Reynolds*, for aſſaulting *Ann Hornby* in the Street, and ſtripping her of a Camblet Gown, a Pair of Stays, a quilted Petticoat, and other Goods.—*John Adamſon*, for a Rape upon *Catherine Wallgrave*.—*John Marſland*, for a Rape on *Mary Marſland*, his Daughter, (about 13 Years of Age) and giving her the Foul Diſeaſe.—*James James*, alias *Jemmy the Drummer*, for ſtealing a Silver-hilted Sword from *John Cotton*, Eſq; coming out of the Play-houſe.—*William Child*, for robbing *Richard Gem* on the Highway.—*Thomas Eaſter*, for robbing Mr. *Mills* and Mr. *Hill* on the Highway.—*Thomas Davis* and *Samuel Piper*, for picking Mr. *Abraham Poteira*'s Pocket of a Watch.

TUESDAY, 23.

This Morning 127 Convicts were carried from *Newgate*, and put into a cloſe Lighter at *Black-Friers*, in order to be carried on board a Ship at *Blackwall*, to be tranſported to his Majeſty's Colonies in *America*.

Inſcription on the Tomb of the late Rev. Mr. *Grove*, of *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*.

H. S. E.

HENRICUS GROVIUS,

Optimorum parentum proles optima: patrem enim ex antiqua Groviorum familia, Wiltunenſi, matrem ex Roviorum, in agro Devonienſi, haud minus vetuſta, ortos, pietate & beneficentia inſignes habuit, utriuſque virtutum filius heres. Bonarum literarum ſtudiis tam ſedulo ſe applicuit, ut anno ætatis viceſimo tertio, in frequenti theologorum cœtu, ad juventutem liberalibus diſciplinis inſtituendam omnium ſuffragiis eligeretur: ad quod munus animus etiam ingenuus morumque ſuavitas natura illum finxiſſe videbantur; neque ſpem eventus fefellit: annos enim amplius triginta, haud minore ſua laude quam bono publico,

ſico, in eo verſatus, mentes juveniles omnigena pariter virtute ac optimis artibus excolere ſtudioſe laboravit: paſtoris interim officio fungens, pari fidelitate gregi ſuo invigilavit; eaque, quibus ſalus humana præcipue afficitur, tam in concionibus quam ſcriptis inculcans, nihil ad gratiam aut partium ſtudio dicere ſuſtinuit; ſimplex autem, verique ſtudioſiſſimus, pietatem in Deum, in homines charitatem, cupiditatum moderationem, ut ſumma religionis capita, omnium approbationi commendavit. Ea ingenii felicitate uſus eſt, ut, in quodcunque argumentum ſeſe convertit, acute cogitare, ſubtiliter diſtinguere, graviter judicare, ſenſaque animi facile exponere poſſet. Tam modeſte autem de ſe ſenſit, ut nemini, quod in alia eſſet ſententia, litem moveret. Sorte ſua licet modica contentus fuit, aliorum rebus lautioribus haud invidens, nec cupiens. Tot tantiſque virtutibus ornatus, omnibus ſibi notis amatus vixit, obiit deſletus 3 Cal. Martii, Anno Domini 1737, *ætatis ſuæ* 55.

Sheriffs appointed ſince our laſt, *viz.* for Kent, *Rob. Lacy.* — Lincoln, *Tho. Burrell.* — Northamp. *Cha. Edwin.*—Shropſh. *Tho. Smyth.* —Staff. *Rich. Davenport.*—Warw. *Edw. Bowater*, Eſqrs.—Yorkſh. Sir *Geo. Cooke*, Bart. — Camb. *and* Hunt. *Rob. Colvile.*—Denbighſh. *Cawley Humberton Cawley.*—Flintſh. *Dav. Pennant.*—Montg. *John Thomas*, Eſqrs.—Cornw. Sir *Francis Vyvyan*, Bart. appointed by the Prince of *Wales*.

MONDAY, 29.

Sir *Joſeph Eyles* was declar'd Alderman of *Cheap* Ward, by a Majority of 9 on the Scrutiny.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

MR. *Lucas*, of the Temple, to Miſs *Johnſon*, an Heireſs.

Rev. Mr. *Stedman*, to Miſs *Martha Butts*, eldeſt Daughter to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

Sir *Roger Burgoigne*, Bart, to the Lady *Francis Montague*, eldeſt Daughter to the Earl of *Halliſax*.

Sir *Thomas Pendergraſs*, Bart, to Miſs *Anne Williams*, one of the Maids of Honour to the late Queen.

Julianes Beckford, Eſq; to Miſs *Aſhley*, eldeſt Daughter of *Solomon Aſhley*, Eſq;

Hon. *John Needham*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Shackley*, Relict of *Peter Shackerley*, of *Cheſter*, Eſq;

Mr. *Beard*, the Comedian and Singer of *Drury-Lane* Theatre, to the Lady *Henrietta Herbert*, Relict of the Lord *Edward Herbert*, a Lady of 800*l. per Annum* Jointure.

Lieut. *Cotton Dent* of the Royal Navy, to Miſs *Kitty Bowerbank*.

Nicholas Inwood, Eſq; to Miſs *Jenny Stratfie'd*.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Cornwallis*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of *Philip Meadows*, Eſq; alſo deliver'd of a Son.

Lady *Powlett*, Wife to the Lord *Naſſau Powlett*, of a Daughter.

Lady *Conolly*, alſo deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of *James Cocks*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Rygate*, of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of *Thomas Archer*, Eſq; of a Daughter.

Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, of a Son and Heir, ſtil'd Marquis of *Blandford*.

DEATHS.

AT *Ongar* in *Eſſex*, the Lady of Sir *John Bull*, Bart.

Sir *Robert Cater*, Knt. and Alderman of *Cheap* Ward, (who changed his Name from *Kendal* to *Cater*, and inherited the Eſtate of *John Cater*, Eſq; in *Bedfordſhire*, his Brother-in-law.)

Sir *Francis Clavering*, Bart.

Mr. *Horne*, an eminent Banker, and alſo Chief Lamp-lighter to his Majeſty, a Place of about 600*l. per Annum*.

At *Endfield*, *William Green*, Eſq; one of the Directors of the New River Water-Works.

Sir *Thomas Lombe*, Knt. Alderman for *Baſſiſhaw* Ward: He was the Senior Alderman next below the Chair.

Mr. *Charles Pinfold*, chief Clerk of the Annuity Office at the *South-Sea* Houſe.

Hon. Lady *St. John*, Relict of Sir *St. Andrew St. John*.

Sir *Roger Meredith*, Bart. Knight of the Shire in the laſt Parliament for *Kent*.

At *Rye* in *Suſſex*, the Rev. Mr. *Wilſon*, who had been Vicar of that Pariſh near 40 Years.

The Lady *Glynne*, at *Parſons Green*.

Rev. Sir *Lewis Beaumont*, Bart. Rector of *Pycombe*, and Prebendary of *Chicheſter*.

William Greenwood, Eſq; formerly a Director of the *South-Sea* Company.

At *Gaddeſdon* in *Hertfordſhire*, *Henſhaw Halſey*, Eſq;

Rev. Mr. *Roger Humphreys*, Chancellor and Canon of *Wells*, and Vicar of *Biſhops-Lyddiard* near *Taunton*.

The Lady of *George Treby*, Eſq; Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold.

At *Wingerworth* in *Derbyſhire*, the Lady of Sir *Thomas Windſar Hunloke*, Bart.

Capt. *Sun*, an old experienc'd Commander in the Navy, and Maſter Attendant of *Deptford* Yard.

John Heywood, Eſq; formerly an eminent *Virginia* Merchant and Inſurer.

Col. *James Seymour*, formerly an eminent Banker, and a compleat Maſter of the Pen and Pencil.

Lady Viſcounteſs *Dillon*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Rt. Hon. *Thomas Pearce*, Eſq; Lieut. General of the Forces in *Ireland*.

William Lawſon, L. L. D. and King's Advocate for *Nova Scotia*.

Mr. *George Grafton*, Bookſeller, aged near 80.

Miſs *Wright*, Grand-Daughter to Sir *Nathan Wright*, formerly Lord-Keeper.

At *Edinburgh*, the Lady *Newton*, Relict of Sir *Richard Newton*, of *that Ilk*, Bart.

Peter Hawkins, Esq; belonging to the Exchequer Office.

Rev. Dr. *Bundy*, Vicar of St. *Brides*, Rector of *Barnet*, and Prebendary of *Westminster*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Cookesey*, of St. *George*'s *Southwark*, appointed by the Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, a Surrogate of that Diocese. — Mr. *Lloyd*, Curate of St. *Mildred* in *Bread-street*, chosen Lecturer of St. *Dionis Back-Church*, in the room of Mr. *Hayes*, deceas'd. — *William Strahan*, L. L. D. appointed Official of *Colchester*, in the room of Dr. *Wood*, deceas'd. — Dr. *Matthias Mawson*, made Bishop of *Landaffe*, in the room of Dr. *John Harris*, deceas'd. — Mr. *Robert Webb*, presented to the Rectory of *Turworth* in *Hampshire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

DR. *Tessier*, appointed one of his Majesty's Physicians, in the room of Dr. *Thomas Goodman*, deceas'd. — Dr. *Hulse*, appointed a Physician extraordinary to his Majesty. He was afterwards made a Baronet. — *William Manley*, Esq; made Clerk of the Western Ports, in the room of *John Manley*, Esq; who resign'd. — *Philip Vanbrugh*, Esq; made one of his Majesty's Commissioners, in Quality of a principal Officer in the Navy, for the Affairs of *Plymouth*-Yard. — Lord *Lempster*, made a Lieutenant in Gen. *Pearce*'s Regiment of Horse, in the room of the Lord *Howard*, appointed a Captain in the 2d Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. — Duke of *Marlborough*, appointed Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse in *Ireland*, in the room of Lieutenant General *Pearce*, deceas'd.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Allen*, of *Marston Bigot* in *Somersetshire*, Maltster. — *James Bowden*, of *Manchester*, Grocer. — *Christopher Dale*, late of *Middleham* in *Yorkshire*, Grocer. — *Benj. Coulson*, late of *Leeds*, Merchant. — *George Smither*, of *Wood-street*, *London*, Hosier. — *Geo. Gillet*, living on *London-bridge*, Hosier. — *John Payne*, of *Bury St. Edmond's*, Linen-draper. — *Henry Flowers*, of St. *George*, *Hanover-square*, Dealer in Coals. — *Tho. Stevens*, of St. *James*, *Clerkenwell*, Bacon-Butcher. — *Humphrey Jones*, of St. *Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, Peruke-maker. — *John Andrews*, of *Whitechappel*, Distiller. — *John Godlob Vetter*, late of *Bartholomew-Close*, Jeweller. — *Luke Starling*, of *Bucklersbury*, Warehouseman. — *Rob. Nelson*, of *Winchester-street*, *London*, Jeweller. — *Francis Goodwin*, of *Grantham* in *Lincolnshire*, Grocer and Chandler. — *Maurice Vaughan*, of *Brownlow-street*, *Holborn*, Hairseller. — *Charles Young*, late of St. *George the Martyr*, *Middlesex*, Taylor. — *William Selleck* the Elder, of *Threadneedle-street*, Broker. — *Richard Savage*, of *Wood-street*, Linen-draper. — *Mary Jemmett*, of *London*, Vintner. — *Philip Hubert*, late of *Dean-street*, *Soho*, and *Rob. Nelson*, late of *Winchester-street*, Diamond-Cutters, Jewellers, and Partners. — *William Steele*, of *Witham* in *Essex*, Baymaker. — *Thomas Tomlin*, late of the Parish of *Shorne*, in *Kent*, Tanner. — *William Knipe*, of the *Poultry*, Cutler. — *Edward Loggin Birch*, of St. *Andrew*, *Holborn*, Vintner. — *Hugh Hopley*, of *Newgate-street*, Cheesemonger.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	103 ¾	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 10*s.*	*Royal Ass.*	105 ¾
—*Annu.*	112 ⅞	*Lon. ditto*	13 ¾
Bank	143 a ¼	3 *per C. An.*	104 ½ a ⅝
—*Circ.*	1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*	*Eng. Copper*	*none*
Mil. Bank	122	*Salt Tallies*	½ a 2*l.* ½
India	170	*Emp. Loan*	109
—*Bonds*	6*l.* 15*s.* a 16	*Equiv.*	111

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 4 2 ½ a 2	*Bilboa*	39 ⅜ a ½
D. Sight	35 1	*Leghorn*	49 ⅜ a ½
Rotter.	35 6	*Genoa*	52 ¼ a ⅜
Hamb.	34 3 a ½	*Venice*	50 ⅜ a ½
P. Sight	31 ¼	*Lisb.*	5*s* 5*d* ½ a ¾
Bourdx.	31	*Oport.*	5*s* 5*d* ¼ a ⅜
Cadiz	39 ⅝	*Antw.*	36 3 a ½
Madrid	39 ⅝	*Dublin*	8 ⅞ a 9

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	27 28	*Oats*	11 14
Rye	12 15	*Tares*	20 22
Barley	13 16	*Pease*	20 28
H. Beans	16 22	*H. Pease*	16 18
P. Malt	13 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Dec.* 26. to *Jan.* 23.

Christned	Males	695		1341
	Females	646		
Buried	Males	1007		2127
	Females	1120		
Died under 2 Years old				735
Between	2	and	5	166
	5		10	50
	10		20	84
	20		30	159
	30		40	186
	40		50	221
	50		60	188
	60		70	147
	70		80	118
	80		90	60
	90	and upwards		12
				2127

Hay 36 to 42*s.* a Load.

OUR

OUR laſt Advices from *Peterſburgh* contain nothing remarkable but the Speeches made by and to the *Perſian* Ambaſſadors, at their firſt Audience: Theſe Speeches contain high Compliments of both Sides, but nothing elſe, therefore we ſhall not communicate them. However, 'tis ſaid, they have Inſtructions for concluding a Treaty offenſive and defenſive between *Muſcovy*, *Perſia* and *Germany*, againſt the *Turks*; and that the Sophy has already renewed the War, by having laid Siege to the City of *Tiſles*, with an Army of 170,000 Men.

From *Conſtantinople* we hear, that the *Perſian* Ambaſſadors lately arrived at the *Ottoman* Porte, preſſed for an Audience of the Grand Seignor ſoon after their Arrival, which the Prime Vizir would not conſent to at firſt, under Pretence that it was contrary to the Cuſtom of that Court to admit any Ambaſſadors to an Audience, till they had imparted their Credentials and Inſtructions to him; but upon their declaring, they had Orders to return home if their Demand was not complied with, a Divan was held, in which it was reſolved to wave this antient Ceremonial for once, and that they ſhould be conducted to an Audience of the Grand Seignor, without their having previouſly communicated any Thing to the Prime Vizir. Being accordingly introduced, they firſt aſſured his Highneſs of their Maſter's ſincere Deſire to live in a perfect Underſtanding with the *Ottoman* Porte; but they added, which the *Ottoman* Miniſters might have foreſeen, that the only Means by which this perfect Underſtanding could be continued and made laſting, was, for the *Turks* to reſtore to their Maſter, the City of *Babylon*, and ſome other Places conquered from *Perſia*. The Ambaſſadors were thereupon told, they ſhould ſoon be acquainted with the Grand Seignor's Intentions; but the very next Day, inſtead of an Anſwer, they were ſurrounded by a Guard of no leſs than 300 Janiſſaries.

The *Tranſilvanian* Proteſtant Gentlemen who were accuſed of having formed a Conſpiracy in Favour of Prince *Ragotzki*, and upon that Account were carried Priſoners to *Vienna*, having been found entirely innocent, have been ſet at Liberty; and, in this Caſe, the *Imperial* Court have given a neceſſary and notable Inſtance of their Juſtice and Impartiality, by ordering the Accuſers of theſe Gentlemen, particularly Count *Joſeph Thorday*, to be proſecuted with the utmoſt Severity, for their malicious and calumnious Information.

We have from *Vienna* a Liſt of the auxiliary Troops and Recruits, with which the Imperial Army is to be augmented next Spring. This Augmentation, including the 20,000 *Ruſſians*, will amount to 73,700 Men; ſo that if the *German* Princes can but be prevailed with to be a little more expeditious than uſual, the *Emperor* will have a numerous Army in *Hungary* early in the Spring; and if the News be true, which we have, by the laſt Mail from *Vienna*, that the Baſhaw Count de *Bonneval* has fallen into Diſgrace, and been baniſh'd to *Natolia*, for endeavouring to excite the Janiſſaries againſt the Prime Vizier, the *Turks* may probably not come off ſo well next Campaign as they did the laſt, eſpecially if *Bonneval* ſhould find Means to make his Eſcape from *Natolia*, and get into the *Perſian* Service, where he would certainly be receiv'd with open Arms.

The brave but unfortunate *Corſicans* have given a freſh and moſt ſurprizing Teſtimony of the juſt Regard they have for their Liberties. In our laſt we gave an Account that by the Articles ſettled between the *French* and *Genoeſe*, the *Corſicans* are to remain ſubject to the latter, and to be all diſarmed. Theſe Conditions, tho' offered by their *French* Mediators, with a *French* Guaranty for the Preſervation of their Liberties, the brave *Corſicans* refuſed to accept of, rightly judging, that when a People give up their Arms, or neglect to accuſtom themſelves to the Uſe of Arms, their Liberties muſt be in a precarious Situation under any Guaranty whatſoever; for in no Country can Liberty be long preſerved, but by the People's being generally provided with Arms, and bred to military Diſcipline. However, as the Malecontents of *Luccano* and *Borgo* were but 12 Miles from *Baſtia*, where the *French* Troops were poſted, they thought themſelves unable to ſtand out, and therefore propoſed their Submiſſion to the *French* General, provided he would ſend them a Detachment of his Troops, ſufficient to protect them againſt the Reſentment of their Chiefs, who had enjoined them on Pain of Death, not to accept of the Conditions offered. Accordingly the *French* General ſent a Detachment of 400 Men, who took Poſt in that Neighbourhood; upon which an Alarm was ſent thro' the Iſland by the Chiefs of the Malecontents, and on the 1ſt of *December*, they came and attack'd the *French* Detachment with great Fury, and beat them from their Poſt; whereupon the *French* General marched up next Day, with a more numerous Detachment, and having attack'd the *Corſicans*, obliged them to retire into the Mountains; with the Loſs, as the *French* Papers ſay, of 150 of their Men.

In theſe two Actions, the *French* acknowledge they loſt 2 Officers and 30 Men, beſides a much greater Number wounded; and to prevent ſuch a Loſs for the future, the Count de *Boiſſieux*, their General in that Iſland, has called all his out Parties into the City of *Baſtia*, till a Reinforcement arrives from *France*; which is to conſiſt of 26 Battalions, beſides ſome *Huſſars*.

GEOMETRY *and* PHYSICK.

1. THE Elements of all Geometry. By *B. Martin.* Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

2. Alberti Schultens Oratio Academica in Memoriam Herm. Boerhavii. Proſtat apud *A. Dodd*, pr. 1*s.*

3. A Supplement to *Kennedie*'s Ophthalmographia. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 2*s.* 6*d.*

4. A Practical Treatiſe of painful Diſtempers. By *T. Lobb*, M. D. Printed for *J. Buckland*, 8vo, pr. 4*s.*

5. Syphilis. Part II. By *D. Turner*, M. D. Printed for *J. Clarke*, 8vo, pr. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HISTORICAL.

* 6. A new Account of the *Eaſt-Indies.* By Capt. *Hamilton.* The 2d Edit. Printed for Meſſ. *Betteſworth* and *Hitch.* In two Vols. 8vo, pr. 12*s.*

* 7. A new Voyage to *Italy.* By *M. Miſſon.* The 5th Edit. In four Vols. 8vo, pr. 1*l.* 1*s.*

8. A Continuation of Mr. *Whiteſield*'s Journal. Printed for *J. Hutton*, pr. 6*d.*

POETRY.

9. *Jews* Complaint. Printed for. *W. Lloyd*, pr. 6*d.*

10. Verſes on the Death of Dr. *Swift.* Written by himſelf. Printed for *C. Bathurſt*, pr. 1*s.*

11. Poems by Mr. *Pope.* Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, &c. 4to, pr. 5*s.*

12. Raven and Owl. Printed for *J. Jones.* pr. 1*s.*

13. An Ode to the Prince on his Birth-Day. Printed for *J. Brindley*, pr. 6*d.*

14. An Ode on the ſame Occaſion. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, pr. 6*d.*

15. The Surprize: A Tale. Pr. 2*s.*

16. *Saul*, an Oratorio. Sold by *T. Aſtley* and *J. Shuckburgh*, pr. 1*s.*

POLITICAL.

17. Conſiderations on the preſent State of our Affairs at home and abroad. Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

18. Obſervations on the Conduct of the Tories, *&c.* Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d.*

19. A Letter to the Proprietors of the *S. S.* Company. By *R. Coope.* Printed for *A. Dodd*, pr. 4*d.*

20. An Enquiry concerning the Advance of Coals. Printed for *E. Comyns*, pr. 6*d.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

21. Memorials and Characters of many excellent and worthy Perſons of all Ranks and both Sexes. N° 1 and 2. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 1*s.* each.

22. The new Conſtitutions of the Free-Maſons. By *J. Anderſon*, D. D. Printed for Meſſ. *Ward* and *Chandler*, 4to, pr. 10*s.* 6*d.* Small 5*s.*

23. The true Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt vindicated; and alſo a Vindication of the Author's ſhort Diſſertation on Providence. By *Thomas Chubb.* Printed for *Tho. Cox*, 8vo, pr. 1*s.*

24. Wolf uncloak'd; or, the Popiſh Machinery unmaſk'd. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 6*d.*

25. Four Original Letters. By *T. Cibber.* Printed for *T. Read*, pr. 6*d.*

26. The Comforts of Matrimony. Pr. 6*d.*

27. The Honour of Cuckoldom. Printed for *E. Hill*, pr. 6*d.*

28. The Golden Calf. By *J. Philander.* Sold by *T. Cooper*, 8vo, pr. 4*s.*

29. An Account of the Foundation of the Hoſpital for Foundlings in *Paris.* Printed for *R. Montagu*, pr. 6*d.*

30. An Hiſtorical Account of the Degradation of Gold. By *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Montagu*, pr. 6*d.*

31. An Index to the Records. Printed for *G. Hawkins.*

32. Twelve Moral Epiſtles on ſeveral Subjects. From the *Latin* Original of *Seneca* the Philoſopher. Printed for *C. Rivington*, pr. 1*s.*

SERMONS.

33. Sixteen Sermons. By *Joſiah*, Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh.* Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, 8vo.

34. The Eternity of Hell-Torments. By *G. Whiteſield*, A. B. Printed for *J. Hutton*, pr. 6*d.*

35. Fourteen Sermons. By *J. Orr*, M. A. Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, pr. 5*s.*

36. A Sermon in *Gravel-Lane* on New-Years-Day. By *H. Read.* Printed for *R. Hett*, pr. 4*d.*

THEOLOGICAL.

37. An Enquiry into the *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian Revelation. By *S. Parviſh.* Printed for the Author; and ſold by him at *Guildford*; and *T. Cooper*, *London*, 8vo, pr. 4*s.*

38. The Charge of the Lord Biſhop of *Oxford.* Printed for *J. Pemberton*, pr. 6*d.*

39. The Infancy of the World conſider'd as a very unfit Seaſon for the Manifeſtation of the Meſſiah. Printed for *J. Noon*, pr. 1*s.*

40. Univerſal Love and Goodneſs ſhewed to be the great Duty of all People. By *R. Willowes*, M. A. Printed for *J. Wilford*, 8vo, pr. 2*s.*

41. The Babel of Quakeriſm thrown down. Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

42. A New-Years Gift. Printed for *J. Catterns*, pr. 1*s.*

43. The Church of *England* vindicated. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, pr. 1*s.* 6*d.*

44. The Chriſtian a new Creature. Printed for *C. Rivington*, pr. 6*d.*

45. A Letter to Mr. *Whiteſield.* By *T. Land*, M. A. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d.*

46. La Litergie Francoiſe. Nouvelle Edition. Printed for *J. Wilcox*, pr. 2*s.*

* 47. The young Chriſtian inſtructed. In two Parts. By Dr. *Stebbing.* The 6th Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Betteſworth* and *Hitch*, *Ware*, *Rivington*, and *Longman*, pr. 4*d.* or 1*l.* 8*s.* *per* Hundred.

48. An Addreſs to young Students in Divinity. By *A. Taylor.* Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 6*d.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 28.

NOW, Sir, with regard to the People: In all the general Aſſemblies of a Clan in *Germany*, 'tis certain the People not only had a Right, but were obliged, to be preſent; for a general Aſſembly among them, was not only a national Council, but a general Muſter or Review of their Army; and it muſt, I think, be preſumed, that, as long as it was practicable, the *Saxons* continued the ſame Cuſtom in *Britain*. This alone is a ſufficient Argument for proving, that the People had a Right to be preſent in our Witenagemotes, unleſs ſome Law or Regulation could be ſhewn for taking from them, after they came into *Britain*, that Right, which they certainly had when they firſt arrived in the Iſland. But upon the contrary, we have many Paſſages in the antient *Saxon* Annals and Laws, for proving that this Cuſtom was continued among them in *Britain*; and the very Word Witenagemote, according to its true Derivation and Meaning, is a Demonſtration of this Truth.

'Tis true, Sir, this Word, from that Derivation and Meaning which is given to it by all our Antiquarians, would exclude the People from any Share in our Legiſlature; for they, I know, derive it from a Word of their own Invention called *Wita*, which, they ſay, is a *Saxon* Word ſignifying a wiſe Man, and the Word *Gemot*, which, they ſay, is a *Britiſh* Word ſignifying a Council or Synod. But the Word *Wita*, if there was ever ſuch a Word, I muſt deny to be *Saxon*, becauſe it is not of a *Teutonick* or *German* Termination; and I cannot think the *Saxons* would borrow from the *Britiſh*, whom they had ſubdued, any Word which was made uſe of in the moſt ſuperior Station in Life. Conquerors often borrow from the Conquered, ſome of thoſe Words that are moſtly uſed in the low Stations in Life; but with reſpect to Government or Law Terms, or Words uſed in a ſuperior Station, the Conquered always take them from the Conquerors. Of this we have many remarkable Inſtances in our preſent Language, with reſpect to Government or Law Terms, moſt of which are *Norman* or *Latin*; and in many

Things neceſſary for the Support of Life, it is very remarkable, that while ſuch a Thing continues in that Shape, which makes it a Subject of Converſation among the Vulgar, it retains its old *Saxon* Name; but when, in another Shape, it becomes the Subject of Converſation among thoſe of a ſuperior Rank, it acquires a *Norman* or *French* Name. Thus the Word *Ox* or *Cow* is *Saxon*, but the ſame Thing, when it comes upon a Table, or is laid upon the Butcher's Stall, in which Shape Gentlemen or Courtiers have the moſt frequent Occaſion to talk of it, gets the Name of *Beef*, which is *Norman*; and the ſame Remark may be made of the Words *Sheep* and *Mutton*, *Calf* and *Veal*, and a great many others. Beſides, Sir, we know that the Word Witenagemote is often ſpelled Witenamote, which ſtrips it entirely of the imaginary *Britiſh* Word *Gemote*; and we likewiſe know, that Folkmote ſignifies a County Court, and Hallmote a Court Baron, neither of which can admit of any Derivation from *Gemote*. From all which, I think, it is evident, that this *Saxon-Britiſh* Derivation of Witenagemote, muſt be imaginary and without any real Foundation.

Having thus, Sir, overturned the uſual Derivation of this Word, I ſhall beg Leave to ſhew what I take to be its moſt natural Derivation, from whence its true Meaning will become manifeſt; and for this Purpoſe I muſt obſerve, that the *Jutes*, and perhaps all the *Saxons*, eſpecially the *Weſt Saxons*, were called *Wights* or *Wites*. From hence the Iſle of *Wight*, which Hiſtory tells us was given to the *Jutes* by *Cerdic*, the firſt King of the *Weſt Saxons*, took that Name it ſtill retains; and from hence we have ſtill in our Language the Word *Wight*, ſignifying a *Man*: To which I muſt add, that the *Jutes* are called *Viti* by the Venerable *Bede*, in all the old Editions of his Hiſtory; which is the only proper Way he could turn the Name *Wight* into *Latin*; for as the *Romans* had no *W* in their Language, nor any Letter or Letters for expreſſing the guttural Sound we give to *G H*, the only Way *Bede* could turn *Wights* into *Latin*, was by the Word *Victi* or *Viti*; and as the Word *Victi* was a *Latin* Word of a Meaning very improper to be applied to the *Jutes* or *Saxons*, the Author rather choſe to call them *Viti*. For the ſame Reaſon he did not call the Iſle of *Wight*, *Vita* but *Vecta*; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that in *Bede*'s Time, who wrote about 250 Years after the firſt Arrival of the *Saxons* in *Britain*, the *Jutes*, and probably all the *Weſt Saxons*, were called *Wights* or *Wites*. Now, as *Wights* or *Wites* muſt, according to the *Teutonick* or *Dutch* Termination in the plural Number, be called *Witen*, we muſt from thence, in my Opinion, ſeek for the Derivation of the Word Witenagemote. I muſt next obſerve, that the Word *All*, has the ſame Signification in *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to this Day; and that the double *L* is often dropt in the Pronunciation. And laſtly, I muſt obſerve, that the Word or Verb, *To meet*, is of *Saxon* Original, the Participle of which is now *met*, but was probably of old called *mote*, as we now ſay *wrote* from *To write*; and that the Syllable *Ge* is an Augmentation ſtill prefixed by the *Dutch* to the Participle of many of their Verbs; ſo that the Word *Gemote*, in old *Saxon*, ſignifies what we now expreſs by the Word *Met*. From all which, I think, we may naturally preſume, that the Word Witenagemote is derived from theſe three Words, to wit, *Witen*, ſignifying *Saxons*, the Word *All*, in its preſent Signification, and the Word *Gemote*, ſignifying *Met*; and then, according to this Derivation, the true

true Meaning of the Word will be, *The* Saxons *all met together*, or *a general Aſſembly of the* Saxon *People*. This I take to be the moſt natural Derivation of the Word Witenagemote; and as the Augmentation *Ge* may be indifferently either left out or put in, we may from thence eaſily ſee, how the Words Witenagemote, Folkmote, and Hallmote, were originally formed; and may more reaſonably conclude, that the *Welch* or *Britiſh* Word *Camote* or *Gemote*, ſignifying a Council or Synod, is derived from the *Saxon* Word *Gemote*, than that the *Saxon* Name for their chief Council or Synod, owed any Part of its Original to the *Welch* or *Britiſh* Language.

Thus, Sir, from the very Word Witenagemote, according to its true Derivation and Meaning, it appears, that all the *Saxon* People had a Right to be preſent at the Witenagemote, or Parliament of the Kingdom, to which they belonged; and this, as I have ſaid, is confirmed by many Paſſages in the antient *Saxon* Annals or Laws, even down to the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor*; for by one of his Laws, the Tenths or Tythes were confirmed to the Church *a Rege, Baronibus & Populo*; but we are not to preſume, that after the ſeven *Saxon* Kingdoms were united into one, all the *Saxons* in *England* were preſent at any of their Witenagemotes: Even during the Heptarchy, we cannot ſuppoſe, that all the *Saxons* in any one of the ſeven Kingdoms, were always preſent at the Witenagemotes held for that Kingdom; for tho' by their Conſtitution of Government they had not only a Right, but were all obliged, to be preſent, and probably were ſo for ſome Time after their firſt Settlement; yet when the People, in any one of theſe Kingdoms, became very numerous, and began to apply themſelves to the Improvement of the Lands they had got Poſſeſſion of, we may believe, this Obligation was neglected by the People, and that Neglect winked at by the Government; therefore, the *Infinita Multitudo*, or *Copioſa Multitudo*, mentioned to have been preſent at ſome of the *Saxon* Witenagemotes, is to be underſtood of that Part of the People only, that could conveniently, and did voluntarily attend; but from ſuch Expreſſions we muſt conclude, that the People had a Right to be preſent, that great Numbers of them were preſent, and that the more of them were preſent, the more ſolemn the Aſſembly was held to be: And that they came there, not to conſult, adviſe, or debate, but to approve or diſapprove, according to the Manner of the antient *Germans*, appears plainly from a Law paſſed in the Reign of King *Ethelwolf*, *Alfred*'s Father, by which the Tythes of the whole Kingdom were granted, or rather confirmed, to the Church; which Grant is ſaid by the Hiſtorian to have been made at a Witenagemote at *Wincheſter*, *præſentibus & ſubſcribentibus Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis Angliæ univerſis, nec non Beoredo Rege Merciæ, Edmundo Eaſt-Anglorum Rege, abbatum & abbatiſſarum, Ducum, Comitum, Procerumque totius Terræ, aliorumque fidelium infinita Multitudine, qui omnes Regium Chirographum Laudaverunt, Dignitates vero ſua nomina ſubſcripſerunt.*

Having thus, Sir, eſtabliſhed the *Saxon* People's Right of being preſent at their Witenagemotes, I muſt take Notice of ſome Alterations that had happened after the *Saxons* firſt Settlement in *Britain*, and before the Reign of King *Alfred*. When the *Saxon* Kingdoms were firſt eſtabliſhed, there were, beſide the King, but three Sorts of Men in any of their Kingdoms, that is to ſay, the Lords of capital Manors, who were in each Kingdom but very few in Number; the Lords of inferior Ma-

nors, and the military Tenants or Freeholders; for as the Lands the *Saxons* conquered were divided among the Officers and Soldiers of the conquering Army, we muſt ſuppoſe that every *Saxon* had ſome Share of the Land, to be held by military Service only, either of the King, or of ſome inferior Lord, and that therefore every *Saxon* was at firſt, what is in the ſtricteſt Senſe meant by a Freeholder; and the third Sort of Men, that were in every *Saxon* Kingdom, were the *Britiſh*, who were allowed to live among them either for the Sake of Commerce, or for aſſiſting them to cultivate their Lands. Of theſe three Sorts, the firſt two only had a Right to be preſent at their Witenagemotes, and were obliged to appear there in Arms; but the third Sort were looked on as Slaves, and therefore were not allowed any Share in the Government, nor had the Liberty to wear or have in their Cuſtody any Sort of Arms; ſo that there were in the firſt *Saxon* Witenagemotes but two Sorts of Men, to wit, the Lords of capital Manors, who appeared there as Senators, and had a Right to conſult, adviſe, debate, and to give their Opinion or Vote *ſingulatim*; and the Lords of inferior Manors and other military Tenants or Freeholders, who came there only to hear what was ſaid or reſolved on, and to approve or diſapprove by ſome general Signal; for with reſpect to the great Officers, as they were at firſt choſen by the Witenagemote, we may ſuppoſe they were generally Lords of capital Manors, and therefore, by ſuch Choice, tho' they might perhaps acquire ſome Preheminence or Authority, they acquired no new Right, with regard to the Witenagemote.

Among the firſt *Saxons*, Sir, we cannot ſuppoſe there were any who held their Lands by what we now call ſocage Tenure; for the Tenants by ſocage Tenure at firſt held their Lands at the Will of the Lord, and paid what Rent, and did what Services he pleaſed, ſo that they were in ſome Meaſure his Slaves or menial Servants; and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that ſuch Tenants were at firſt the *Britons* only, who remained among the *Saxons* for the Sake of Commerce, or who were employed by them to cultivate their Lands, and to do other ſervile Offices about their Families; but at laſt, when the *Saxons* began to multiply, many of them were forced to become Tenants by ſocage Tenure, and the Diſtinction between *Saxon* and *Britiſh* Socmen being at laſt forgot, theſe Tenants by ſocage Tenure by Degrees came to get the Lands they poſſeſſed, granted to them for Life, or to them and their Heirs, for the Payment of a certain Rent; from which Time they began to be called Freeholders, and to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that ſtill continued to hold their Lands at the Will of the Lord, and at ſuch Rents and Services as he pleaſed to impoſe; for the latter, being ſtill look'd on as Slaves, were not allowed to have any Share in the Government; but the former, being conſidered as Freemen, were allowed to be preſent, with the other Freeholders, at the Witenagemote, and conſequently to have ſome Share in the Government. The Number of Inhabitants ſtill increaſing by the Deſtruction of Foreſts and Improvement of Lands, and the Diſtinction between *Britiſh* and *Saxon* being quite forgot, many of the *Saxons* as well as *Britiſh*, who had no Lands of their own, got Leaſes of certain Parcels of Land from the Propietor or Lord, either at Will or for a certain Term, and for the Payment of a certain Rent in Money or Kind. Theſe Leſſees were by the *Saxons* called Ceorls, Boors, or Fearmors; and as theſe Fearmors had Occaſion

for ſeveral Servants to aſſiſt them in cultivating and managing their Farms, they built little Houſes upon their Farms for theſe Servants, which little Houſes were called Cotes, and thoſe that lived in them were called Cotagers.

Thus, Sir, the Country Inhabitants of *England*, in the Time of King *Alfred*, were either Lords of capital Manors, Lords of inferior or ſubordinate Manors, Freeholders, Copy Holders, Farmers, Cotagers, or menial Servants; and theſe we may divide into three Claſſes, of which the Lords of capital Manors make the firſt; the Lords of inferior Manors and the Freeholders make the ſecond; and the Copyholders, Farmers, Cotagers, and menial Servants, make the third. Of theſe three Claſſes, the firſt had not only a Right to be preſent in the Witenagemote, but a Right to be there as Senators, to conſult, adviſe, debate, and give their Opinion or Vote *ſingulatim*, upon all Matters that came before them. The ſecond had a Right to be preſent in the Witenagemote, but were not to conſult, adviſe, debate, or give their Opinion *ſingulatim*; they were only, as formerly in *Germany*, to approve or diſapprove by ſome general Signal. Then as to the third, they were all looked on as a Sort of Slaves or menial Servants, and therefore had no Right to be preſent in the Witenagemote; or to join in the Approbation or Diſapprobation of what was reſolved on by the King and Senators, or Lords of capital Manors. As to the two firſt Claſſes, they had not only a Right to be preſent, but the King or Aſſembly might call them, or any ſingle Member of either of them, and had a Right to inſiſt upon their Attendance; tho' this was ſeldom or never practiſed, except with regard to the Lords of capital Manors, and the great Officers of the Kingdom; and even with reſpect to them, it had become ſo uſual to ſend each of them a particular Summons, that few or none of them attended without ſuch a Summons; but it cannot be from thence inferred that either of theſe two Claſſes, or any Number of either of them, gave up the Right they had of being preſent, whenever they had a Mind.

This, I ſay, Sir, was the State of our Country Inhabitants: And now with regard to the Inhabitants of our Cities or Boroughs, I muſt obſerve, that the Tradeſmen and Merchants, who lived in any of the Towns conquered by the *Saxons*, were at firſt generally *Britiſh*, whom the *Saxons*, for their own Conveniency, permitted to live among them, but they were a Sort of Slaves or Tenants at Will to their reſpective *Saxon* Lords, and paid ſuch Rents for their Houſes, and performed ſuch Services, as the Lord pleaſed to demand; therefore they had at firſt no Right to appear at any of the *Saxon* Witenagemotes. But by Degrees, many of the younger Sons of *Saxon* Families were bred up Tradeſmen or Merchants, and for carrying on their Buſineſs took up their Habitation in ſome of our Towns, by which means the Diſtinction between *Britiſh* and *Saxons* came ſoon to be forgot, and the Inhabitants of theſe Towns began to be treated with more Lenity, and to be better eſteemed by their Lords. As it is natural for Men that live together, to form themſelves into a ſubordinate Society, and to ſet up ſome Sort of particular Government, and a Common Good among themſelves, the Inhabitants of ſome of the chief Towns within the King's Manors, formed a Sort of Society among themſelves, for farming the Rents and Services due to the King from the ſeveral Inhabitants, by which they freed themſelves from the

the Oppreſſions often put upon them by the King's Stewards or Rent-Gatherers; and at laſt they got themſelves incorporated, and their Poſſeſſions or Territory erected into a Sort of capital Manor, paying a certain Rent to the King for the Whole; from which Time the Town became a free Town, and the Inhabitants Freemen or Freeholders; from whence they acquired a Right to be preſent with the other Freeholders in our Witenagemotes, and to ſend one of their Number thither, as a Senator or Lord of their capital Manor, whoſe Expences were paid by the Borough or Corporation in general. This Repreſentative was by our *Latin* Hiſtorians called *Procurator*, and the Difference between him and his fellow Citizens or Burgeſſes was, that he took his Place in the Witenagemote as a Senator or Counſellor, and had his Expences borne at the publick Charge of the City or Borough; whereas if any of the reſt accompanied him thither, as they had a Right to do, they appeared there only as Freemen or Freeholders, and were at their own Charge. In Imitation of this, many of the Towns within capital Manors belonging to Subjects, got their Rents and Services aſcertained, and their Poſſeſſions or Territory erected into a Sort of ſubordinate or inferior Manor, paying a certain Rent to their reſpective Lords for the Whole; from which Time every ſuch Town became a free Town, and the Inhabitants, Freemen or Freeholders; and from thence they acquired a Right to be preſent in our Witenagemotes, and to ſend one thither as the Lord of their ſubordinate or inferior Manor, who was likewiſe called *Procurator*, and had his Expences borne at the Charge of the Corporation; but tho' he had, perhaps, a little more Reſpect, he had no greater Privilege in the Witenagemote, than any of his fellow Townſmen that accompanied him, as every one of them might have done, if they had pleaſed to be at the Trouble and Charge. This laſt Sort of *Procurator* could at firſt appear in the Witenagemote only as a Lord of an inferior Manor, and therefore had no Privilege but what every Freeholder in *England* had, that is, to join in the general Approbation or Diſapprobation of what was reſolved on by the King and Senators. But theſe free Towns ſo often changed Lords, thoſe that were at firſt in the King's Hands being granted away to Subjects, and thoſe that were at firſt infranchiſed by Subjects coming afterwards into the Hands of the Crown, that the Diſtinction between them came at laſt to be loſt: They began to be all looked on as capital Manors, and their *Procurators* were all allowed a Place in the Witenagemote, as Senators or Counſellors. This Alteration, however, did not happen, I believe, till ſome Time after the Conqueſt, and I ſhall hereafter take Notice, by what Means it was brought about.

From the Account I have given of the ſeveral Sorts or Claſſes of Men in the Kingdom, a pretty exact Notion may be formed of thoſe who were the conſtituent Members of our Witenagemotes or Parliaments, when our great, good, and juſt King *Alfred* aſcended the Throne. It will from thence appear, Sir, that our Witenagemotes at that Time conſiſted of the King, the Lords of capital Manors, the Repreſentatives or *Procurators* of what I ſhall call our Royal Boroughs, or thoſe which were of Royal Foundation, and as many of the Freeholders or Freemen as pleaſed to attend. The King was always, by himſelf or Commiſſioners, the Preſident of the Aſſembly, and firſt Speaker; from whence we have ſtill the Cuſtom

of

the King's opening every Seſſion Parliament with a Speech from e Throne: The Lords of capital anors, and the Repreſentatives of oyal Boroughs, who were, even in *lfred*'s Time, I believe, but few Number, ſat there as Senators, A Counſellors and Adviſers to the ing; and the People appeared there ly to approve or diſapprove of hat was reſolved on by the King nd Senators. From hence we may e, that the Conſent of the King, e Conſent of the Majority of the B nators, and the general Conſent Approbation of the People, was ceſſary for eſtabliſhing every Reolution or Determination of that ſſembly; for as every Thing that as done in the Witenagemote, paſſd in the King's Name, nothing C ould be done without his Conſent; nd as he did nothing in his Witenemote, nor could be ſuppoſed to any Thing, but by the Advice his Senators, and Approbation of s People, nothing could be done ithout the Conſent of the former, D nd the Approbation of the latter. the Affair was brought before the ſſembly, by Means of a Propoſion made by the King to the Seators, or by the Senators to the ing, it was the King that comanded or ordered: If the Affair E as brought before them by Means a Petition, (for as the People had Right to adviſe or debate, they uld only Petition) it was the King at granted it; from whence come e different Words ſtill made uſe , in giving the Royal Aſſent to F lls in Parliament; for if the Bill kes its Riſe in the Houſe of Lords, e Royal Aſſent is given by the ords, *Le Roy le Veut*; whereas, if e Bill takes its Riſe in the Houſe Commons, the Royal Aſſent is ven by the Words, *Soit comme il eſt* G *eſiré*.

It will likewiſe appear, Sir, that, ſides the King, there were properly but two Sorts or Ranks of Men in our Witenagemotes, that is to ſay, the Lords of capital Manors, and the People, Freeholders, or Freemen, in general; for the Repreſentatives of Royal Boroughs came there at firſt, as Lords of capital Manors, for which Reaſon they took their Place among the other Lords of capital Manors, and had the ſame Right to conſult, adviſe, debate, and give their Opinion *ſingulatim*; and the Repreſentatives of other Boroughs, tho' they had perhaps their Expences borne by their reſpective Boroughs, yet they appeared there only as Lords of inferior Manors, and conſequently had no greater Right or Privilege in the Witenagemote, than any other Freeholder, or Freeman in the Kingdom. As for the Princes of the Blood Royal, and great Officers, they were always, I believe, Lords of capital Manors, and if they were not, I doubt much if they could appear in the Witenagemote, as Senators, or Counſellors and Adviſers to the King; therefore, when the King had a Mind that any Man not poſſeſſed of a capital Manor, ſhould appear there as a Senator, he was obliged to make him a Grant or Gift of ſome capital Manor; nor had he even in this an abſolute Power; for it ſeems evident from antient Hiſtory, that the King could not grant or give away any of the Manors belonging to the Crown, without the Conſent of the Witenagemote; nor could a Lord of a Manor grant or give away any Part of his Manor, or create a new Lord of an inferior Manor, or a new Freeholder, without the Conſent of his Court Baron, as well as of his ſovereign or ſuperior Lord: Nay, we find the Power of naming or confirming Biſhops was not abſolute in the King, but was done with the Conſent of the Witenagemote.

This Reſtraint upon the Royal Pre-

Prerogative was neceſſary, both for preſerving the Liberties of the People, and the Dignity of the Senate; for no Titles, no Powers, Sir, can preſerve the Dignity of an Aſſembly, if worthleſs Creatures are admitted into it, or if thoſe Titles and Powers are to be acquired only by mean and ſlaviſh Compliances, or by a baſe and criminal Behaviour; and as the Senators ſeem to have been the Judges, and the only Judges, whether their Reſolutions were approved or diſapproved by the Majority of the People, if the King had then had an unlimited Power of bringing whomſoever he pleaſed, and as many as he pleaſed, into the Witenagemote, as Senators, the Royal Faction in the Senate might have voted that to be an Approbation of the Majority of the People, which was an Approbation of their own Creatures and Tools only. By this Means the Liberties of the People would have been effectually deſtroyed; for if any particular Set of Men, under whatever Title or Pretence, can cram whatever they pleaſe down the Throats of the People, or force them to ſubmit to what they generally diſapprove, that People can no longer be called a free People: They are Slaves, and muſt continue ſo, till they acquire Courage enough to cut their Fetters aſunder with their Swords.

It was not then pretended, Sir, that the King could, by Means of a bare and imaginary Title, grant to a Man and his Heirs the Privilege of being a Senator or Counſellor in every future Aſſembly of the People; for tho' in thoſe Days, there were ſome Titles of Honour, or rather Titles of Office, tho' ſome of thoſe Titles were hereditary, yet they never were given, nor belonged, to any but ſuch as had a Lordſhip or capital Manor of their own; and it was not the Title but the Eſtate or Lordſhip that gave them a Privilege of being Senators or Counſellors in the general Aſſemblies of our People. Among the *Germans*, and probably among the *Saxons*, when they firſt came into *Britain*, the only hereditary Title was that of Ealderman, which was firſt conferred, neither by the King nor People, but by Nature, becauſe it belonged only to the Repreſentative of the eldeſt Tribe or Branch. The only other Title of Honour we read of among the antient *Germans*, and even among the *Saxons*, for ſome Time after their firſt Settlement in *Britain*, was that of Heretogh, tranſlated into *Latin* by the Name *Dux*, becauſe he was their General or Leader in War. This Title was never, among them, granted to a Man and his Heirs, nor to any Man for Life or Term of Years: It was the Title of an Office, created only as Occaſion required; and its Exiſtence always ended with the Occaſion that gave it a Being: It was always conferred by the Ealderman and People in a general Aſſembly of their Clan, Tribe, or Branch; and was conferred on the Man they thought beſt qualified for executing the Office; therefore it might be, and probably was often, conferred on their Ealderman. As the *Saxons* divided the Lands they conquered in *Britain* among their ſeveral Tribes, according to the Number of Men in each Tribe; the Diſtrict or Territory allotted to each Tribe became a Sort of capital Manor, and the Ealderman of that Tribe became, and was afterwards called, Ealderman of ſuch a Diſtrict; becauſe the *Saxons*, as I have ſaid, began, ſoon after their Settlement in *Britain*, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the Territory they poſſeſſed, and not by the Tribe to which they belonged. This Title of Ealderman or Earl, as it was afterwards called, being thus appropriated to the Lord of a Manor, or chief Magiſtrate within ſuch

District, it was afterwards borwed, and given to that Perſon, ho was appointed by the King, preſide over all his Manors in ch a Part of the Country; and this Office became hereditary in me great Families, thoſe Families came hereditary Ealdermen, each them within a large Diſtrict or rt of the Country, containing with- it ſeveral capital Manors, belong- g to Subjects as well as to the ing, over all which that Family ſumed, by Degrees, a Sort of ſu- reme Juriſdiction or Power; and ſome Parts this Ealderman or Earl kewiſe aſſumed the ſole Privilege being their Heretogh, or General War; by which Means the Title nd Office of Heretogh, which was lways before elective and tranſi- ry, became not only laſting, but ereditary in particular Families, nd was in a Manner conſolidated ith the Title and Office of Ealder- an, or Earl. I ſay, Sir, Ealder- an, or Earl, for they ſignify the me Thing, and are often con- ounded by our Hiſtorians: Nay, he Word *Earl* is plainly nothing ut a Contraction of the Word *E- lder*; for in our Language, to this ay, the Letter *D*, after *L*, is often, nd in many Places, not at all pro- ounced, as in the Words *Aldgate*, *old*, *Bold*, &c. Thus, by not pro- ouncing the *D*, the Word *Ealder* ame to be pronounced *Ealer*; then he *E* not being fully pronounced, nd it being difficult to pronounce , after *L*, therefore the *R* was ut before the *L*, and the *E* en- irely left out, or put at the End; om whence the Word *Ealder* or *al'r* came at laſt to be pronounced r ſpelled *Earl* or *Earle*. But I muſt bſerve, that this Office and Title f Ealderman or Earl of a large Diſ- rict, thus firſt created by the King, as always granted to ſome Lord of capital Manor; and after theſe arls came to aſſume, and to be allowed, great Power, we may ſuppoſe, the Office was never granted but by the Conſent or Approbation of the Witenagemote; ſo that theſe great Ealdermen or Earls had the Privilege of appearing in the Witenagemote, as Senators, not from the Office or Title, but from the capital Manor or Lordſhip they were poſſeſſed of.

As for the Word *Thane*, Sir, it was at firſt ſo far from being a Title of Honour, that it ſignified a Servant: The King's Faulconer, Huntſman, *&c.* were called his *Thanes*; but as theſe Offices afforded an eaſy and frequent Acceſs to the King, and became very profitable, they were therefore coveted by Lords of great Manors, or younger Sons of great Families, ſo that the Perſon in Office gave Dignity to the Office, and not the Office to the Perſon; and as the King generally gave Lands or capital Manors to Gentlemen, for ſerving ſuch Offices, they thereby came to have the Privilege of being preſent at all our Witenagemotes, as Senators, or Counſellors to the King. And then, as to the Title or Name *Baron*, as it is of *German* Original, being derived from the Word *Bar* or *War*, the Letters *B*, *W*, and *V*, in the *Tutonick* Dialect, being often confounded, and put one inſtead of the other, therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that *Baron* ſignified at firſt the King's Warrior, or an Ealderman or Lord of a capital Manor, held by military Service of the Crown; and every ſuch Baron, by Virtue of his Manor, had the Privilege of being preſent in our Witenagemotes, as a Senator or Counſellor; ſo that after the Conqueſt it became in general a Name for every Lord of a capital Manor, either of great or ſmall Extent; from whence came the Diſtinction afterwards made between great and ſmall Barons, the former of which were ſummoned to Parliament by a particular Summons

to each, the latter by a general Summons, directed to the Sheriff of each County.

Thus, Sir, with reſpect to our antient temporal Titles of Honour, it is evident, that of themſelves they gave a Man no Privilege of being preſent in our Witenagemotes, as a Senator or Counſellor; and with reſpect to the ſpiritual Titles of Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Abbot and Prior, the Caſe was the ſame. It was from the temporal Lordſhip, or capital Manor, annexed to their Office, that they had the Privilege of appearing in our Witenagemotes, as Senators, and not from any ſpiritual Title or Office they poſſeſſed or exerciſed in the Church; for if this Privilege had depended on the latter, we can aſſign no Reaſon, why all the Abbots and Priors in *England* did not enjoy the ſame Privilege, which it is certain they did not.

As we have not Room for inſerting this whole Speech, we ſhall defer the reſt of it till our next, when this Journal will be continued.

Common Senſe, Jan. 27. N° 104.

Of the late Action between the HANOVERIANS *and* DANES.

SIR,

I Have lately read, with great Satisfaction, the Account of the ſignal Victory obtained by his Majeſty's *Hanoverian* Troops over the *Danes*, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of the Numbers; the *Danes* being at leaſt 30, and the *Hanoverians* at moſt 500 Men; the *Danes* having, moreover, the important Fortreſs of *Steinhorſt* to protect, and the Counſels of Counſellor *Wederkop* to direct them.

As the beſt Account of this great Action is in the *Daily Gazetteer* of the 25th of *Dec.* laſt, which nobody reads, I will, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, tranſcribe it from thence. [*This Account is the ſame with that in our* Magazine *for* December *laſt, p.* 633. *Col.* 2. *which ſee.*] *After which, this Writer proceeds thus:*

This Action is, in my Mind, as great an Inſtance of Prudence, Generoſity, Magnanimity, and Moderation, as any we read of in Antiquity. Conſidering the Strength of the Caſtle, and the Number of the Gariſon, it was certainly prudent to ſend no leſs than 500 Men to attack it. The Colonel ſhews his Generoſity, in the firſt Place, by ſending a very *civil Meſſage* to the commanding Officer, to let him know he was come to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and to *turn him out by Force*, and then the Ardour of his Courage, by not ſtaying for an Anſwer, but beginning the Attack in *the Interim*. After he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Fortreſs by his Hook and other Warlike Inſtruments, he declines the Right of Conqueſt, which he might undoubtedly have inſiſted upon; but quiets the Poſſeſſion by Virtue of an Inſtrument prepared by a Lawyer and a Scrivener, whom he had ſent for from *Hamburg* for that Purpoſe.

This important Fortreſs, together with the Eſtate about it, I am aſſured, is worth, as to the *Dominium utile*, no leſs than 1000*l.* a Year and ineſtimable, as to the *Dominium ſupremum*, as it is a Check to the *Northern* Powers: But the Title being pretty intricate, his Majeſty bought it a Pennyworth of the Duke of *Holſtein*, the laſt Time he viſited his *German* Dominions, paying, I think, no more than 30,000*l.* for it.

I have met with ſome timorous People, who apprehend ill Conſequences from this Affair. The King of *Denmark*, (ſay they) incens'd at this Treatment, will certainly throw himſelf into the Arms of *France*, which hath, for ſome Time, been endeavouring to engage him, as well

s other *Northern* Powers, provisio-
ally, in her Interests, to facilitate
er future Schemes of Power. Nay,
more, (say they) the King of *Den-*
ark may probably resent this upon
Hanover itself, and march a consi-
derable Body of Troops there; in
which Case, *Hanover* will cry out,
Murther! call upon *England* for Help,
nd we may be obliged to send more
Fleets to the *Baltick*, and be en-
aged in a War upon Account of
disputed Possession, too inconsi-
derable even for a Law-Suit. But
hose who talk in this Way are but
hallow Politicians, and have not an
dequate Notion of the Strength and
mportance of our foreign Domini-
ns, or of the Goodness of *those*
Troops. On the contrary, it seems
vident to me, that the King of
Denmark will think twice, before he
ngages in Measures disagreeable to
hat State, whose Strength, Courage,
nd Conduct he hath of late so sen-
bly experienced; but should he
ake any rash Step, *Hanover* alone
s more than a Match for him, and
England neither can, nor will be en-
aged in that Quarrel; and espe-
ially at a Time that our Expences
nd Fleets are employ'd in obtaining
mple Reparation for our Merchants,
nd future *Security for our Trade*,
which, it may be, is not quite yet
ccomplish'd.

Upon this Occasion, give me
Leave, Sir, to suggest to you my
Thoughts, upon the Lustre and Ad-
antage which *England* receives from
eing so happily annex'd to his Ma-
esty's *German* Dominions, in An-
wer to vulgar Prejudices.

While *England* was unconnected
ith any Dominions upon the Con-
inent, we had only our Fleets, to
revent, and resist Insults from o-
her Powers; whereas, by our happy
Union with *Hanover*, we have a
ody of above 20,000 Men, *most*
xcellent Troops, to act wherever we
hink proper, without the least *Dan-*
ger or Expence to *England*; by which
too, particularly, we bridle the *North*.

The Dutchy of *Bremen* is of in-
finite Advantage to *England*, as it
supplies us with great Quantities of
Linen both for home Consumption,
and Re-exportation, to the great
Ease of our Linen Manufacturers,
who would otherwise be obliged to
make ten Times the Quantity they
do now.

Hanover may likewise be of Use
to us by its Example, since there
cannot be a stronger Instance of
the Advantages arising to a Country,
from a wise and frugal Administra-
tion, than the late great Improve-
ments of that Electorate.

The whole Revenues of it, at
his late Majesty's Accession to the
Throne of these Realms, did not
amount to more than 300,000*l.* a
Year, and yet, soon afterwards, the
considerable Purchase of *Bremen* and
Verden was made for above 500,000*l.*
Sterling. Not long after this, the
Number of Troops in the Electorate
was rais'd much above what it was
before thought able to maintain, and
hath continued ever since upon that
high Establishment.

Since his present Majesty's Acces-
sion to the Electorate, several Ac-
quisitions have also been made, and
the very last Time his Majesty vi-
sited those Dominions, he bought in,
at the Price of above 100,000*l.* the
Revenues of the Postage of the E-
lectorate, which was an hereditary
Grant to the Counts of *Platen*. And
in *August* last, his Majesty concluded
the Purchase, and paid above 30,000*l.*
for the Fortress and Estate of *Stein-*
horst. So that, upon the Whole,
notwithstanding the Expences for the
current Service of the Year equal,
at least, the Revenue of the Electo-
rate, yet, by a prudent and frugal
Management, a *Million Sterling*, at
least, hath been laid out, over and
above, in new Acquisitions.

If such frugal Means had been

purſued, we ſhould have been in a better Condition than we are now. I cannot help recommending to the Ad ——— here, to follow the Example of their *German* Brethren, to have Spirit enough to act, and Frugality enough to put the Nation in a Condition of doing it.

ANGLO-GERMANICUS.

Craftſman, Jan. 27. N° 655.

Of the SPANISH AFFAIR, *&c.*

THE Meeting of Parliament, like the *Comitia* of ancient *Rome*, always raiſes the Expectations of the People; eſpecially in Times of Danger and Difficulty, either at home or abroad.

The *Parliament*, which formerly us'd to meet a Month or two before *Chriſtmas*, hath been lately put off till the Middle of *January*, to the great Injury of *Trade* in this Town, as well as the Inconvenience of the *Members* themſelves, whoſe Buſineſs makes it proper for them to ſpend the Summer-Part of the Year in the Country.

The *preſent Parliament* was ſummon'd by Proclamation to meet on *Jan.* 18, *for the Diſpatch of divers weighty and important Affairs*; and moſt of the Members came up to Town, from the moſt diſtant Parts of the Nation, in order to do their Duty, notwithſtanding the Badneſs of the Weather and Roads; eſpecially *thoſe*, who are not in the *Secret of Affairs*, are the leaſt able to bear the Expence of living in Town, and moſt likely to return before the *End of the Seſſion*; which, in ſome *former Parliaments*, hath been too often the Time reſerv'd for doing *Jobbs*. But, upon their Arrival in Town, they found themſelves prorogued to the 1ſt of *February*.

In Purſuance of a *Parliamentary Reſolution*, a large Squadron was ſent into the *Mediterranean*, and another to the *Weſt-Indies*. If the *Officers*, who commanded *theſe Fleets*, have not done their Duty, they ought to be called to Account and puniſh'd. But if it ſhould appear, that their Inaction hath proceeded from Want of *due and proper Inſtructions*, I leave the whole World to judge where the Fault lies. Certain it is, that the *Spaniards* have continued to plunder our *Merchants*, in the ſame inſolent Manner, notwithſtanding *theſe formidable and expenſive Armaments*, ſent abroad to protect them, and procure Juſtice to the Nation.

The Point now is, whether *Spain* hath given us a *ſatisfactory Anſwer* or not; for many People will be apt to argue upon it, in this Manner. If it is, in no Degree *ſatisfactory*, there is more Occaſion for the *Parliament* to meet early, and take effectual Meaſures for compelling them to equitable Terms. If they have given us *full Satisfaction*, as we are told, the *ſame Perſons* will aſk, what Reaſon there can be for not opening the *Seſſion of Parliament*, at the uſual and appointed Time; ſince our *Miniſter*, in this Caſe, would have an Opportunity of convincing the People of his Skill in *Negotiations*? The only Reaſon therefore, for delaying the *Parliament*, as *theſe Perſons* may alledge, is in order to cook up ſomething, which may appear a little palatable to the *People* at firſt.

It hath been an ancient Cuſtom in this Nation, for the *Nobility* of *high Rank*, or *Stations*, to repreſent to his Majeſty, at any Time, the Dangers they apprehend him to be in; if therefore this Affair of the *Spaniards* ſhould not, at laſt, anſwer our juſt Expectations, I leave it to *all ſuch*, as would not willingly be involved in the *Odium* of it, whether this is not a proper Time to make uſe of their *ancient Privilege*. Should they find themſelves diſcountenanc'd, in ſuch a Caſe, by any *Miniſter* or *Favourite*, the next Evidence of their *Loyalty* and *Patriotiſm*

is to abſent themſelves from *Councils*, where Experience ſhews them that their *Votes* and *Influence* will have no Effect.

There are ſeveral Inſtances in Hiſtory, of *Kings*, who have been deſerted by *all their Counſellors*, except a *few Tools* and *Upſtarts*, when it was apparent that they had long purſued *deſtructive Meaſures* themſelves, or ſuffer'd a *Miniſter* to do it in their Name, and by their Authority; which ought to be a Warning to *all Princes*, how they repoſe their whole Confidence in any *one Man*, againſt the general Inclination of the *People*, as well as their *other Counſellors*.

Beſides, it deſerves the Conſideration even of *Miniſters*, that there are many Things in Government, which may be thought *legal* for the preſent, and yet afterwards judg'd to be *criminal*. The *Parliament* hath a Power of *repealing* Laws, as well as *making* them; and what *one Parliament* hath approv'd and confirm'd, *another* hath the ſame Right to annul and condemn. This was the Caſe of the late Earl of *Oxford*, who was ſolemnly impeach'd, (I need not ſay by *whom*) for a *Treaty of Peace with* France, which was not only *legally ſign'd*, but received the ſtrongeſt Sanction and Approbation of *Parliament*, as well as for ſome *other Acts*, which are allowed to be *legal Prerogatives of the Crown*, tho' it was then thought that they were improperly exercis'd. But to return to our *preſent Point*.

We have a Right by *Treaties*, as well as the *Law of Nations*, to a free Navigation in all Parts of the World; and therefore, a pecuniary Reparation to our *Merchants* is not the moſt material Article in a new Treaty with *Spain*, tho' a very neceſſary one. What we ought chiefly to inſiſt upon is, *No Search, in any Latitude*; nor even in the *Ports* and *Havens* of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, when our Ships are driven thither by *Diſtreſs of Weather*, Purſuit of *Pirates*, or any *other Accidents*; in which Caſes, it is the Cuſtom to make a Signal, by firing a Gun; and if any Veſſels are found trading clandeſtinely there, without obſerving *this Rule*, let it be at their *own Hazard*; let them be condemn'd and confiſcated.

I believe, no *fair Trader* will be angry with me, for putting the Argument upon this fair Foot; for tho' *their Loſſes* are very grievous, they have more Regard for the *Honour of their Country*, and the *Security of their future Trade*, than to ſit down contented with a *little temporary Satisfaction to* themſelves, when we have ſo favourable an Opportunity of doing the whole Nation ample Juſtice.

For my own Part, I am willing to believe, that *our Miniſter* hath made an advantageous and honourable Treaty with *Spain*; that his *Catholick Majeſty* will order all his *Governors* and *Officers*, who have cruelly treated our *Seamen*, and ſhar'd in the Plunder of our *Merchants*, to be exemplarily puniſh'd; that he will give us full Satisfaction for the Inſults offer'd to the Honour of the *Britiſh Flag*; that he will not bring into Diſpute our Right to *Territories*, in our Poſſeſſion, before the *American Treaty*, of 1670, and conceded to us, by the Article of *Uti Poſſidetis*; and that he will reimburſe the *vaſt Expence* we have lately been at, upon this Account; for if the King of *Spain* ſhould not conſent to *theſe Articles*, eſpecially the *laſt*, the obtaining of even 100,000*l.* at the Expence of 400,000*l.* (and much more, for ought I know) will be thought but a poor Accommodation; eſpecially, if what the *Diſaffected* ſeem to ſuggeſt ſhould be true, that the Money is to be furniſh'd by *other Hands*. Much leſs can I give Credit to a ridiculous

Re-

Report, ſpread about Town, that by one Article, in our new Treaty with *Spain*, we are to pay them 62,000*l.* for deſtroying their Fleet before *Sicily*, in 1718. There can be no great Occaſion to expoſe the Falſhood of ſuch a ſcandalous Report; ſince the *Hon. Perſon*, who deſtroy'd *this Fleet*, was made a *Peer of the Realm*, and advanc'd to the *Head of the Admiralty*, for his good Services upon this very Occaſion, which likewiſe received the ſtrongeſt Approbation of *Parliament*. How therefore can it be ſuppoſed, that any *Miniſter* ſhould have Meanneſs enough, 20 Years afterwards, to ſubmit to a *national Fine*, for the pretended Injury done to *another Nation*, with whom we were in open War, and who have been ever ſince *plundering* us, and preying upon our *Trade?*

An Acknowledgment from the *Spaniards*, in general Terms, that we have a *Right to navigate the Seas*, is no more than owning our Right to *Ireland*, or to any of *our own Colonies* and *Plantations:* A mighty Boon truly, to allow the *Maſters of the Sea* to *navigate the Sea!* What we ought to inſiſt upon is, that the *Spaniards* ſhould ſpecifically diſclaim the Power they have aſſum'd, againſt *repeated Treaties* and the *Laws of Nations*, to *ſtop* and *ſearch our Ships*. Let their Coaſts ſwarm with *Cuſtom-houſe Officers*: Let them *cut off the Ears*, or even *hang* any of their *own Subjects*, whom they ſhall find illegally trading with *us*. But let them, upon no Account, preſume to viſit any *Engliſh Ship*, or mal-treat our *Mariners*, in any Part of the Sea, or under any Pretence whatſoever.

I will endeavour to illuſtrate this by a *ſimilar Caſe*. There is no one Point, in which all Parties are ſo much agreed, and earneſtly wiſh might be accompliſhed, without bringing a greater Evil upon us, than that the *Running of Wool* from *England* and *Ireland* could be effectually ſuppreſs'd, for the Sake of our *own Manufactures*. We have already enacted ſeveral good Laws, for that Purpoſe, and even made it *capital* for any of our *own Subjects* to tranſgreſs them. But let us ſuppoſe that we ſhould ſtop, ſearch, and confiſcate any *French Ship*, upon the high Seas, laden with *our Wool*; how would *France* behave? Would they not ſay, do as much as you pleaſe *at home*, to prevent this *illicit Trade*; but we will not ſuffer you to break the *Law of Nations*, for your own private Advantage; eſpecially, if it could be prov'd, that the *Wool* was ſhip'd from *one Part of their own Dominions* to another?

I ſincerely wiſh, for the Good of my Country, that every Thing, which is expected, and hath been long promis'd, may be obtain'd. In this Caſe, I am ready to give the Honour of it to *that Gentleman*, who took the whole Burden upon *himſelf*. Nor will the *Hon. Perſons*, who are ſeemingly join'd with him in the *Adminiſtration*, take it ill of me, if I allow them but very little Share in the Credit of *this Negotiation*, let it be never ſo happily ended; ſince I will as readily acquit them of any Share in the *Blame*, ſhould it terminate in the Detriment and Diſhonour of the Nation. *One Miniſter* (in this *Affair* particularly, and, perhaps, in *others*) hath taken the whole Guidance and Direction upon *himſelf*; ſo that the *Glory*, or *Infamy* of it, belongs entirely to *him*.

Weekly Miſcellany, Jan. 27. N° 318.

A Propoſal to the Town, for the better Regulation of the STAGE.

THE Entertainments of the Stage have ſo great an Effect upon the Minds of an Audience, and are at preſent ſo much in Vogue, that it is impoſſible to take too much Care to prevent their cor-

corrupting the Morals of the Peo-
ple. Upon this Account, I ſup-
poſe, as well as a *political* one, (tho'
it doth not appear by the Act it-
ſelf, what the Motives were) the
Legiſlature have lately thought pro-
per to make an additional Law, for
preventing the Licentiouſneſs of the
Stage; whereby it is enacted, that
Copies of all Plays ſhall be laid be-
fore the Lord Chamberlain, and to
him a Power is given of prohibiting
the Acting of all ſuch as he ſhall diſ-
approve of. I make no doubt, but
the *noble Duke*, who at preſent en-
joys that high Office, will take as
much Care, that no Repreſentati-
ons of an *immoral*, as that none of
a *ſeditious* Tendency, ſhall appear on
the *Theatre*. But who knows if his
Succeſſors will imitate him *in this*
Reſpect, and regard every Play that
may be brought before them in *this*
double View? A *Court* is not gene-
rally a fit School to teach our Poets
Morality in: Nor can any one ſay,
that it will always remain as virtu-
ous as it is at preſent. But ſup-
poſing the *Lord Chamberlain* to be
ever ſo great a Friend to Virtue,
yet a Compoſition may naturally be
ſuppoſed to paſs his Hands, which
is not altogether pure and chaſte e-
nough to be preſented to the Town;
or (as was ſaid by a *noble Lord*, in
the Debate about the above men-
tion'd Law) "it may be very diffi-
cult to make one, who is every Day
at *Court*, believe *that* to be a Vice,
or Folly, which he ſees daily prac-
tiſed by thoſe, whom he loves and
eſteems." (See Vol. VI. p. 407 D.)
The *Town* therefore, who are the
beſt Judges, what is proper to be
preſented to them, ought to concur
with the higher Powers, and to lend
a helping Hand towards keep-
ing the Stage within the Bounds
of *Morality* and *Decorum*. And I
beg Leave to recommend to it one
Method, which will go to the Root
of the Matter, namely, *The purging*
the Stage, by taking off all ſuch, who
are the profeſſed Friends of Vice. I
don't mean, that I wou'd have a
Court of Inquiſition to ſcrutinize into
the Manners of our *Actors*, and that
ſuch ought to be excluded from act-
ing, who are not as great *Heroes* in
Virtue off the *Stage*, as they are
ſometimes, perhaps, obliged to ap-
pear upon it. No, I'm very ſenſi-
ble, that very few of them (or in-
deed of the Audience) could un-
dergo ſuch a fiery Trial. All that
I mean is, that ſuch who have been
guilty, thro' a long Series of Time,
of various and groſs *Immoralities*, at-
tended with ſufficient Proof, and
well known to the World, ought
not to be permitted to appear on
the *Theatre*: And *that* principally
for this plain Reaſon, becauſe it
tends very ſtrongly, to introduce the
moſt vicious Repreſentation upon it.
Should the *Publick* ſuffer Perſons of
the moſt infamous Life (or even *one*
notorious Criminal, eſpecially if he
be *a leading Perſon too*) to appear on
the *Stage*, it may be in Time en-
tirely in the Hands of People of
this Character. And in ſuch Caſe,
thoſe Repreſentations only will be
encouraged, that have the moſt per-
nicious Tendency. Others, of a dif-
ferent Kind, ſuch *Actors* would take
no Pleaſure in preſenting, (for that
wou'd be acting a Satyr on them-
ſelves, and the Audience might by
their Hiſſes apply it too) and it
would be certainly *their* Endeavour,
to promote ſuch Practice in others,
as they themſelves are guilty of.
By this Means, the Audience may
gradually become equally vicious
with the *Actor*, and even *Sodom* *
might in Time be acted without
Concern, with publick Applauſe.
'Tis not enough to ſay in Anſwer,
that the *Town* may prevent this Con-
ſequence, by *damning* ſuch Repre-
ſentations on their firſt Entrance.
For

* *An infamous Play, written in the Reign of K.* Charles II.

For let it be conſidered, that we are very unwilling to deſtroy, what is compoſed purely to pleaſe us, and falls in, perhaps, with our moſt favourite Paſſions. The Managers may alſo, by Methods unknown to the Publick, ſtifle the Appearance of a *moral* Compoſition, ſo that the Town may be under a Neceſſity of taking up with the moſt looſe and ſhocking Repreſentations, which it will be too apt (rather than have nothing new) to accept of. Beſides all this, ſhould a Play, written on the Side of *Virtue*, force its Appearance at any Time, the *Player* would probably mar the Beauty or Force of it, by a careleſs, or perhaps a ſtudied improper Geſture, or Accent; Or, perhaps, it does not lie in his Power to act a virtuous Character with Force and Vigour, it being ſo oppoſite to his own Nature and Practice. But, ſuppoſing the Part ever ſo well preſented, it wou'd, notwithſtanding, loſe much of its good Effect, when the *Actor* is well known to conduct himſelf quite differently in *real* Life; as a *Sermon*, tho' well drawn up and deliver'd, rarely does much good, when 'tis notorious, that the *Preacher* conducts himſelf contrary to what he recommends. On the contrary, if the *Stage* were once in the Hands of Perſons of *Credit* and *Virtue*, I mean, if the *Actors* were Perſons of a *moral* Character, it might in Time regain its ancient Dignity.

If the Publick have any Regard to their *Pleaſure*, as well as to their *Morals*, they ought to purſue the Method now recommended: And this Conſideration, too, one wou'd think, ſhou'd further enforce it, namely, that at the ſame Time the Town is thus promoting their own Intereſt, they are doing a Piece of *Juſtice* on an Offender, for Crimes for which he is not puniſhable, or not likely to be puniſh'd, in any other Way. That they may proceed in this Manner with great *Propriety*, appears plainly from hence, that the *Actors* ought to be regarded as the *Servants* of the Town, and in their *Pay*; from whoſe Service and Hire they ſurely may, with great Juſtice, be diſcarded, when they are guilty of ſuch a Conduct, as, in the leaſt and remoteſt Manner, diſqualifies them from doing the Duty they owe the Publick, which conſiſts in contributing to their *Pleaſure*, and the *Refinement of their Manners*. Let us ſuppoſe further, that the Crimes of an *Actor* are not only of the blackeſt Dye, but alſo of *ſo peculiar a Nature*, that they have actually been *the Means of depriving the* Theatre *of one, or more, of its brighteſt Ornaments*. This ſeems to be an odd Suppoſition, but it has really been *Matter of Fact*. In ſuch a Caſe, they become Offences againſt the *Publick*; and the *much-injured Town* ought in Juſtice *to itſelf*, to make ſome Retaliation on the Criminal, by whom they ſuſtain ſo conſiderable a Loſs. He ought certainly to be paid in Kind; he ought to be excluded from the *Stage* for ever, at leaſt till there is a *Reſtitution* made, and his *Manners reformed*; which ought loudly to be *demanded*, and *inſiſted on*. Whilſt the Publick is thus doing Juſtice on *its own Account*, they have alſo the additional Pleaſure of conſidering themſelves as the rightful Avengers of ſome, who have greatly ſuffered (perhaps in the tendereſt Point) thro' the Faults of this Offender, and not their own, and are unable to redreſs themſelves.

Upon the whole therefore, whenever an *Actor* is daring enough, after the notorious Commiſſion of the higheſt Crimes, attended, too, with the *peculiar Circumſtance* above-mentioned, to appear on the *Stage*, and impudently to ſtare the Town in the Face (which alone they ſhould reſent, as it betrays his mean Opinion

of their Virtue and Senſe) they ought to hiſs him off with the greateſt Contempt.

PHILODRAMATUS.

Craftſman, Feb. 3. N° 656.

Of the ARMY, *new-erected* BARRACKS, *&c.*

A *NUMEROUS ſtanding Army* cannot be of more than *three Uſes*, *viz.* to protect the People againſt *foreign Enemies*; to quell *domeſtick Inſurrections*; or to introduce and ſupport an *arbitrary Government*.

As to the *firſt*, no Body can pretend our *preſent Army* hath been of any Uſe to us, for 20 Years paſt; and in whatever State the Nation may be, from the Multiplicity of our *Treaties*, and the *Meaſures* we have long been purſuing, the preſent Intereſt of *England* requires no *Land Force* to guard and ſupport it.

2dly, By *domeſtick Inſurrections* I do not mean every *little Riot*, or *Tumult*, which does not ariſe from any Diſaffection to his Majeſty, and might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the *Civil Magiſtrate*; but a *general Rebellion*, or *Inſurrection*, manifeſtly deſigned to ſubvert our *Laws*, *Religion*, and *Liberties*; tho' I cannot conceal my Opinion, that it ſeems now almoſt doubtful whether a *tumultuous Rabble*, or a *military Force* are to get the better. In *either Caſe*, we are undone; which is a melancholy Conſideration to all Perſons, who wiſh well to this Government, or to any Government, when they ſee ſuch a Diſpoſition in the common People to throw off *all Reſtraints of Law*. Neither can I think an *Army* neceſſary, or proper, to awe the *Freedom of Elections*, or to influence our *legal Diverſions*; much leſs to protect *foreign Vagrants*, who came over hither and made an audacious Attempt, *againſt Law*, to debauch the Minds and Morals of the People. (Vol. VII. p. 508.)

3dly, Though a large Body of *regular*, *mercenary Troops* is neceſſary to ſupport or introduce an *arbitrary Government*, there can be no Occaſion for it under his *preſent moſt gracious Majeſty*, whoſe Title is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*, and I hope will be always eſtabliſh'd in the *Hearts of his People*. We may therefore aſſure ourſelves, the *Army* is not kept up with any ſuch iniquitous Deſign.

But it may be ſuggeſted, perhaps, that a *ſtanding Army* hath been ſometimes maintain'd, to ſupport an *odious Miniſter* in his *wicked Schemes*; tho' I am ſure the *preſent Advocates for military Power* will not inſiſt upon this Argument, in Favour of their *Patron*, whoſe *Meaſures* have been ſo wiſely conducted, and his *Adminiſtration* grown ſo popular, that they have often aſſerted all *Oppoſition* and *Diſcontent* to be, in a Manner, at an End.

What Reaſon then can there be for keeping up ſuch a Number of Forces, at this Time? I can think of but one, which was ſtarted ſome Years ago, by a *Rt. Hon. Gentleman*, That our very *Security* is our *greateſt Danger*; for having amus'd the Nation from Year to Year, with an Acknowledgment that a *ſtanding Army* was a real Grievance, unleſs in Caſes of the utmoſt Neceſſity, and that we ſhould be reliev'd from it, as ſoon as the Tranquillity of *Europe* was ſettled, which was then done, or pretended to be done; he was oblig'd, at laſt, to throw off the Maſk, and tell us, that, *No Time is proper to reduce the* Army. His Words are theſe, as reported by his late Advocate Mr. *Walſingham*: *While the Affairs of* Europe *were* unſettled, *and Dangers were threaten'd from every Quarter, there was no Temptation for* any Power *to embroil themſelves in new Difficulties*; *but* now *there is Room for* Ambition *to look round*. So that, according to

this Doctrine, whether the Affairs of *Europe* are *ſettled*, or *unſettled*, we are ſtill to be burthen'd with the *ſame ſtanding Army*, if not a *greater*; becauſe, forſooth, in Times of *Peace*, *there is Room for* Ambition *to look round.*

It appears from the foregoing, that I am not for breaking the *whole Army*, but only for reducing it to ſuch a Number as may be neceſſary for our *Guards* and *Gariſons*; ſince in Caſe of any *little Tumults*, it ſhews a Weakneſs in Government, to fly for Protection to a *military Force.*

But if we muſt be govern'd by *mercenary Troops*, I think 12,000 *Men*, which have been often propoſed, amply ſufficient for all the Ends of a *good Government*, in Time of *Peace*, and all that the *Miniſterial Writers* have hitherto thought fit to acknowledge in Favour of the *preſent Army*,

There is likewiſe *another Army*, beſides theſe 17,000 *Men*, which lie almoſt as *incog* as Mr. *Bays*'s Army in the *Rehearſal*; I mean the *Penſioners of* Chelſea-College, and the *Workmen in our Dock-Yards.* Moſt of the *former* have been in actual Service *abroad*; and, tho' call'd *Invalids*, are fitter to man *Gariſons*, at leaſt, than any of our *new-rais'd unfledg'd Soldierets*, who never ſaw any Engagement, except in *Hyde-Park.* As to the *Workmen in our Dock-Yards*, if I am not miſinform'd, they are as *regularly diſciplin'd*, and inſtructed in the *Uſe of Arms*, as any of our *mercenary Troops*; and would be able, with the Aſſiſtance of our *Men of War*, to prevent any ſudden Surprizes in the *Ports* and *Harbours*, to which they belong. At the *Revolution*, the Workmen at *Chatham-Dock*, with their *Adzes* and *other Tools* only, drove one of K. *James*'s regular Regiments out of *Rocheſter.*

There are ſeveral other Things worth Obſervation, concerning the Burthen and Danger of ſuch a *numerous Army.* In the *firſt Place*, the yearly Expence to the Nation, raiſed by Parliament, to maintain *theſe Forces*, amounts to about 700,000*l.* beſides *Arms*, *Ammunition*, &c. To this muſt be added another Burden upon the poor People, who are oblig'd to *quarter* them, it having been computed, *that every Soldier quarter'd upon an* Inn-keeper, in *Town or Country*, *coſts him near as much as he coſts the Government*; beſides the *Inſolence*, *Outrages*, and leud Examples of *Debauchery* and *Idleneſs*, which they ſpread thro' the whole Nation. This Hardſhip upon *publick Houſes*, in particular, is ſtill more grievous ſince the *late Act*, to *prevent the retailing of Spirituous Liquors*, eſpecially *Punch*; for how can a *poor Inn-keeper*, or *Ale-houſe-keeper* afford to quarter 2 or 3 *impudent Fellows*, who think they have Authority to uſe him as they pleaſe, while he is debar'd the moſt beneficial Branch of his Trade, for the Sake of the *Civil-Liſt?* Multitudes of Houſes have been already ſhut up on this very Account; and I wiſh the *Landed Gentlemen* may not find freſh Inſtances of it every *Quarter Day.*

Perhaps, it may be owing to the Difficulty of *Quartering*, that ſeveral *Barracks* are already built about this Metropolis, and I am told that more are intended; a Sight, to which this Nation hath never been accuſtom'd, and is enough to give us dreadful Apprehenſions; for *theſe military Edifices* are no leſs than *Gariſons* in Effect, where the Soldiery are kept diſtinct from their Fellow-ſubjects, and converted into a Sort of *Janiſſaries*, ready to march out in a Body upon any Occaſion. It is true, that none but the *Horſe Guards* have been yet aſſembled in this *hoſtile Manner*; but as Precedents are too frequently followed

ve are not ſure that it may not in Time extend to the *whole Army*; r, at leaſt, that it may not be udg'd neceſſary to keep a conſtant Camp in *Hyde-Park*, which I look pon as the *Campus Martius* of this Kingdom, where *young Gentlemen* learn he Art of War, in *mock Battles*; and, ike the ancient *Romans*, afford great Diverſion to the Spectators. Thus gain, *Spithead* may be properly all'd our *Naumachia*, where *Sea-Engagements* were repreſented in the ame *pacifick Manner*. The only Dif- erence between us is, that the *Ro- nan Shews* were intended chiefly for Diverſion, and were exhibited to he *People*, upon particular Occaſi- ns, without any Expence to them; whereas we are oblig'd to pay for ur *military Sports*, at a very dear Rate; for beſides the vaſt Expence f keeping *theſe Performers* in con- tant Pay, it is computed that as uch *Gunpowder* hath been conſum- d, within 20 *Years paſt*, in *Field- Days*, *Reviews*, and *Salutes*, both by ea and *Land*, as would have gone great Way towards ſupporting an *ctual War*. I cannot, indeed, ſay hat we have had no *Blows* and *Bloodſhed* for our Money; ſince I emember that, ſome Years ago, a *oor Button-maker* was ſhot in *Hyde- Park*, who had the Curioſity to ſee ne of *theſe Raree-ſhews*. An Acci- ent of the ſame Kind happen'd in Q. *Anne*'s Reign, by ſpringing a am Mine in *Bunhill-Fields*, where he *City-Militia* were repreſenting he Siege of *Liſle*, by which ſeve- al Perſons were dangerouſly wound- d. I am likewiſe told, that ſeveral *ig-belly'd Women* have been fright- n'd into Miſcarriages, by *Vollies of ire-arms*, as they were innocently aſſing thro' *Hyde-Park*, not ſuſpect- ng to meet with a *Battle* there; nd I myſelf have more than once een in Danger of breaking my Neck, by the ſame Means; my ſo- er Nag not being us'd to ſuch *mar- tial Entertainments*. But that, in- deed, would have been of very lit- tle Conſequence to the *Publick*, and much leſs to the *Adminiſtration*, or *myſelf*, ſince it would have ſaved us both a great deal of *Trouble* and *Ex- pence*.—To return, and be ſerious.

This Affair of *Barracks* is an In- novation, which deſerves the No- tice of *Parliament*, leſt it ſhould grow upon us by Degrees, as it ſeems to do, and eſtabliſh a *military Power* abſolutely diſtinct from the *civil Power*, and independent of it. I can never take a little Walk to *Marybon*, without thinking myſelf in an *Enemy's Country*; or, at leaſt, that there is a *Rebellion* or *civil War* in the Nation. This *new Erection of Barracks* is the more unneceſ- ſary, becauſe there is always *one Battalion*, at leaſt, kept as a Gari- ſon in the *Tower*, and *another* in the *Savoy*, which are certainly ſuf- ficient to quell any little Riots, at *either End of the Town*. But theſe *new Barracks* look as if the whole *City* was to be ſurrounded with them.

The *Soldiery* are already too much diſtinguiſh'd from the *reſt of the Peo- ple*, being train'd up in *different Prin- ciples*, and ſubject to *different Laws*. Beſides, the *military Puniſhments* are ſo ſevere, and the Execution of them ſo ſudden, that they are extremely dangerous to our *Liberties* and *Conſti- tution*; for it is held a Maxim in *military Diſcipline*, That *Subordina- tion* is abſolutely neceſſary, and that no *inferior Officer* is allow'd, upon any Occaſion, to diſobey the Com- mands of his *Superior*.

There cannot be a ſtronger In- ſtance of this, than a Converſation which happen'd, ſeveral Years ago, between ſome *Gentlemen of the Army*, upon the ſame Subject. *One of them*, who happen'd to be the *ſuperior Offi- cer*, ſtarted an Argument, how far *Soldiers* were obliged to obey *Orders*, and whether there were not ſome Caſes, in which they might legally

refuſe them? To which the *others* reply'd, By no Means. What, ſaid the *firſt*, ſhould I command any of you to *kill a Man*, without any Reaſon, would you obey me? No Doubt, ſaid the *others*. Suppoſe again, reply'd the *firſt*, that I ſhould order you to *betray your Poſt*, or *revolt*; what would you do in *that Caſe?* Why, obey *your Commands*, ſaid they all; for the Crime would not be *ours*, whoſe Duty it is to purſue our *Orders*, but *yours*, who gave them. Well then, ſays the *honeſt Officer* to one of them, I command you, *Sir*, to put this *Barrel of Gunpowder*, which was then near at Hand, into the Fire. The *brave*, but *too obſequious Subaltern*, immediately ſnatch'd up the *Barrel*, and clapt it upon the Grate; which put the whole Company into no ſmall Conſternation. But the *commanding Officer* had the Preſence of Mind to order his *Inferior* to take the *Gunpowder* off the Fire again, when the *Barrel* was almoſt burnt thro'; which he did, in the moſt undaunted Manner, and ſtamp'd out the Flames with his Feet.

If this is *military Law* and *Diſcipline*, is it not a terrible Conſideration? Is it not like the tame Submiſſion of a *Turkiſh Vizier*, or *Baſhaw*, who ſervilely kiſſes the *Grand Seignior*'s Letter, that orders him to be *ſtrangled* or *beheaded?*

But it is to be hoped, that Experience hath, in a good Meaſure, already exploded *theſe paſſive Principles*; and ſince I have mention'd the *Turks*, I muſt obſerve, how cautious *all Princes* ought to be of diſobliging a numerous Body of *mercenary Troops*, in diſtinct Bodies; for tho' they may be ready enough to keep *the reſt of the People*, from whom they are *ſeparated*, in abſolute Subjection, whilſt they are in *good Humour*; yet, upon the leaſt Diſguſt, *no Body of People* are ſo apt to take Fire, and turn upon their *Maſters*. This is not only the Caſe of *Turkey*, where no *Revolution* can be effected without the Aid of the *Janiſſaries*; nor of other *arbitrary Countries*, where *large mercenary Armies* are kept up; but we have too many Examples of it in the Hiſtory of our own Country. The *Army* rais'd by the *Parliament*, againſt K. *Charles* I. kick'd *that very Parliament* out of Doors. The *ſame Army* made a bold Attempt to deſtroy *Oliver Cromwell*, and would have done it, had not his invincible Spirit ſuppreſs'd the *Mutiny*, to the imminent Danger of his own Life. The *late happy Revolution* was, in a great Meaſure, owing to K. *James* IId's diſobliging his *Army*, by clogging it with *Iriſh Officers*, and putting them over the Heads of *Engliſhmen*. This is the moſt mortifying Thing in the World to *Gentlemen of the Sword*; and I leave it to the Conſideration of *thoſe*, whom it concerns, whether putting *young Officers*, without any *military Pretenſions*, over the Heads of *old experienc'd ones*, who have borne the *Heat and Burden of the Day*, when their *Country's Cauſe* requir'd it, may not be attended with bad Conſequences.

I ſhall conclude with one Obſervation more, which I likewiſe think deſerves the *Enquiry of Parliament*; viz. how the Profits of *vacant Regiments* and *military Governments* are apply'd. We have lately had 9 or 10 of theſe vacant at a Time, and for a long Time; which muſt amount to a large Sum. Since therefore the Nation is *now* oblig'd to bear the whole Expence of the *Army*, without a Shilling from the *Crown*, I think it but reaſonable that *all poſſible Savings* ſhould be made for our Eaſe; and as the Tranquillity of the Times hath given our *Miniſters* an Opportunity of keeping up *ſeveral Regiments*, without *Colonels*, and maintaining *Gariſons* without *Governors*, there can be no Doubt that

that the *Savings*, upon this Account, will be laid before *Parliament*, and apply'd to the *publick Service*.

Common Senſe, Feb. 3. N° 105.

On the ſame SUBJECT.

I HAVE not walk'd either into St. *James*'s or *Hyde-Park*, for ſome Years paſt, but my Eyes have been ſhock'd with Preparations for War; I mean, Soldiers practiſing military Diſcipline, as if, every Day, during this Time, we were upon the Point of ſending an Army abroad, to pull down ſome ambitious over-grown Prince upon the Continent.

As St. *James*'s *Park* lies ſo directly in the Way to *Weſtminſter*, that many of our Repreſentatives paſs thro' it, in their Way to that Place, where they annually meet to guard our Liberties, I hope the Sight of ſuch hoſtile Preparations will put them in Mind of the dangerous Conſequences of nurſing up an Army in the Boſom of a free Country, ſurrounded by the Ocean, and in a Time of univerſal Peace. I make no doubt, therefore, but they will now think it high Time to deliver the People from the Danger, and eaſe them of the Burden, of maintaining ſuch a Land Force, which, by being continued longer, may work itſelf in to become Part of the Conſtitution; and if it once becomes Part, we may anſwer for it, it will, in a little Time after, become the Whole.

A Gentleman who travell'd this Summer from the Land's End to *London*, tells me, that you ſee nothing but a Pack of lazy, idle Fellows, call'd Dragoons, filling up the Inns, and loitering about the Streets of every City thro' which he paſs'd; ſo that, for a Journey of 170 Miles, his Land of Peace looked to him like the Frontier of an Enemy's Country in Time of War.

If a Man who had been 40 Years in his Grave, was to riſe again, how would it ſurprize him, to ſee an Army in the Middle of *England*! Would he not be apt to aſk, whether our Fleet was all deſtroy'd, or had the Sea divided and left a dry Paſſage for our Enemies to march upon us? But if he ſhould be told, that the Sea was faithful, and that we were in Peace with all Nations, would he not think it ſtrange that our Situation, for which we were envied by our Neighbours, and which had been our Defence for ſo many Ages, could not defend us ſtill? But I hope, in a few Months, there will be no Occaſion to aſk ſuch Queſtions.

The Politicks of other Nations will certainly change, with Reſpect to us, whenever our Politicks change with Reſpect to ourſelves: If we expect to hold the ſame Rank in *Europe* which our Anceſtors did, we muſt purſue the ſame ſteady and wiſe Meaſures: A Government that ſtudies to make itſelf beloved at home, will be terrible abroad; but whenever its Counſels ſhall only tend to make itſelf terrible to its own Subjects, it will ſoon be deſpiſed by other Nations.

Suppoſe this ſhould not be our Caſe, yet we may aſk, how many Millions hath this Army coſt ſince it hath been kept on Foot, and what Service hath it done the Nation? The Hiſtory of their heroick Actions may be written in the Compaſs of a Nutſhel: The ſuperior Officers have been ſneaking and cringing at Levees; the Subalterns debauching the Country Wenches, and now and then inſulting the Magiſtrate of a Country Corporation; the Soldiers powdering themſelves for Reviews, and all have looked on quiet and unconcern'd Spectators of the Affronts offer'd their Country: For upwards of 20 Years hath the Nation been at the

Charge

Charge of keeping up a great Army; and for upwards of 20 Years, have we heard of nothing but Inſults and Depredations.

It is plain, they add no Weight to our Counſels with Reſpect to foreign Affairs. What, in the Name of Wonder, have we to do with a Land Force, that cannot make the Government one Friend abroad, and creates it Thouſands, nay Millions of Enemies at home? If, therefore, a ſpeedy and honourable Satisfaction be not made the Nation for all it has ſuffer'd, let us, for Shame, diſband this Army and go to War.

This Propoſal is reaſonable; for, when foreign Nations obſerve a ſtanding Army kept up in a Country that, for Ages, looked upon it as inconſiſtent with a free State, the Conſtruction natural for them to make is, that the Government muſt be upon bad Terms with the People, and is obliged to employ all its Strength to ſecure itſelf at home; and therefore it is no Wonder if they make their own Advantage of ſuch a Situation: But, if they ſhould ſee the Army diſbanded, they will change their Opinion, and their Conduct. Common Senſe will inform them, that a Government that is well with the People at home, that huſbands its Treaſure, and truſts to its natural Strength, is in a Condition to aſſert its Rights abroad; and, inſtead of inſulting, they will make Court to it.

In the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, when the naval Power of *Spain* was vaſtly ſuperior to that of *England*, and *Philip* II. was preparing to invade the Kingdom with all his Strength, did the Miniſters lay hold of that Pretence to procure a ſtanding Army? Not at all; they had no Occaſion to have Recourſe to Tricks; they had done nothing to provoke the People, and wanted no Army to make them ſafe. The Queen's Speech to the Parliament on that Occaſion is ſtill extant; it deſerves to be printed in Letters of Gold, and ought to be read once a Year by every Man in the Kingdom. She acquaints them with the Intelligence ſhe had receiv'd of the *Spaniſh* Preparations, and deſires them to repair to their ſeveral Counties, and to take Care that the People might be well arm'd, and in a Readineſs to receive them; ſhe does not ſay a Word of an Army; yet, to ſay the Truth, ſhe had an Army; for the whole People were her Army, and every Man in the Kingdom, that was able to draw a Sword, was ready to repair to her Standard. She was too wiſe to truſt to mercenary Troops, which are only fit to depreſs the Spirit of the People, but are no Security againſt an Invaſion.

Since I am upon this Subject, I cannot forbear taking Notice of a very dangerous Project, already begun to be put in Execution, which, if it had happen'd in the Days of our Anceſtors, would have thrown the Nation into a Ferment; but now, as if an univerſal Lethargy had ſeiz'd us, it has not given the leaſt Alarm: So that one would think, that no Body had ſeen the *Barracks* lately built for the Lodging of Troops, which already begin to encompaſs one Part of the Town, and have very much the Air of thoſe Citadels which, in arbitrary Countries, are erected to keep the People in Awe.

At the Time the Plague raged at *Marſeilles*, an Attempt was made to erect ſuch Buildings as theſe, under Pretence that (if we ſhould be viſited by the Plague) the Sick might be remov'd to thoſe Places, and to prevent the Spreading of the Infection; but the Deſign was ſeen thro', and it was wiſely ſuſpected, that *Barracks* might prove a worſe Plague to the Nation than Peſtilence itſelf, by being afterwards turn'd into ſo many

Garisons. The Citizens of *London* took the Alarm, and cried out, with one Voice, that they would have no Red-Coat Nurses; and, indeed, they might very properly call them Nurses, for, I think, from that Day to this, they have been of no more Use to their Country than so many old Women: But what would not be allow'd at that Time, to hinder the Spreading of a Plague, is now begun without any Pretence whatsoever, without the Authority of Parliament, I may say, without Law or without Gospel.

Princes, who have acquired Dominions by Conquest, are sensible, that they have no Right to the Allegiance of the People, but the Right of the Sword; and there is no other Method of preserving such Dominions but by the Sword: Therefore it hath been a Policy long practised, to build *Casarms* or *Barracks*, in the conquer'd Provinces, as the surest Means of keeping them in Subjection. They know, that Troops dispers'd in Quarters may grow familiar with the Inhabitants, which may render them backward in executing some desperate Orders; but when they are thus separated from the People, they grow Strangers to them; besides, by being thus collected in a Body, they are ready at all Times, at a Minute's Warning, to rush out, whenever the Conquerors dislike what the People are doing: But I hope we are not so subdued, by our Corruptions, as to have any Marks of a conquer'd Nation fix'd upon us.

However, I think he was a bold Man that began this Project; and when I read over the Accusations of several Ministers, who have fallen Sacrifices to the publick Resentment in former Times, I cannot help being of Opinion, that if this Thing had happened in the Days of our Ancestors, the Person who directed it would have had very good Luck if he had died in his Bed.

I will not assert there was a Design of carrying this Matter farther, and that we might in a few Years see *Barracks* erected in every City in the Kingdom. Be that as it will, it is not too late to prevent more, and demolish these; and this I think is incumbent on us to do, lest we incur the Fate of the Birds in the Fable.

"A Swallow seeing a Man sowing Flax-Seed, called to the rest of the Birds, and said to them; Observe that Fellow, he is sowing that Seed which produces Flax, of which the Snares and Nets of Hunters and Fowlers are made, so that if you don't all fall to Work and pick it up immediately, you and your Children will be destroy'd by it; but they disregarded his Advice, and thought no more of it. In a little Time he saw many of the same Birds taken in Nets, made of the Flax that sprang from that very Seed, while those that escaped were afraid to stir abroad to seek their Food; but all they had to say, to excuse their Folly and Negligence, was, Who could have thought that such a wicked Use would have been made of that innocent Flax?"

Two Morals may be drawn from this Fable; the first is, that those who have common Prudence can read the natural Effects of Things in their Causes; but the Obstinate and the Ignorant, can see no Danger, till the Mischief is gone too far to admit of a Remedy.

In another View, it presents us with a perfect Emblem of the Methods often used in destroying Commonwealths; for certainly, if something like this had not often happen'd in publick as well as private Affairs, so many States, that once enjoy'd their Liberties, could not have lost them. Let us suppose a Plot, form'd by those in Power, to bring the People into Subjection: While the Seeds are but newly sown,

it

it is eaſily defeated; but if it is ſuffer'd to gather ſuch Strength, that a Faction of a few wicked Men becomes too hard for the whole Nation, you will find that thoſe who might have prevented all by uniting in Time, will have nothing to ſay in Excuſe of their fatal Negligence, but, Who could have thought they would have made ſuch a wicked Uſe of their Power? And when we take the Moral in this Senſe, the building of *Barracks* and ſowing of Flax-Seed may come to the ſame End.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN Order to hinder my Readers, who, as I take it, are for the moſt Part alſo Readers of the *Craftſman*, from being impoſed upon by a ſpurious Paper diſpers'd lately under the Title of this laſt, I think it incumbent upon me to declare, That the *Craftſman* written by *Caleb D'Anvers*, Eſq; and the other Gentlemen who have conducted it with ſo much Spirit and good Senſe from its firſt Appearance, is printed by *H. Goreham* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and by no other Perſon whatſoever. As I aſſert this from my own particular Knowledge, I will pawn my whole Credit with the Publick upon the Truth of it.

Witneſs my Hand,
COMMON SENSE.

Craftſman, Feb. 10. N° 657.

Farther THOUGHTS *on the* ARMY, MILITIA, *&c.*

THE *Horſe* and *Foot-Guards*, with the Penſioners in *Chelſea College*, are more than ſufficient to ſuppreſs any little Diſturbances in this Town; and the diſciplin'd Workmen in our *Dock-Yards*, with the *Ships of War* lying there, are equally capable of preventing any ſudden Surprize upon them in thoſe Harbours.

The only Pretence therefore for keeping up a *numerous* Body of *mercenary* Troops, in Time of Peace, muſt be, to prevent a *foreign Invaſion*, or a *general Inſurrection at home*.

As to the *firſt*, it hath been often prov'd, that it is impoſſible for any of our Neighbours to fit out *ſuch a naval Armament*, as ſhould be able to land here and ſubdue us, without timely Notice. Indeed, the Caſe of the *late happy Revolution*, hath been often quoted, on this Occaſion, but to no Purpoſe; for that glorious Event was almoſt entirely owing to the Infatuation of K. *James*, who had repeated Intelligence from *Louis* XIV. of the Prince of *Orange's* Deſigns; but he would give no Credit to it, and therefore fell a Sacrifice to his bad Counſels. Beſides, there are very well-grounded Suſpicions, that the Lord *Dartmouth*, his Admiral, and ſeveral other *Officers* in the Fleet, as well as moſt of the *common Sailors*, were ſecretly in the Intereſt of the *Prince of Orange*, and therefore ſuffer'd him to paſs without any Oppoſition. The Caſe was notoriouſly ſo, with Reſpect to the *Land Army*, as I obſerv'd in my laſt. (See p. 72. B, C.)

But it is far from my Deſign to inſinuate, that we ought not to keep up a *Fleet* and an *Army*, for the Protection of our *Trade*, and our Defence againſt *foreign Enemies*. Let the *former* be as numerous and powerful as can be reaſonably deſir'd according to the Exigences of the Times, and no true *Engliſhman* will grumble at the *Expence*; provided when given, it is honeſtly, frugally and vigorouſly apply'd. But a *Land Force*, in Time of *Peace*, being a late Innovation, and of no Uſe but to curb the *People*, it ought to be as moderate as poſſible; eſpecially at this Time, not only for the Sake of our *Liberties*, but on Account of the Expence of maintaining ſuch a large Number of Forces; for tho' we have been in a State of profound

Peace

eace above 20 Years, as the *Court-dvocates* acknowledge and boaſt, et it is too well known and felt, hat we are ſtill burthen'd with an mmenſe Load of *Debt*, a Multipli-ity of *heavy Taxes*, and ſeveral ther Grievances, both of a *foreign* nd *domeſtick Nature*.

It is farther pleaded, in Defence f a *mercenary ſtanding Army*, that he *Militia* are of no Uſe, even in *meſtick Riots*, or *Inſurrections*, and uch leſs againſt *foreign Invaſions*. Vhy? Becauſe they are *raw* and *ndiſciplin'd?* But whoſe Fault is hat? In former Times, they were well train'd as to defend the Na-ion both againſt *foreign* and *do-eſtick Enemies*. During the long nd bloody Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, we ead of no *regular, mercenary Forces*; ut each Party depended on the atural Courage of their *Tenants, riends*, and *Adherents*, who were lways diſbanded, as ſoon as *either ide* prevail'd. Q. *Elizabeth* had no ther Body-Guard than a *few Yeo-en*, and the *general Affections of her eople*, tho' ſhe had *powerful Enemies broad*, and a *conſiderrble Party at ome*, almoſt continually plotting a-ainſt her. Nay, it is remarkable, hat ſhe deſir'd no other Support, ven againſt the *invincible Armada* f Spain, than the *Train'd Bands*, nd boldly advanc'd at the Head of hem herſelf. The Army, rais'd y the *Parliament* againſt K. *Charles* conſiſted chiefly, both *Officers* nd *Soldiers*, of *raw, undiſciplin'd Men*, who had never ſeen any Ser-ice, and yet they got the better of he *King*, who had many *old, expe-ienc'd Officers* in his Army. In the reat deciſive Battle of *Naſeby*, the Number of Forces was equal on *oth Sides*. There was not any *Ad-antage in the Ground*, nor any *ex-raordinary Accident*, during the Bat-e, which could be of much Im-ortance to *either Side*. There were not above 9 *Officers* in the *Parlia-ment-Army*, who had ever ſerv'd a-broad, and moſt of the Soldiers were *Apprentices* drawn out of *London* but two Months before. Whereas in the *King*'s Army there were above 1000 *Officers*, who had ſerv'd in fo-reign Parts; and yet they were en-tirely defeated by *theſe new-rais'd Apprentices*, who were obedient to Command, and brave in Fight, not only in *this Action*, but on all Occa-ſions during *that active Campaign*.

The true Reaſon of ſuch Succeſs was plainly this. At the Beginning of the War, the *King* had moſt of the *Nobility, Gentry*, and *Clergy* on his Side; ſome from the reigning Principles of *Allegiance* in thoſe Times, and others from Motives of *Intereſt*. But when they found, that the *King*'s Succeſs would certainly introduce an arbitrary Power, both in *Church* and *State*, they either dropt off from him, or aſſiſted him but faintly. This will be the Fate of *all Kings*, in the like Caſe; for tho' moſt People will be always ready to ſupport their *Sovereign* in his juſt Rights and Prerogatives, yet whenever there is an apparent De-ſign of ſubverting the *Conſtitution*, and making them *Slaves*, they will deſert the pretended Service of the *Crown*, and make the beſt Shift they can for themſelves.

Several Inſtances might be pro-duc'd, ſince thoſe Times, of the Gallantry and Services done by *new-rais'd Men*; eſpecially when mix'd with *Veterans*. But my prin-cipal Deſign is to ſhew, that if *raw Men*, entirely unacquainted with *military Diſcipline*, have done ſuch Service, what might they not do, if they were *regularly diſciplin'd*; and of courſe my former Queſtion recurs, *Whoſe Fault is it, they are not diſciplin'd?*

Inſtead of any Attempt to make the *Militia* ſerviceable, they are in-duſtriouſly depreciated, expos'd to

publick Scorn, and render'd abſolutely unuſeful to the People. This hath been often explain'd; but there is *one Point*, not quite new indeed, but what I have never yet mention'd myſelf, upon this Subject; and that is, the *Game-Laws*, which have in Effect diſarm'd all the common People in *England*, under 100*l.* a Year in Landed Eſtates, except the Servants of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who are *Lords of Manors*.

I have now before me a Treatiſe, written ſoon after the *Revolution*, and by a zealous Advocate for it; in which, amongſt other Things, the Conſequences of theſe *Game-Laws* are fully conſider'd. According to the antient Law of *England*, as he obſerves, the *whole Nation* is oblig'd to bear Arms, excepting only the *Judges*, and the *Clergy*; for Proof of which he cites the Statute 33 *Henry* VIII. *cap.* 9, as the Centre of all former Laws made on the ſame Occaſion, and then unrepeal'd, as I think it is at preſent.

By *this Law* it is enacted, that all Perſons ſhall be regularly inſtructed, even in their tender Years, in the Uſe of *Arms*, which were then in Faſhion; that is, the *Long-Bow* and *Arrows*; and that all *Parents* and *Maſters* ſhall provide their *Children* and *Servants* with the neceſſary Arms, and oblige them to exerciſe them at ſtated Times.

Croſs Bows were indeed forbidden by Law, in thoſe Times, for the Preſervation of the *Game*; but they truſted their *Game* to the *Long-Bow*, as we may now do to the *Muſket* and *Bullet*, without any Danger. *Small Shot*, indeed, are more dangerous to the *Game* now, than the *Norman Croſs-Bow* was heretofore. But then the making and uſing of *Shot*, as the *ſame Author* obſerves, may be either prohibited to the *poorer Sort of People*, or brought under as ſtrict Regulations as the *Croſs-Bow* then was.

But however this may be, what Reaſon can be alledg'd, why a late *accidental Change in our Artillery* ſhould deprive the *People of England*, who are the Guard of *King* and *Realm*, of the Equity of a *former Law*, which arm'd the whole Nation in its own Defence? May not the *People* be truſted to guard the *King*, their *Landlords*, and *themſelves*? Can any Change of *military Arms* be pleaded in Bar to the neceſſary Defence of the Nation?

As I was formerly a *Sportſman* myſelf, and took great Delight in it, I would not be thought an Advocate for *Poaching* and *Poachers*, properly ſo call'd. But ſurely, it would be much better for us that there was not a *Pheaſant*, a *Partridge*, or an *Hare* in the whole Kingdom, than that they ſhould be preſerv'd at the Expence, or to the imminent Hazard of our *Liberties*; tho' it might be eaſily prov'd, that *theſe Laws* are as far from *preſerving the Game*, that they have been the chief Cauſe of deſtroying it. The only Thing I ſhall add is, that the *ſame Gun* which kills a *Partridge*, or an *Hare*, may happen to kill a *Man*; and perhaps, that may be one of the Reaſons for *diſarming the People*, by theſe Acts, leſt they ſhould do Miſchief.

There is but one Argument more in Vindication of a *large ſtanding Army*, in Time of *Peace*; which is that all the States around us, who formerly depended on their *Militias*, have now thought fit to keep up *regular Troops*, and therefore we ought to do the ſame. But I muſt reſerve the Conſideration of this to another Opportunity.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHereas that notorious Quack Dr. *Urban*, Author of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, falſly ſo called, hath acquainted the Publick, in his

t Heap of Lumber, * that he will t ſteal any more *Common Senſe* from e Journal printed by *Purſer* in *hite-Fryars*, I hope he will be ſo od as to extend the ſame Com-ſſion towards the *Craftſman*, print-by *Goreham* in *Fleet-ſtreet*; for *rating* and *Mangling* at the ſame ime, are very provoking, and too uch like the Practice of the *Spa-ards* towards our *poor Seamen* —— t if Dr. *Urban* ſhould ever be at Loſs for Matter to ſtuff up his *Ma-zine*, he may be amply ſupplied ith it at Meſſieurs *Haines*, *Hinton*, d *Rayner*'s Office, the upper End *Bow-ſtreet*, *Covent Garden*; which give him full Liberty to *pyrate*, d defy him to *mangle*.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

N. B. *The* Doctor's *poetical Puff*, *our laſt*, *was inſerted without my nowledge*, *and* PAID FOR.

Common Senſe, Feb. 10. N° 106.

Of governing by the SWORD.

N paſſing thro' *Flanders*, I vi-ſited moſt of the Gariſon Towns; d when I conſidered the im-enſe Charge of making the pro-gious Fortifications which ſurround em, the continual Expence of keep-g them in Repair, and maintain-g Troops to guard them, I bleſs'd ovidence for having given my untry the vaſt Ocean for a Fron-r, and for having by that Means ed us from the greateſt Plague hich can attend a People; I mean, e Neceſſity of keeping up a mi-ary Force in Time of Peace.

In my Way to the *South* of *France*, paſſed thro' ſeveral great Cities, t never ſaw the Face of a Soldier xcept the Troops of the King's ouſhold in *Paris*) in the whole urney.

Conſidering the Notion I had of *French* Government, I wonder'd at it, till a *French* Gentleman in-form'd me, that their Armies always lay in Towns and Cities contiguous to the Territories of other Princes; that Places ſituated within the Country were never burthen'd with Soldiers, except now and then a Night, upon their March; that where Manufac-tures were eſtabliſh'd, it was judged ill Policy to quarter Troops, becauſe the lazy Life of a Soldier might in-fect the lower Sort of People with Idleneſs. From hence I was con-vinced, that *France* would not keep up a ſtanding Force, did not the Neceſſity of her Situation oblige her to it.

The Wealth and Proſperity of a Nation depend ſo much upon the Morals and Induſtry of the labour-ing People, that it grieves me, when I paſs thro' one of our manufactu-ring Towns, to ſee it crowded with *Red-coats*; nor can I account for the Policy of quartering them there by any Kind of Reaſon, but what muſt look like a Reflexion upon ſome Perſons in Power.

Were we apprehenſive of an In-vaſion from *Spain*, methinks the Coaſts of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* would be the proper Parts to can-ton our Troops. Were we under the ſame Fears from *France*, the Coaſts of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, &c. would be the moſt convenient Station. But ſuppoſe thoſe Powers really an Over-match for us at Sea, I cannot appre-hend that they could land an Army, either at *York*, *Mancheſter*, *Saliſbury*, *Wells*, or other inland manufacturing Towns, which have not been free from the Pleaſure of quartering Troops for many Years.

There is an Expreſſion very com-mon in the Mouths of the penſioned Slaves of Courts, *That the Miniſter muſt be made eaſy*. A Maxim big with all the Miſeries which can fall upon a Nation: This is as much as to tell you, the more ignorant a Mi-

* *Preface to the* Supplement *for* 1738.

niſter is in one Province, and the more wicked in another, the more he muſt be cheriſh'd and defended; in a Word, the more he does Wrong, the more he muſt be ſtrengthen'd with Power to defend himſelf. There is no Occaſion to explain ſo ſlaviſh and infamous a Doctrine.

The Dragoon-Scheme of Government (it muſt be confeſs'd) takes off all Reſtraints, and leaves Miniſters at Liberty to do Miſchief with Safety: So fortified, they may have what they will, and have it how they will. But this Scheme, tho' often attempted, thank God, hath been as often defeated. Every trifling Reaſon made uſe of in Favour of a ſtanding Army has been exploded long ago, otherwiſe we ſhould not have had the Liberty of writing againſt it to Day.

Schemes have been laid at other Times for fixing a ſtanding Army upon this Nation. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, by his Behaviour on a particular Occaſion, ſeem'd to ſuſpect it in his Time. The Story is applicable to our preſent Subject.

There happen'd a Riot, occaſioned by the wicked Practice of ſome People, of decoying young Perſons of both Sexes to the Plantations, whom they kept Priſoners in a Houſe in *Holborn*, till they could find an Opportunity of ſhipping them off; which being diſcovered, the enraged Populace were going to pull down the Houſe; Notice of which was no ſooner carried to *Whitehall*, than a Body of the Guards were commanded to march to the Place; but firſt they had the Prudence to ſend an Officer to the Lord Chief Juſtice, to acquaint him with the Deſign, and to deſire him to ſend ſome of his People to attend the Soldiers, in order to give it the better Countenance. The Officer having delivered his Meſſage, the Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid to him; "Suppoſe the Populace ſhould not diſperſe at your Appearance, what are you to do then?" "Sir, anſwer'd the Officer, we have Orders to fire upon them." "Have you Sir! replied my Lord, then take Notice of what I ſay; if there be one Man killed, and you are tried before me, I will take Care that you, and every Soldier of your Party, ſhall be hang'd. Sir, (added he) go back to thoſe who ſent you, and acquaint them, that no Officer of mine ſhall attend Soldiers, and let them know, at the ſame Time, that the Laws of this Kingdom are not to be executed by the Sword; theſe Matters belong to the Civil Power, and you have nothing to do with them." Upon which he ordered his Tipſtaffs, with a few Conſtables, to repair to the Place, and the Minute they appear'd, there was an End of the Riot.

It is probable, that if he had ſuffer'd this Tumult to have been diſpers'd by the Army, the Soldiers would have been ſent out upon every trifling Diſorder, and the little Vermin of the Court would have clamoured about the Inſolence of the Mob, and that People were not ſafe without an Army: But the whole Artifice was knock'd on the Head by the Bravery and Honeſty of one virtuous Magiſtrate.

I don't know any Thing ever ſhock'd me more, than to read lately in the *News*, that a Party of Dragoons was employed at St. *Edmundsbury* to beſiege a Perſon who had lock'd himſelf up from his Creditors, and that, by their Valour and good Conduct, they had obliged him at laſt to ſurrender. Would it not be natural to aſk, is there no Mayor, no Juſtice of Peace, no Magiſtrate of any Sort in that Corporation? Is there no Sheriff, or Sheriff's-Officer in that County? What were they all doing, that they made no Oppoſition to this military Execution? Is the Army take upon them the Of-

fice of Bum-Bailiffs, who knows but we may live to ſee a Regiment of Dragoons do the Duty of a Conſtable? Nay, they may turn the very Pariſh Beadles out of their Office, and be employ'd to whip the Beggars; and really I don't know but this laſt may find them full Employment, unleſs ſome Methods be ſoon found out to eaſe the labouring Poor of the Burthens which lie upon them.

As to the fine Expedient of ordering the Dragoons to be commanded by a Juſtice of Peace, it is a Cobweb to catch Flies. For every Body knows, who they are who appoint the Juſtices all over the Kingdom. If a poor Fellow who might deſerve the Stocks, ſhould be murdered in a little Mutiny, would it make Amends to his ſtarving Wife and Children, that the Dragoon who killed him, had the Orders of a Juſtice to fire? Have we not very lately ſeen a Juſtice act againſt the Laws with a Party of Soldiers under his Command, and fooliſhly declare, that he was directed to do ſo? (Vol. VII. p. 508.) How eaſy might it be to put deſperate and neceſſitous Men into the Commiſſion of Peace, who may have no other Trade to live upon? If it ſhould be whiſper'd in the Ear of one of theſe, that the Miniſter would ſtand by him, that he ſhall be taken Care of (a Word for a Place, or a Penſion) what Lengths might not ſuch a Creature go?

If ever thoſe at the Helm ſhould come to a Reſolution of govening by the Sword, they muſt in the Beginning diſavow the Deſign; but they will ſend ſecret Orders to ſuch Juſtices as they know to be thorough-paced Men, to make uſe of Dragoons, inſtead of civil Officers, to quell all little Mutinies and Riots, that the People being by little and little accuſtomed to military Execution, it may prevent the Clamour, which might be occaſion'd by a ſudden Change; ſo that it may ſteal upon us by Degrees, and when they may venture to take off the Maſk, they will tell us, it is found by Experience, that the Civil Power is not able to keep the People in Obedience to the Laws, therefore an Army is neceſſary. So that whenever I ſee a Magiſtrate offer to make uſe of the military Power, I take it for granted, he is in a Conſpiracy againſt the Liberties of his Country.

If any Body aſks, muſt we put it to the Hazard of ſeeing the Laws deſpiſed, and the Magiſtrate inſulted? I anſwer, no; for there is ſuch a Veneration paid to the Majeſty of juſt Laws, and the Characters of good Magiſtrates, that there is ſcarce a ſingle Inſtance of their being oppoſed, when they have exerted their Authority. In ancient *Rome*, all Laws were propoſed, all Magiſtrates elected by Aſſemblies of the People, or by what is now call'd Mobs; and tho' they had neither Riot-Acts, nor Standing-Armies, there is not above one Inſtance or two, in the Space of 500 Years, of any Perſon being killed in a Tumult. Let therefore the Civil Power, which has protected us from the Beginning of our Monarchy, protect us ſtill. If the poor People mutiny for Want of Employment, or of their due Wages, I hope there is a better Method of curing the Evil, than by putting them to the Sword. Let us diſband our Legions, and eaſe the Revenues of that Swarm of Drones call'd *Place-Men*, who like the Locuſts of *Egypt*, devour the Fertility of the Land, and live upon the Labour of the induſtrious Hive. If this be done, ſome Taxes may be remitted, and of Conſequence the Penal Laws made for levying them may be repealed; and I am afraid that all other Methods of recovering Trade, and rendering the People eaſy, will be making Bricks without Straw.

God

God forbid, we ſhould ever ſee in this Nation ſuch ſevere Laws as could not be executed without military Force. I hope we need be under no ſuch Apprehenſion; for wherever it happens, the Government itſelf is in a continual State of War with the Nation.

EXTRACTS *from ſeveral* GAZETTEERS, *in Anſwer to the foregoing* PAPERS.

GAZ. *Feb.* 6. Mr. *D'Anvers*, and Mr. *Common Senſe*, have lately taken every Opportunity to acquaint the World that they act in Concert, and whatever either of them thinks fit to *aſſert*, the other is ſure to *approve*; ſo that there is no Room to ſuppoſe their Agreement in any Subject *accidental*, but *deſign'd*: Whence their entertaining the Publick To-day [*Feb.* 3.] with *two long* and *heavy Complaints* of a *military Force* within theſe Kingdoms, ſeems purpoſely calculated to make the People think their Danger the more imminent, when ecchо'd at the ſame Time from each of thoſe Writers, who take ſuch Pains to be eſteem'd the *Watchmen* of the *Commonwealth*.

Feb. 9. The moſt ſingular Thing upon the Subject, is the full and true Hiſtory of *Barracks* and *Citadels*. But it unfortunately happens, that theſe *Barracks* and *Citadels* are not any where to be found. Some of theſe light-headed Gentlemen walking to *Marybone*, in the Spirit of *Don Quixote*, ſaw theſe *Windmills* and converted them into *Giants*; for People of Veracity have aſſured me, that there are only a Couple of *Riding Houſes*, or if the Gentlemen like it better, *Stables* for the Uſe of the Guards, whereby the Hardſhip of quartering them in *Inns*, if it be a Hardſhip, is avoided; but there are no Men quartered there (as in a Barrack) except a *Party* to prevent the *Malecontents* from *borrowing* their *Horſes* in the Night, which, for ought I know, may have *given Offence*.

Feb. 13. Every one knows, who knows any Thing of the Hiſtory of this Country, that in former Times, what Mr. *D'Anvers* calls the *Militia*, were regular, well-diſciplin'd Troops; that, by the Feudal Law, which was the Law of this Kingdom, every Man who was not a Vaſſal was a Soldier, and was bred to Arms from his Infancy; that as every Man got what he had, ſo he was obliged to maintain what he got, by the Sword, and to follow his Lord to the Wars whenever it was required of him; for that was the Condition by which he held his Lands, the only Property then in this Kingdom; they had no Occaſion to keep a Body of regular Troops in Pay, to defend them againſt foreign Invaſions or domeſtick Inſurrections, becauſe the whole Nation was a *ſtanding Army*, and verſed in, and inur'd to War, according to the Diſcipline and Method of Fighting in thoſe Times.

This Writer muſt either be very ignorant himſelf, or think his Readers ſo, or he would not talk as he does; becauſe Armies were under a different Eſtabliſhment, and were ſubſiſted in a different Manner in former Times, therefore they were only *Tenants*, *Friends*, and *Adherents* then, but are *mercenary Troops*, and *regular Forces* now. But indeed his whole Argument is founded upon this Miſtake, that the Armies of thoſe Days were the ſame Thing as the Militia of theſe; or at leaſt that the Militia of theſe Days might be made as good Troops as the Armies of former Times, with a little Care and Application.

But, I believe Mr. *D'Anvers* will hardly receive many Thanks for his Scheme for diſciplining the *Militia*; I fancy there are very few People but

but would rather contribute to the Payment of the preſent Number of Forces, and run the Hazard of the Danger they may be of to their Liberties, into the Bargain, than be obliged to obey the Summons of an Officer once or twice a Week, to appear in their Arms and Accoutrements, and perform their Exerciſes.

Feb. 14. I bluſh for Mr. *D'Anvers*, when he deſcends ſo low, as meanly to ſet about proving it *neceſſary* to the *Peace* and *Preſervation* of *theſe Kingdoms*, that *every Subject* ſhould be bred to Arms! And for him to recur to Laws made with *this Intention*, in Times when the unhappy *domeſtick Conteſts* of the Nation obliged *every Man* to bear Arms, under the Banners of *one* Party or *other*, in order to avoid the Reſentment of *both*, ſhews ſuch Want of Argument, as would have deterred a Man of leſs Courage than himſelf from entering upon the Subject. Alas! are all the numerous Bleſſings reſulting from the manifeſt Improvement of our Conſtitution, ſince the *Reformation*, ſo trifling, as to leave Room to wiſh for the Return of thoſe Days of *Blood* and *Conteſt?*

Feb. 17. The *Army* of *Britain* is the *People's Army*, a Parliamentary Army, whoſe Number and Duration is entirely at the Will of Parliament: It is an Army we command, and not an Army that commands us; our Truſt is in ourſelves, in our Repreſentatives; unleſs we betray ourſelves, unleſs our Repreſentatives are perfidious to us, our Army cannot hurt us; our Forces are juſtly to be conſider'd as the Forces of the Publick, and ſo long, as conſtitutional Forces: The Queſtion is not then, Whether a tyrannical, arbitrary, military Force, or a tumultuous Rabble, ſhall get the better? But, whether the Forces of the Publick, whether the King, Lords and Commons, with the valuable Part of the Nation, or a tumultuous Rabble, ſhall get the better? This is the Queſtion, and the People will range themſelves accordingly; the Lovers of Property, and Law, and Liberty will be for the Publick and the Government, and the diſſolute Rabble will be againſt it.

What the *Craftſmen* ſay about *Barracks* being a Subject deſerving the Animadverſion of Parliament, muſt needs entitle the Sputterers about them to the Laughter of their own Idiot Admirers, ſince they are only *Barracks* for *Horſes*, the Men being billetted on publick Houſes as uſual; and it cannot but be very merry, that theſe *quick-ſighted Patriots* ſhould be ſeriouſly afraid, leſt the *Horſes* ſhould form a Plot againſt our Liberties, by being ſuffer'd to *eat Hay together*; but I muſt recant a little, conſidering they are *diſciplin'd Horſes*; I beg the *Craftſman*'s Pardon, and hope he and *Common Senſe*, will be able to get an Act of Parliament, that no *two diſciplin'd Horſes* ſhall be ſuffer'd to dwell together in *one Stable*, for fear of Danger to our Liberties, and leſt they ſhould introduce a *ſtanding Army*.

The ARTICLES *of the* CONVENTION *between the Crowns of* Great Britain *and* Spain, *concluded at the* Pardo, *Jan.* 14, 1739. *N. S.*

I. WHereas the antient Friendſhip, ſo deſirable and neceſſary for the reciprocal Intereſt of both Nations, and particularly with regard to their Commerce, cannot be eſtabliſhed upon a laſting Foundation, unleſs Care be taken, not only to adjuſt and regulate the Pretenſions for reciprocal Reparation of the Damages already ſuſtained, but above all to find out Means to prevent the like Cauſes of Complaint for the future, and to remove abſolutely, and for ever, every Thing which might give Occaſion thereto; It is agreed to labour immediately,

with

with all imaginable Application, to attain ſo deſirable an End; and for that Purpoſe there ſhall be named, on the Part of their *Britannick* and *Catholick* Majeſties reſpectively, immediately after the Signing of the preſent Convention, two Miniſters Plenipotentiaries, who ſhall meet at *Madrid* within ſix Weeks, to be reckoned from the Day of the Exchange of the Ratifications, there to confer, and finally regulate the reſpective Pretenſions of the two Crowns, as well with relation to the Trade and Navigation in *America* and *Europe*, and to the Limits of *Florida* and of *Carolina*, as concerning other Points, which remain likewiſe to be adjuſted; the Whole according to the Treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, 1715, 1721, 1728, and 1729, including that of the Aſſiento of Negroes, and the Convention of 1716; and it is alſo agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries, ſo named, ſhall begin their Conferences ſix Weeks after the Exchange of the Ratifications, and ſhall finiſh them within the Space of eight Months.

II. The Regulation of the Limits of *Florida* and of *Carolina*, which, according to what has been lately agreed, was to be decided by Commiſſaries on each Side, ſhall likewiſe be committed to the ſaid Plenipotentiaries, to procure a more ſolid and effectual Agreement; and during the Time that the Diſcuſſion of that Affair ſhall laſt, Things ſhall remain in the aforeſaid Territories of *Florida* and of *Carolina* in the Situation they are in at preſent, without encreaſing the Fortifications there, or taking any new Poſts; and for this Purpoſe, his *Britannick* Majeſty and his *Catholick* Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary Orders to be diſpatched immediately after the Signing of this Convention.

III. After having duly conſidered the Demands and Pretenſions of the two Crowns, and of their reſpective Subjects, for Reparation of the Damages ſuſtained on each Side, and all Circumſtances which relate to this important Affair; It is agreed, that his *Catholick* Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be paid to his *Britannick* Majeſty the Sum of 95,000*l.* Sterling for a Balance, which has been admitted as due to the Crown and the Subjects of *Great Britain*, after Deduction made of the Demands of the Crown and Subjects of *Spain*; to the End that the abovementioned Sum, together with the Amount of what has been acknowledged on the Part of *Great Britain* to be due to *Spain* on her Demands, may be employed by his *Britannick* Majeſty for the Satisfaction, Diſcharge, and Payment of the Demands of his Subjects upon the Crown of *Spain*; it being underſtood nevertheleſs, that it ſhall not be pretended, that this reciprocal Diſcharge extends, or relates to the Accounts and Differences, which ſubſiſt, or are to be ſettled between the Crown of *Spain* and the Company of the Aſſiento of Negros, nor to any particular or private Contracts that may ſubſiſt between either of the two Crowns, or their Miniſters with the Subjects of the other, or between the Subjects and Subjects of each Nation reſpectively; with Exception however of all Pretenſions of this Claſs, mentioned in the Plan preſented at *Seville* by the Commiſſaries of *Great Britain* and included in the Account lately made out at *London*, of Damages ſuſtained by the Subjects of the ſaid Crown, and eſpecially the 3 Particulars inſerted in the ſaid Plan, and making but one Article in the Account, amounting to 119,512 Piaſters, 3 Reals and 3 Quartils of Plate; and the Subjects on each Side ſhall be entitled, and ſhall have Liberty to have Recourſe to the Laws, or to take other proper Meaſures

res, for causing the abovesaid En-
gements to be fulfilled, in the
me Manner as if this Convention
d not exist.

IV. The Value of the Ship *Wool-*
ll, which was taken and carried
the Port of *Campechy* in 1732,
e *Loyal Charles*, the *Dispatch*, the
eorge and the *Prince William*,
hich were carried to the *Havana*
1737, and the *St. James* to *Porto*
ico in the same Year, having been
cluded in the Valuation that has
en made of the Demands of the
bjects of *Great Britain*, as also
veral others that were taken be-
re; if it happens, that in conse-
ence of the Orders that have
en dispatched by the Court of
ain for the Restitution of them,
rt, or the Whole of them have
en restored, the Sums so received
all be deducted from the 95,000*l.*
erling, which is to be paid by the
ourt of *Spain* according to what is
ove stipulated: It being however
derstood, that the Payment of
e 95,000*l.* Sterling shall not be,
r that Reason, in any Manner de-
yed; saving that what may have
en previously received shall be re-
ored.

V. The present Convention shall
approved and ratified by his *Bri-*
nnick Majesty and by his *Catho-*
k Majesty; and the Ratifications
ereof shall be delivered and ex-
anged at *London* within six Weeks,
sooner, if it can be done, to be
ckoned from the Day of the
gning.

In Witness whereof, we the un-
rwritten Ministers Plenipotentia-
es of his *Britannick* Majesty and of
s *Catholick* Majesty, by Virtue of
r full Powers, have signed the
esent Convention, and caused the
al of our Arms to be affixed
ereto. Done at the *Pardo*, the
th Day of *January*, 1739.

B. Keene. (L. S.)

Sebastian de la Quadra. (L. S.)

SUBSTANCE *of the two separate* ARTICLES.

I. WHereas it has been agreed by the first Article of the Convention, that there shall be named on the Part of their *Britannick* and *Catholick* Majesties respectively, two Ministers Plenipotentiaries, who shall meet at *Madrid* within six Weeks, *&c.* their said Majesties have named, and do by these Presents name, *viz.* his *Britannick* Majesty, *Benjamin Keene*, Esq; his said Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to his *Catholick* Majesty, and *Abraham Castres*, Esq; his said *Britannick* Majesty's Consul General at the Court of his *Catholick* Majesty, his Plenipotentiaries for that Purpose; and his *Catholick* Majesty, *Don Joseph de la Quintana*, his Counsellor in the supreme Council of the *Indies*, and *Don Stephen Joseph de Abaria*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, Counsellor in the same Council, and Superintendant of the Chamber of Accounts, who shall be immediately instructed to begin the Conferences: And whereas it has been agreed by the 3d Article of the Convention, that the Sum of 95,000*l.* Sterling, is due, on the Part of *Spain*, as a Balance to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, after Deduction made of the Demands of the Crown and Subjects of *Spain*; his *Catholick* Majesty shall cause to be paid at *London*, within four Months, to be reckoned from the Day of the Exchange of the Ratifications, or sooner if it be possible, in Money, the abovementioned Sum, to such Persons as shall be authorized, on the Part of his *Britannick* Majesty, to receive it.

II. It is declared, that the Ship called the *Success*, which was taken on *April* 14. 1738, as she was coming out from the Island of *Antigua*, by a *Spanish* Guarda Costa, and car-

ried to *Porto Rico*, is not comprehended in the Convention; and his *Catholick* Majeſty promiſes, that the ſaid Ship and its Cargo ſhall be forthwith reſtored, or the juſt Value thereof, to the lawful Owners; provided that, previous to the Reſtitution of the ſaid Ship, the Perſon or Perſons intereſted therein do give Security at *London*, to the Satisfaction of *Don Thomas Geraldino*, his *Catholick* Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary, to abide by what ſhall be decided thereupon by the Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of their ſaid Majeſties, that have been named, *&c.* And his *Catholick* Majeſty agrees, as far as ſhall depend upon him, that the abovementioned Ship ſhall be referred to the Examination and Deciſion of the Plenipotentiaries; his *Britannick* Majeſty promiſes likewiſe to refer, as far as ſhall depend upon him, to the Deciſion of the Plenipotentiaries, the Brigantine *Sta. Thereſa*, ſeized in the Port of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, in 1735. And it is declared by theſe Preſents, that the 3d Article of the Convention, does not extend, nor ſhall be conſtrued to extend, to any Ships or Effects that may have been taken or ſeized ſince *Dec.* 10. 1737, or may be hereafter taken or ſeized; in which Caſes Juſtice ſhall be done according to the Treaties, as if the aforeſaid Convention had not been made; it being however underſtood, that this relates only to the Indemnification and Satisfaction to be made for the Effects ſeized, or Prizes taken, but that the Deciſion of the Caſes, which may happen, in order to remove all Pretext for Diſpute, is to be referred to the Plenipotentiaries, to be determined by them according to the Treaties.

Common Senſe, Feb. 17. N° 107.

On the CONVENTION.

IT is no ſmall Satisfaction to ſeveral of our military Gentlemen, who have no Averſion to high Pay and are fond of ſleeping in a whole Skin, to hear that ſomething like a Peace is at length concluded; for we now know for certain, that his Majeſty of *Spain* having, as we have been inform'd, demanded ſome Explanations, and alſo made Amendments in the Convention, was pleas'd at laſt to ſign it.

It ſeems, before his *Catholick* Majeſty could be prevail'd on to do it, he inſiſted on having a Kind of Defeazance drawn up, in Form of a Proteſt, of which the following Copy hath been communicated to us.

" *Don Sebaſtian de la Quadra*, Counſellor and firſt Secretary of State of his Catholick Majeſty, and his firſt Plenipotentiary for the Convention which is treating with the King of *England*, by Order of his Sovereign, and in Conſequence of his repeated Memorials and Conferences that have paſs'd with *Don Benjamin Keene*, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and having agreed therein, *with reciprocal Accord*, that the preſent Declaration ſhall be made as the eſſential and preciſe Means to overcome the ſo much debated Diſputes, and in order that the ſaid Convention may be ſign'd, does *declare, in due Form*, that his Catholick Majeſty reſerves to himſelf, in its full Force, the Right of being able to ſuſpend the Aſſiento of Negroes, and for diſpatching the neceſſary Orders for the Execution thereof, in Caſe the Company does not ſubject herſelf to pay, within a ſhort Term, the 68,000 *l.* Sterling, which ſhe has confeſs'd is owing on the Duty of Negroes, according to the Regulation of 52*d. per Dollar*, or in the Profits of the Ship *Caroline*, and likewiſe declare, that under the Validity and Force of this Proteſt the Signing of the ſaid Convention may be proceeded on, and in all other

ther Manner. Wherefore, upon this rm Suppoſition, and that it may ot be eluded on any Motive or retext whatſoever, his Catholick Majeſty has been *induced* thereto."

Pardo, 10th of *Jan.* 1739.

Don Sebaſtian de la Quadra.

How highly are we obliged to *on Benjamin Keene*, who, in order o remove all his *C.* Majeſty's Obctions, conſents to the Suſpenſion f a Right granted to the Nation y ſolemn Treaties, and given to he Company by Act of Parliament, nd run ſuch Hazards rather than is Country ſhould loſe the Emoluents of ſo glorious and advantageas a Convention!

By this Convention, his *C.* Maſty ingages to refer ſome Points in iſpute to the Deciſion of Plenipontiaries (*not Commiſſaries; we have ad enough of them already*) to be amed for that Purpoſe. This will rtainly produce one good Effect, not more; it will prove a very dvantageous Employment to two of he Friends of a certain great Man.

And here I cannot forbear taking otice of the great Honour his *C.* Majeſty hath done this Nation in he Perſon of Mr. *Keene*, by ſtiling im *Don Benjamin*, by which I conceive he hath made him a Gentleman; for which we are very much obliged to him.

Beſides this Favour, his *C.* Maſty alſo engages to pay our Merchants a Sum of Money in Part of hat his Subjects have plunder'd om them: He hath engaged to do , and his *Bond* is as good as his *Lord*; I dare ſay our Merchants are well ſatisfied with one as the other. the Payment of it ſhould be derr'd a little, I hope the Merchants ill not take it ill, becauſe his *C.* Majeſty may be out of Caſh. Kings, well as Poets, have ſometimes inted Money. I have wanted oney myſelf, and why may not s *C.* Majeſty ſometimes want oney?

If his *C.* Majeſty cannot conveniently ſpare the Sum promiſed, till the *South-Sea* Company pays him 68,000*l.* which he demands of them as a Debt, it will induce the Company to be very prompt in their Payment; for, whether they owe him any Thing or not, I hope they won't diſpute it upon this Occaſion: A Refuſal may be attended with very bad Conſequences; for his *C.* Majeſty is a Man of Honour, and wears a Sword.

I thought proper to mention this Matter, becauſe I am informed they diſpute the Debt, which ſhews a bad Mind in the Company; for they know that, unleſs they comply, the Merchants may never be paid, and what is worſe, it may diſconcert our M——r: And I hope that no Body will think it reaſonable, for ſuch a Trifle, to make that great Man uneaſy.

If 60,000*l.* ſhould be agreed to be paid him for our falling upon his Fleet in 1718, the Affair of the Merchants will not be retarded on that Account; becauſe the Nation will, no doubt, moſt chearfully ſubmit to any Tax for that Purpoſe.

We obliged ourſelves by Treaties to guarantee the Neutrality of *Italy*. The *Spaniſh* Fleet was deſtroy'd in Conſequence of this Guarantee. But though we were not Principals in this Quarrel, we paid for it as Principals; for, by a ſubſequent Treaty with *Spain*, in 1721, we obliged ourſelves to reſtore all the *Spaniſh* Ships in our Poſſeſſion, and we offer'd to pay for ſuch of them as had been ſold; which was perform'd on our Part. We have made many Treaties with *Spain* ſince, and we alſo appointed a competent Number of Commiſſaries, who all had Inſtructions to inſiſt on it, that we had fulfilled our Engagements. If the Nation ſhould be obliged to pay 60,000*l.* now for theſe Ships which rotted at *Port Mahon*, becauſe the *Spaniard*,

would not receive them as was agreed, it will be for a valuable Conſideration; and what Conſideration is ſo valuable as Peace?

When it was reported, that his C. Majeſty had demanded Payment for his Fleet deſtroy'd in 1718, the Diſaffected gave out, that he would alſo expect to be paid for the *Spaniſh Armada* deſtroy'd in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, ſince he had as much Reaſon to inſiſt on the one as the other: But the Malecontents are diſappointed, and there is no ſuch Thing in the Convention. Now indeed they give out, it will be demanded next Year; but for my own Part, I don't believe one Word of it.

The Truth is, the Malecontents are ſo envious of the Glory, our excellent Miniſter is continually acquiring by his great Skill in Negotiation, that they will ſay any Thing. They inſinuate alſo, as if the whole Money to be paid our Merchants, by the K. of *S.* was to come from another Quarter, and of Conſequence that what he is to receive for his Fleet, and from the Company, will be ſo much clear Gain, by which he will be enabled to make up another Fleet; and if we ſhould be obliged to deſtroy that, we know the worſt; 'tis but paying for it 20 Years after.

The Malecontents, I ſay, are almoſt at their Wits End; for this Convention ſtrikes them deaf, dumb and blind. It does not only make Things eaſy for the preſent, but fully juſtifies the Wiſdom of all the Meaſures taken for ſeveral Years: For if the numerous Squadrons, ſent out at different Times, had not been reſtrain'd from acting againſt the *Spaniards*, who knows but we might to Day have had not only their *Fleet*, but their *Guarda Coſtas*, *Flotas*, *Flotillas*, *Regiſter Ships*, and the Devil and all to have paid for? Nay we might have taken ſo much from them that, for ought I know, all the ready Money in the Kingdom could not have made good.

What can be urg'd againſt pacific Meaſures, but that the Merchants have ſuffer'd a little by Captures? But thoſe who make ſuch Complaints, ſhould conſider, that the Conſtitution of Trade is like that of the Body of Man; if the Blood beats too high, Evacuations are neceſſary. The Profits on Trade have riſen to ſuch Extravagance of late Years, that theſe little Drawbacks were like opening a Vein which makes the Blood circulate with more Freedom; and our forbearing to make Repriſals was the wiſeſt Meaſure could be taken; for had we committed Hoſtilities as well as the *Spaniards*, it was then War, and this was the very Thing we were endeavouring to avoid. *Pax quæritur bello* is a falſe Maxim; *Pax quæritur pace* is a much better Motto, and by it we are come to the End of our Wiſhes.

If the Malecontents object, that it is a very dear Peace; it may be anſwer'd, that all Things good in their Kind muſt be dear: Peace is certainly much better than War; *ergo*, we ought to pay more for it.

Suppoſe our *Plenipoes* ſhould manage in this Affair juſt as thoſe worthy Gentlemen call'd Commiſſaries did before them, *viz.* take Care to prolong their own Commiſſion, receive a great deal of publick Money for themſelves, and do nothing. If this ſhould happen, the Merchants will be the chief Sufferers; and what are Merchants? A Parcel of ſturdy Beggars, a Body of People who are for checking the exorbitant Power of a Miniſter, and were once within an Inch of demoliſhing one; and if he hath been no leſs induſtrious in his Endeavours to demoliſh them, who can wonder at it? In fine, Things ſeem to be come to a Kind of Criſis betwixt him

im and the Merchants; and either e or Trade muſt fall; but ſure no ody will balance which Party to ake, when the Safety of ſo virtuous, o wiſe a Man, is put in Competi- ion with ſuch a Trifle as the Trade f a Nation.

Trade ſubverts the Order of hings, and ſets the induſtrious an above the Tools of a Court, hich is a great Grievance. What Shame was it to ſee formerly, in his Nation, not only Merchants, ut Drapers, Grocers, Haberdaſhers, ron-mongers, *&c.* purchaſe better ſtates, and give larger Fortunes to heir Daughters, than Lords of the reaſury? But theſe Diſorders are n a fair Way of being rectified by he wiſe Politicks of the great Man ve hinted at before: Nor can I ſuf iciently commend that excellent aying which is imputed to him, That he hoped to make all the erchants of *England*, as poor as ſo any *German* Princes."

By this Convention, all the Griev- nces which have interrupted our ommerce in the *American* Seas are o be regulated by Plenipotentiaries. t ſeems, the Merchants cavil at the erm of *regulating Grievances*; but ho cares whether they like it or ot? They underſtand by it, as if t was to be ſettled what Grievances nd Abuſes our Merchants and Sai- ors ſhould hereafter be obliged to uffer from the *Spaniards*. Even in heir Senſe, it is to be juſtified; for, ithout ſome ſuch Thing, the *Spa- iards* may think they are at Liberty o abuſe our Merchants and Sailors s they pleaſe. Suppoſe no Ship of urs ſhould be allow'd to come ithin two Leagues of their Shore, t ought certainly to be ſettled what enalties they muſt ſuffer when they ranſgreſs; if, for Example, it hould be agreed, that, in ſuch a aſe, one of the Ears of every ailor on board ſhould be cut off, if here be no Regulation, they may ut off both their Ears.

There is another Thing which ought alſo to be regulated, *viz.* the due Length of a League; otherwiſe the *Spaniſh* Governors in *America* may alter their Scale, and if the Diſtance of a Ship from Shore ſhould be tried by *Spaniſh* Meaſure, our Merchants may have the worſt of it.

We can by the Treaty, which is to follow this Convention, loſe no more than two Leagues of Sea-Room, unleſs the *Spaniards* are to meaſure; if ſo, perhaps the two Leagues may ſtretch out to wherever they can catch our Ships.

What, tho' we don't lay the ſame Reſtrictions upon other Nations; that we neither ſeize, nor ſo much as ſearch *French* or *Dutch* Ships within two Leagues of our Coaſt, under Pretence of their carrying away our Wool, or running their Brandy in upon us; we are Lords of the Ocean, and may do what we pleaſe; and therefore, if we have a Mind to ſubmit, who ſhall hinder us?

I don't know how the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters will be able to pacify their People, for being ſo palpably out-witted, in this Treaty, by the ſuperior Skill of our Miniſters: Yet I think the *Spaniards* may find their Account in it; they may now be at Leiſure in employing their *Guarda Coſtas*, and Men of War, in plundering the *French* and *Dutch*, who, no Doubt, will ſuffer it patiently for 20 Years; after which, if his *Catholic* Majeſty ſhould think fit to accommodate Matters with them, he may give them Leave to pay the Loſſes of their own Merchants themſelves, by a Tax to be rais'd upon their own People for that Purpoſe, and then oblige them to keep at two Leagues Diſtance.

The ſturdy Beggars begin to aſſemble in the ſame Manner they did at the Time of the *Exciſe*; they behave as if they were confident of Succeſs: *Juſtice* and *No Search* is their *Cry*; and they talk loud of

Im-

Impeachments, They are a Set of dangerous Fellows, and would themſelves have demoliſh'd a great many poor *Spaniards*, if *Letters* of *Marque* and *Repriſal* had been granted them. It is very fit they ſhould be kept under; and therefore I think, that a dapper *Hugonot*, charg'd with a Proclamation, ſhould be ſent to diſperſe them every Time they meet. (Vol. VII. p. 508.)

I have not Room to anſwer all the ſenſeleſs Cavils of the Malecontents. They firſt made a great Noiſe becauſe our Squadrons did not act againſt the Enemy. Beſides the Reaſons I have already given againſt it, there are ſome others of equal Weight. Our People on Shore were in no Pain, leſt their Friends on board ſhould be knock'd on the Head; inſomuch, that it was a common Saying among the Sailors, that old Women would now go to Sea. They do object, indeed, that during this Peace (as 'tis call'd) with *Spain*, we have loſt more brave Sailors and Admirals than in all the late glorious War, and that we have likewiſe expended more Powder in ſaluting *Spaniſh* Ships and Forts, than in that War; but this is an impertinent Objection; for the Poet ſays, Death will come when it will come. If Sailors, or even Admirals, have not Conſtitutions to bear an infected Air, it was their Misfortune. As to the Powder expended in Salutes, it was for our Reputation; for our Admirals thereby gain'd a Character they never had before, of being very polite Gentlemen. I am ſure there was a great Saving to the Nation in the Article of Ball. Now they clamour about the immenſe Charge to the Nation, but ſure the fine Shew they made was worth all the Money, and it grieves me to think ſo formidable a Squadron as was ſent up the *Streights*, under Admiral *Haddock*, ſhould hide itſelf all this while in *Port-Mahon* as if it was aſhamed to be ſeen, when they might have paraded it as far as *Conſtantinople*, and have ſhewn themſelves for the Honour of their Country. The *Italian* Ladies have rallied our Gentlemen Travellers upon the Impoliteneſs of our Nation, in not ſending a Squadron into ſome of their Ports to divert them; for, ever ſince they ſaw the Fleet which was ſent to wait upon *Don Carlos*, they think that a Squadron of Men of War is the prettieſt Raree-Shew in the World.

Upon the Whole, it is a great Pleaſure to all true Lovers of Peace, to find, that the Malecontents have not been able to break off this Convention. Faction is now ſubdued, and the Temple of *Janus* will ſoon be ſhut. Fly hence then, ye murmuring, diſcontented Croud of Patriots: Speak to the Ocean when the Heavens are calm, ſooner ſhall ye raiſe Tempeſts there, than diſturb the univerſal Joy which gladdens the whole Nation upon this glorious Event. May a Day of Triumph be appointed for that great Man who took all upon himſelf! Let the Drum beat and the Trumpet ſound: Let his Temples be crown'd with Olive, and let ten thouſand Place-Men wait upon his Chariot, ſinging forth his Praiſes.

This is the day, and this is the ſong,
Then let us be merry, boys; all day long!
This is the day, in days of yore,
Our fathers never ſaw before!
This is the day, to one 'tis ten,
Our ſons will never ſee again!

Craftſman, Feb. 17. N° 658.

Mr. D'Anvers *makes ſome Remarks upon the* CONVENTION, *in which he chiefly enlarges upon, and ſets in a ſtronger Light, what he had before ſaid in his Paper of* Jan. 27. *(See p.* 64, *&c.) And many Things coincide with the above Paper in* Common Senſe. *What he chiefly enlarges upon, here follows.*

THE Article for adjuſting *territorial Limits*, ſeems to be calculat'd by *Spain*, with a View of contracting our Boundaries in

Carolina, which is expreſly mention'd in *preliminary Convention*; and it is conſi-ently reported, that the *Spaniſh Miniſter* ves out every where, that *his Court* will. on Account whatſoever, acquieſce in our Poſ-ſion of *Georgia*. It is expreſly ſtipulated, the *late Convention*, *that we ſhall not increaſe* Fortifications *there*, *nor take any* new Poſts; o' Money was granted by *Parliament*, but ſt Year, for that Purpoſe.

Carolina, as far as the Degree of 29, *Southern atitude*, was granted by K. *Charles* II. to *rticular Proprietors*. After this, came the reaties of 1667 and 1670, which allow'd all that was then in our Poſſeſſion. *Theſe reaties* therefore being ſubſequent to *this rant*, and the *Poſſeſſion* of *theſe Grantees*, it llows that the undoubted Property belongs *them*; and, if we examine how far the th Degree ſtretches, it is my Opinion that can prove a much better Right to Fort *Auguſtine*, than *they* can to *Georgia*. Again, *This Country* was afterwards bought by the *ublick*, from the *ſeveral Proprietors*, at the nſtance of the *preſent Adminiſtration*, and at very large Expence; alledging, that it was a rontier of the utmoſt Importance againſt *ain*. Nay, *one noble Lord*, not caring to l his Property, which was an *eighth Part the Whole*, had great Clamours rais'd againſt m, by our *preſent Miniſters*. However, he nſented to give up *all neceſſary Power to the rown*, reſerving to himſelf only the *eighth art of all future Profits*. So that this is as uch *his Property*, as any Man's Houſe is his n. When the *Publick* had made this Pur-aſe, what did the *Crown* do? Why, it made abſolute Grant, or Conveyance, of the hole to *particular Truſtees*, who are now ſted with the *Property* of it; nor can the mmiſſaries, or *Plenipotentiaries*, diſpoſe of it, thout *their ſpecial Leave*. The *Publick* have kewiſe ſupported *this infant Colony*, at large nual Expences.

It is ſaid, that our Right to the *Bahama ands* is likewiſe diſputed, upon the ſame Pretence; and *Jamaica* may be demanded on as good Grounds. If therefore the *Spa-ards* are to be gratify'd, or even not ſtre-ouſly oppoſed, in all theſe unreaſonable and gal Demands, we ſhall be ſoon driven out the *Weſt-Indies*, and muſt leave the *French* d the *Spaniards* to diſpute the Sovereignty *thoſe Seas*, and the Dominion of the *whole* merican *World*.

I cannot conceive what is meant by the HER POINTS, which are left to the Diſ-ſion of the *Plenipotentiaries*; unleſs it is a cifical Renunciation, on the Part of *Spain*, any Right, or Claim whatſoever, to *Gi-altar* and *Portmahon*; as likewiſe a Confir-tion of our Right to the Bay of *Cam-chy*, or at leaſt of cutting *Logwood* there, gathering Salt on the Iſland of *Tortugas*; for neither our *Miniſters*, nor our *Plenipoten-tiaries*, can poſſibly give up our Right in any of *theſe Reſpects*, under any Pretence of Juſtice to the *Nation*, or doing Honour to the *King*.

This Convention being of the utmoſt Impor-tance to *Great Britan*, will no doubt be more particularly ſcann'd by *thoſe*, who are imme-diately concern'd in the Conſequences of it. A But in this all Mankind ſeem to be agreed; that be it *good*, or be it *bad*; be it *honourable* or *diſhonourable*; the whole Merit or Demerit belongs to *one ſingle Man*, who undertook the Negotiation, and made himſelf anſwerable for it.

How happy therefore muſt *that Country* be, whoſe *Prime-Miniſter* is an *able*, *honeſt*, *diſin-tereſted*, *upright Man*! I will illuſtrate this, B by the Example of Cardinal *Fleury*; to which I was led by reading a Paragraph in one of the *Cologn Gazettes*, where an Account was given of the ſuppos'd Death of *that Prelate*, and of his *laſt Will and Teſtament*; in which the whole Value of his Eſtate, except a few Moveables, is ſaid to amount to no more than 1,300*l.* Ster-ling. Methinks, I ſee that *good old French-man* making his *Will*, and declaring that he C leaves his *Country*, which he found depreſs'd with *Debt*, reduc'd by a *long* and *unſucceſsful War*, ſunk in its *Reputation*, almoſt deſtroy'd by a *wild Project*, and labouring under a *long Minority*, now reviv'd in its *Credit*, flouriſhing in its *Trade*, recover'd in its *Reputation*, and triumphing over its *former Enemies*, by whom it was thus reduc'd; ſtrengthen'd with *uncom-*D *mon Union at home*, as well as *univerſal Alli-ances* and *Influence* over all *Europe*. Methinks, I hear him ſay, I leave *Lorain* to *France*; I leave them *Dunkirk* reſtor'd; their antient Enemy, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, humbled; and *Flanders* in their Power, whenever they pleaſe to take it; but, above all, I leave my Coun-trymen *Trade*, and *Manufactures*, as my par-ticular Bequeſts. *Laſtly*, I leave to my Fa-E mily all the *ready Money* now in my Poſſeſ-ſion, which amounts to the full Sum of 1,300*l.* to be equally divided amongſt them.

Were I to compare *this Character* with that of *another Prime Miniſter*, who ſhall be name-leſs, how would the Parallel run? After as *long* and even as *abſolute an Adminiſtration*, can *he* ſay that he did not find his Country in a F *flouriſhing Condition*? Can *he* ſay that any *one Tax* is reduc'd? Can *he* deny that, after a-bove 20 *Years Peace*, but a trifling Part of the *national Debt* hath been diſcharged, notwith-ſtanding the *ample Proviſion* made for that Purpoſe, many Years ago? Is the Reputation and Honour of *that Country* eſtabliſhed abroad? Is ſhe not involved in a Multitude of *incom-prehenſible* and *contradictory Treaties*? Hath G *he* conciliated, as he ought to do, the *Hearts and Affections of the People* to his *Royal Maſ-ter*? or, being utterly regardleſs of all theſe, is he not content to ſum up the Whole with ſaying; *Item*, I leave my Relations *forty of*

the

the beſt Employments in the Nation, for Life; and to my *eldeſt Son, half a Million of Money*, beſides a plentiful Proviſion to *all my younger Children?*

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING lately made an humble Requeſt to Dr. *Urban*, that he would do me the Favour not to inſert any of my Papers in his *Gentleman's Magazine* (ſee p. 78, G.) I think myſelf bound in Honour to return the *Gentlemen Gazetteers* my hearty Thanks for anſwering *Hinton's* Paper, inſtead of *mine*; which excuſes me from the ungrateful Taſk of taking any Notice of them. The *Combatants*, on *both Sides*, are now exactly match'd; and therefore I leave the Diſpute between them——*Fight* Dog, *fight* Bear.

N. B. *We are very ſorry we are oblig'd to defer the Letter in* Common Senſe *of the 24th (upon the ſame Subject with his laſt*, viz. *the Convention) to our next; and that we have only Room for the following,*

POSTSCRIPT to the LETTER *in* COMMON SENSE *of* Feb. 24. N° 108.

SOON after this Paper made its firſt Appearance, the miniſterial Hirelings were employed to fall upon it. The *Gazetteers* ſoon abuſed us into the good Opinion of the World; for the Publick knew we muſt be Friends to Liberty, otherwiſe they would not have been our Enemies. Finding they could not hurt us this Way, they tried another, which we muſt own had a better Effect. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, alias, Mr. *Urban*, was ordered to deface and mangle what they could not anſwer. He performed his Part without the leaſt Mercy. Both the *Craſtſman* and we ſuffered Monthly under his cruel Hands: He hath diligently cut out all thoſe Parts where the Strength of our Argument lay; ſo that thoſe who have read our Diſcourſes no where but in his felonious Extracts, would be puzzled to know which Side of the Queſtion we write for; and indeed, this was the only Method by which they could hurt our Credit with the Publick.

When we have the Misfortune of meeting with a Highwayman, we don't much regret our Money, if he robs like a Gentleman; but *Urban* robs like a Ruffian: He lives by what he ſteals from us, and yet abuſes us; ſo that we muſt call out to him at the End of every Month, —— *Good* Urban! *Take our Money, but ſpare our Limbs.*

Some of Mr. *Urban's* Country Readers having begun to diſcover his foul Play, with Reſpect to *Common Senſe*, and his Sale being thereby diminiſhed, it made him lately ſay in a Pet, he would ſteal from us no more; and indeed, in his laſt Monthly Collection, he hath ſpared *the School of Politicks, or Pantaloon made a Miniſter*, a Paper which happened to take ſo well with the Publick, that when it grew ſcarce, a great many ſingle Copies were ſold for Twelve Pence a-piece; but *Urban*, who is a Man of Taſte, ſays, that *Common Senſe* is ſad ſtuff; and it muſt be owned that whatever falls into his Hands will be ſad Stuff before he has done with it; ſo that we may ſay to him as *Martial* did to one who had not uſed his Works half ſo ill as *Urban* hath treated ours,

——*Hic meus eſt, O Fidentine, libellus;*
Sed male dum recitas, incipit eſſe tuus.

Mr. *Urban* would have obliged us much if he had kept his word; but by a late Advertiſement we find he has reſolved to go on with ſtealing and mangling our Papers Monthly, as uſual; and not ſatisfied with this, as we muſt allow him to be well practiced in Miſchief, he has found a Method which, if he had any Credit, would be much more effectual for ruining our Character with the Publick: This Method is, by impudently aſſerting that we have a Correſpondence with him, and that there is a Reconciliation, or what he calls a Convention between us; but every one who conſiders, muſt be convinced that it is impoſſible for us to be reconciled with ſuch a *notorious Guarda Coſta*, and that it is equally impoſſible for him to be reconciled with *Common Senſe*, as with our Kinſman *Common Honeſty*; therefore we hope the Publick will not believe a Word of what he ſo audaciouſly aſſerts; for we muſt think, that every Man who reads his Quack Advertiſements and Hand-Bills, will call to Mind the old Proverb,—*They that ſteal will lye.*

As Mr. *Urban's* pretended Convention with us, ſeems very much to reſemble another Convention, as he ſeems reſolved to continue his Depredations, and to pretend he has agreed to a Convention for that very Purpoſe, we muſt admoniſh all thoſe who are Friends either to the *Craftſman* or *Common Senſe*, not to read them in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, or at leaſt not to lay the Abſurdities they meet with there to our Charge: Thoſe who have not an Opportunity of ſeeing them in our own Papers, may find them *undefaced* in the LONDON MAGAZINE; for tho' it would be much more for our Profit, that neither one nor the other would meddle with them, yet we think it more for our Reputations, that they ſhould be read where they are perfect, than where they are torn to Pieces.

Mr.

RTILLO *to* MIRA, *discharging him even the Hopes of being hers.*

MY lovely *Mira!* these bright eyes
First rais'd the infant fire,
d kindled in my flaming breast
The raviſhing deſire;
was thy ſweet face, that taught me firſt,
Thy beauty made me know,
t *Cupid's* altar I muſt kneel,
'And to his ſceptre bow.'
cruel! can you bid me then
No more adore theſe charms,
in imagination die
Enraptur'd in thy arms?
n one, ſo near ally'd to heav'n,
Demand ſo hard a taſk,
things that nature cannot grant,
From a devoted aſk?
, *Mira!* no, I can't obey,
The ſtreams ſhall backward roll,
d thou, O damaſk roſe, ſhalt bud,
And flouriſh at the pole;
feeble pulſe ſhall ceaſe to play,
My limbs forget to move,
d every power be loſt in death,
If e'er I change my love.

AMINTOR.

a PAINTER, *beginning the Out-lines of* URANIA's *Picture.*

WOULD you paint the orient day,
Darting round his golden ray,
ning forth the glorious light,
tly beaming, ſweetly bright:
ld you paint the damaſk roſe,
en its balmy ſweets diſcloſe;
en the od'rous flowers diſpenſe
grance, grateful to the ſenſe:
ld you paint the lily's hue,
rkling with the pearly dew,
ning wide its ſilver bloom,
matick with perfume:
the lily's ſnowy face,
the roſe's bluſhing grace,
aurora's purple ray
the beauties half diſplay,
the radiant glories ſhow,
t in bright *Urania* glow.
, altho' thy mimick art
the canvaſs could impart
the ſplendid glare of dreſs,
t or colours can expreſs,
y other meaner charm,
t the vulgar beauties arm;
a *Titian's* labour'd line,
a *Raphael's* bold deſign,
thy ſkill'd experience join'd,
deſcribe th' immortal mind,
ting ſplendors from each feature
this ſweet angelick creature.
Throw the pencil then aſide,
Every colour is too faint;
Urania's charms are all divine,
And far exceed the power of paint.

AMINTOR.

To the charming Miſs ——

DECK'D with flowers
'Midſt the bowers,
See my beaut'ous *Chlo* reclin'd;
Soft repoſing,
Charms diſcloſing,
Ever fair, but *never kind.*
Sad in anguiſh,
While I languiſh,
Linnets lend their liſt'ning ear;
Me they *pity*
In ſoft ditty,
Or in concert *ſue* the *fair.*
Vallies ſounding,
Rocks rebounding,
In compaſſion ſpeak my moan;
Vocal mountains,
Cryſtal fountains,
All the plaintive notes return.
Faireſt creature
Form'd by nature,
Kindly hear your love complain;
To my ſighing,
Be complying,
For I die if you diſdain.

The Power of BEAUTY. *A* TALE.

EAT up with hyp and vapours quite,
Once *Strephon* in a peeviſh plight,
Fell out with ev'ry thing below,
Himſelf, and ev'n——*his deareſt Chlo.*

What a poor wretch, he cry'd, is *man*,
That little inſect of a ſpan,
Who call'd the *lord* of ev'ry creature,
Is yet the vrieſt *ſlave* in nature?

Where is his boaſted ſtrength of ſoul?
Subject to each coquet's controul:
Gives ſhe the nod?—the vaſſal flies,
Or trembling ſtands beneath her eyes.

The very beſt perfections to *man*
Are pimps to ſerve this idol, *woman.*
His eloquence muſt ſwell her pride,
And all his art her follies hide.

Baſe ſlavery! cry'd he, with a ſigh;
Gods! give more ſtrength, or let me die:
Chlo came and ſmil'd—he chang'd to—*give,*
O! give me Chlo, *and let me live.*

The MORAL.

Thus I (your lovely ſex my ſweeteſt care)
Write, look, ſpeak, think,—do all to pleaſe the fair.

The SPELL-MONGER. *A poetical Eſſay, humbly addreſſed to the* Royal College of PHYSICIANS *in* London.

Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes, [novit:
Augur, Schœnobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia
Græculus eſuriens in Cœlum, juſſeris, ibit.

JUVENAL.

BENEATH bleak hills, where hungry vaſſals dwell
In humble cots, juſt peeping out of *bell*,
There lives a *learned Stagyrite*, whoſe fame
Reacheth *Olympus* with his *Gothick* name.
There ſlumbring *Morpheus* lulling murmurs keeps,
And languid *Lethe* thro' his garden creeps;
There drowſy vapours *dulneſs* ſtill inſpire,
A juſt alloy to his *exalted fire*;
There on a pin, deck'd with *Apelles'* charms,
Where he ſhould hang, there hangs a *coat of arms*,
An oſtentatious antiquated *date*
Of 'ſquires unſquir'd, and knights of no eſtate.
Two ſtools, three chairs, nine pamphlets all a-row,
Compoſe his coſtly furniture below:
What's ſeen above no mortal can rehearſe;
Old rotten lumber wou'd untune my verſe.
Long had he labour'd on the wintry main,
Plutus ador'd, but ſtill ador'd in vain:
'Midſt ſavage crowds alternate pray'd and ſw—
Long-labours thus by ſea and land he bore:
Long in *South ſeas* his pious toils were known,
His pious frauds to *Northern climes* alone.
View him, *now emp'rick*, dealing out his lore;
Cloſe-ſtools behind, and urinals before.
'*Gravel* in theſe, in thoſe let *worms* ſubſide:
'Whilſt ducal * honours thy poſteriors hide,
'Let conſecrated *ſpells* attack each grief,
'And bring me lucre, tho' to none relief.'
He ſaid; and lo! th' impetuous *pulvis* falls
On crippl'd *gout*, and *rheumatiſm* yalls: [eyes,
He raves — he ſtares, and rolls his haggard
Poor frighted *gout*—and *rheumatiſm* flies:
Whole troops of *tæniæ* feel his conquering hand;
Nor can th' *aſcarides* his force withſtand:
Handfuls of *maw-worms* fall before him here,
There *one* as large as *great Goliab's* ſpear:
So large it was, by *Jove!*—no doubt you wonder
It had not ſplit diſtorted *Ra'ph* aſunder!
This ſure had been his fate, had not our quack,
With timely aid, ſtood ready at his back:
With lenient oils he lubricates the hole,
And thro' the aperture the monſter ſtole:
Soft thro' the chaſm his laxing finger glides,
Soft thro' the ſame the winding ſerpent ſlides:
Diſtorted *Ralph*, recov'ring from his pain,
Reſumes his former *phiz*, looks up and ſmi[les]
again. [ling a[t]
With muſtard, ham, brown bread and ma[ny]
The table's crown'd the *doctor* to regale:
Ralpho rejoiceth 'midſt the circling crowd;
Huzza's in peals proclaim their mirth aloud.
So ſkilful dames, who manage matters right,
Aſſiſt the birth, and bring the brat to light:
Celeſtial ſkill thus ſometimes waits above,
And *Juno's ſelf* aſſiſts the *queen of love*:
Bright *nectar* flows, young *Vulcan's* health go[es]
round,
And all *Olympus* echoes to the ſound.
No more let poets boaſt the feats of *Moor*[e]
Such ill-plac'd praiſe what emp'rick can endure
No more let diplomatick doctors rail;
They ſometimes err—thy powders never fa[il]
They never fail to fill the emp'rick's purſe;
They never fail to leave the patient worſe;
They never fail *fools* pockets to exhauſt,
Nor to regale *Thee* at thy *patients* coſt.
Ceaſe then, ye *ſages*, *Galen* to explore,
And ſtudy great *Hippocrates* no more;
One ſingle *ſecret* can your ſkill ſupply;
One ſingle *quack* with all your *vet'rans* vie;
One ſingle *ſhilling*, *twenty* can produce,
Exalted to a nobler form and uſe;
One ſingle kn—— whole counties can beg[et]
Ride in his coach, and laugh at *you* the wh[ile]

A POEM *in Praiſe of* BATTELDOR *&* SHUTLE-CORK, *to recommend that Play to* young LADIES.

BLeſs'd the inventor of the healthful play
That good companion of a winter's d[ay]
If face be pale, or hands be blue with cold,
'Tis far more pleaſant, warmer, than to ſc[old]
If from your cheeks the roſy colour's gone,
No better cure than this catholicon.
'Tis better much than cringing cloſe to fire,
It ſtirs the blood, and ev'ry limb inſpires;
Not only this, but it's by moſt agreed
A ſoveraign med'cine for a poking head.
The play I mean, is feather'd cork upheld,
From batteldor, to batteldor repel'd.
So when rough Boreas or Auſter roars,
The foaming waves are toſs'd to diff'rent ſh[ores]
Thus the unſett'led cork is, o'er and o'er,
Beat back from one to t'other batteldor.
And now full fifty ſtroaks it has receiv'd,
But yet by neither batteldor's reliev'd: [ho[ur]
At laſt quite tir'd with blows, quite void
And weary'd out, (as nature bids) it drop[s]

THOUGHTS *after having left* LONDON. *A* FRAGMENT.

SOmetimes, methinks, my ears are en[ter]
tain'd
With—buy my cheſt-nuts: or the ſilver ſ[ound]

* *Speaking to his iſſuing Lion, with which he uſed heretofore to ſeal up his Trumpery.* † *Alluding to a Song by an eminent Hand, on one of the ſame Craft.*

f wall-fleet oyſters—dear delicious food!
nother while, I hear the rumbling noiſe
f hackney coaches; whilſt the ill-look'd dri-
vers,
igh perch'd on tatter'd-boxes ſtuff'd with
ſtraw, [cattle;
arſe all they meet; or laſh their hide-bound
ith hoarſe rough voices croaking to their
ſteeds, [rion.
ike hungry ravens o'er ſome new-found car-
heſe are the charms of ev'ry publick ſtreet,
hich my warm fancy ſtrongly repreſents:
t if with pleaſures of politeſt ſort,
y ſoul wou'd in idea be regal'd,
nagination, ſweeteſt privilege
ſublunary beings! in a moment
ings *Covent-Garden* theatre in view:
ow am I then tranſported! how in raptures!
hen all that's tender is expreſs'd in **Binks*,
the grand heroe in *Delane* appears!
hen *Lev'ridge*, quinteſſence of melody,
ith ſmootheſt baſs mellow'd by good old age,
arbles an incantation! or when *Beard*,
ith ſweeteſt harmony, with heav'nly voice,
nd inſtruments expreſſing rural ſounds,
aunts to th' attentive croud †*The royal chace*.
Hence, ye vile eunuchs! ye *Italian* tribe
yelling kn–ves—unfitly named men!
ow long has our deluded kingdom bore
our curs'd *exactions*? while for foreign breath,
r ſtinking wind, ye ſteal our patrimonies,
tailing poverty on after-ages.
onſtrous extravagance! unheard of folly!
hus to enrich a gang of abject ſlaves,
d give them wherewithal to be our maſters!
Place me, ye pow'rs, where I may ever hear
gliſh performers, and good *Engliſh* ſongs:
here tuneful *Beard*, our *Britiſh Orpheus*, 'bides,
d with no leſs enchanting raptures fires
y breaſt, than *Farinelli* and his ſtrolling crew.

Feb. 14. 1739. *Joſ. G—n S——d.*

On a certain Eccl—ſ—ſt—ck.

AT *B—b D—bl—no* ſmooth'd his face
Amidſt the gayeſt crowd;
And four long months in every place,
But in the temple, bow'd.

Bleſs us! cry'd each old prudiſh maid,
How chang'd the conſtitution!
I've known the time when b—ps pray'd,
Ev'n ſince the revolution.

Tho' they ne'er ſcrupled now and then
To bow the head to *Rimmon*;
They ſtill of godlineſs made gain,
And kept religion's trim on.

D—bl—no in his ſleeve aſide,
While wit or envy rallies,
Supported by his ſolemn pride,
Laughs at their little malice.

Thinks he, let others pray and ſtarve,
And of our duty tell us:
Thank heav'n, I better know to carve
Than ſuch old-faſhion'd fellows.

Let them at church their homage pay;
I at another ſhrine
My vows will offer every day:
In ſervice-time I dine.

My corps, ſtill plump with daintieſt fare,
Shews well how I befriend it.
What boots three thouſand pounds a year,
Without a ſoul to ſpend it?

Diſabled, as I'm paſt threeſcore,
To hug a willing harlot;
My merit is, I *Rome* abjure,
That brazen whore in ſcarlet.

* *An Actreſs, now Mrs.* Vincent.

An ODE *to* WILLIAM PULTENEY, *Eſq;*

REMOTE from liberty and truth,
By fortune's crime, my early youth
Drank error's poiſon'd ſprings;
Taught by dark creeds and myſtick law,
Wrapt up in reverential awe,
I bow'd to prieſts and kings.

Soon reaſon dawn'd, with troubl'd ſight
I caught the glimpſe of painful light,
Afflicted and afraid;
Too weak it ſhone to mark my way,
Enough to tempt my ſteps to ſtray
Along the dubious ſhade.

Reſtleſs I rov'd, when from afar,
Lo *Hooker* ſhines! the friendly ſtar
Sends forth a ſteady ray;
Thus chear'd and eager to purſue,
I mount, till glorious to my view
Locke ſpreads the realms of day.

Now warm'd with noble *Sidney*'s page,
I pant with all the patriot's rage,
Now wrapp'd in *Plato*'s dream;
With *More* and *Harrington* around,
I tread fair freedom's magic ground,
And trace the flatt'ring ſcheme.

But ſoon the beauteous viſion flies,
And hideous ſpectres now ariſe,
Corruption's direful train;
The partial judge perverting laws,
The prieſt forſaking virtue's cauſe,
And ſenates ſlaves to gain.

Vainly the pious artiſt's toil
Wou'd rear to heaven a mortal pile,
On ſome immortal plan;
Within a ſure—tho' varying date,
Confin'd, alas! in every ſtate
Of empire and of man.

What tho' the good, the brave, the wiſe,
With adverſe force undaunted riſe,
To break th' eternal doom;
Tho' *Cato* liv'd, tho' *Tully* ſpoke,
Tho' *Brutus* dealt the godlike ſtroak,
Yet periſh'd fated *Rome*.

† *An Entertainment ſo called.*

To ſwell ſome future tyrant's pride,
Good *Fleury* pours the golden tide,
On *Gallia*'s ſmiling ſhores;
Once more her fields ſhall thirſt in vain,
For wholeſome ſtreams of honeſt gain,
Whilſt rapine waſtes her ſtores.

Yet glorious is the great deſign,
And ſuch, O *Pult'ney!* ſuch is thine,
To prop a nation's frame;
If cruſh'd beneath the ſacred weight,
The ruins of a falling ſtate
Shall tell the patriot's name.

CLARISSA, *or the* SHE-PHILOSOPHER. *Againſt Womens being learned.*

CLARISSA's beautiful and young:
But then, good gods! ſhe has a tongue.
She 'as wit indeed: but what of that?
She'd plague the devil with her chat;
Bent to confute their ſilly notion,
Who won't allow perpetual motion.
But 'tis perhaps to ſhew her parts;
For ſhe's a miſtreſs of the arts;
Has metaphyſicks to a tittle,
Of mathematicks knows a little;
Talks much of angles; to a hair
Can raiſe a perpendicular.
Not *Ariſtotle* e'er could boaſt
So learned, or ſo bright a toaſt.
She read o'er *Horace* in a trice,
And *Ovid* is her maſter-piece.
Perſius ſhe conquer'd in a day,
And *Homer* is a perfect play.
She *Locke*, and *Woolaſton* commends;
And *Newton*'s at her fingers ends.
She ſeldom reads you any plays,
But thoſe of *Ariſtophanes*.
Perhaps ſhe *Sophocles* looks o'er,
To throw away an idle hour:
And when ſhe 'as nothing elſe to do,
In *Derham*, reads a page or two.
Now all philoſophers agree,
That women ſhould not learned be;
For fear, that as they wiſer grow,
More than their huſbands they ſhould know.
Which of ſad conſequence might prove,
And be a mighty foe to love.
It might be apt to thin the nation,
And greatly hinder generation.
For if we look, we ſoon ſhall find,
Women are of the tyrant-kind.
They love to govern and controul;
Their bodies lodge a mighty ſoul.
The ſex, like horſes, could they tell
Their ſtrength of parts, would ſoon rebel.
They would uſurp, and ne'er ſubmit,
To bear the yoke, or champ the bit.
They wou'd be apt to ride the men:
And, heavens! what ſhould we do then!
And ſure, ſuch monſters we may ſee,
(But 'tis where men ſuch fools will be)
Nay ſome, who no great learning boaſt,
Will ſtill be maſters of the roaſt.
The beſt way then to keep them under,
Let them in ignorance ſtill blunder.
So may we, without much ado,
Bit, if we pleaſe, and ride them too!

PHILETUS.

VERSES *wrote by a* LADY *at* BATH.

SAY, *love* has loſt his wonted power,
And *gold*'s the only idol now!
Say, *frailty* is as fond to break,
As *intereſt* plight the marriage-vow!
*** thy generous heart diſdains
To love by fickle *faſhion*'s rules;
Or quit the path where *virtue* guides,
Becauſe untrod by knaves or fools.

Deſpiſing then diſhoneſt ſhame,
Boldly avow thy gallant choice!
Paſſion itſelf may plead deſert,
When taught to follow *reaſon*'s voice.

But ſee, ſhe comes! to triumph comes!
Away dull arguments! away!
Her potent eye convinces more
Than *Tully*'s tongue, or *Dryden*'s lay.

Were bloom, like *Hebe*'s, all her boaſt,
The bloom might love and joy inſpire
In hopeleſs *age*, and *wiſdom*'s froſt
Diſſolve in *paſſion*'s genial fire.

But let the chilling blaſt of *time*,
Like winter, fade each youthful grace;
Her virtues ſtill would triumph o'er
The ruins of her angel-face!

Then timely uſe *diſcretion*'s rein,
To curb the wild deſires of youth:
No joy can equal mutual love;
No treaſure vie with mutual truth.

Alas! *opinion*'s vain applauſe
Is the whole dream of life beſide;
To give repining *envy* pain,
And ſooth our own ſelf-flatt'ring pride!

From a CORRESPONDENT, *on our omitting to inſert ſome of his Poems.*

SIR,

I Shall harraſs you no more
With *tedious* ſtuff!—as heretofore;
(Labours, as *long* as any *ſermon!*)
My word, pray, have reliance firm on.
Pardon what's paſt:—and, what's to come,
Or *print*,—or with it wipe your *b-m*.
The *dirty doom*, I mention'd laſt,
And *ſlighted ſervice*, late'y paſt,
My poor, proud, peeviſh muſe takes ſnuff at,
And ſeems to be in no ſmall huff at.
But I, with *future hopes*, ſhall ſooth her,
And words, both ſweeter, ſir, and ſmoother.
But then, for this, (I muſt petition,)
You'll let me have a full *commiſſion*.
And, if you judge me worth an anſwer,
You'll give me, too, to underſtand, ſir,
By ſome, ſhort, candid, courteous hint,
Whether you ben't aſham'd to print
The *wretched rhimes*, that I tranſmit,
Of folly full, and void of wit:—

Ad

And,—if it ben't a wild adventure,
Your *Magazine*, by ſtorm, to enter.
Critics, I know, are oft *cenſorious*,
And *poets* frequently *vain-glorious*.
But *you're* a gentleman of *candour*;
And, my poor *muſe*—you may command her
To be, or *ſilent*, or *loquacious*,
Or *grave*, or *giddy*, or *facetious*.
'At preſent,—*muſe*, (*mad muſe*!—*d'ye hear?*)
'Stop your impertinent career.'
For now,—unleſs ſhe hold her rattle,
She'll tire you with her tittle tattle.
At leaſt, I'm ſure, you can't be fond on't:
Yet love *Your faithful Correſpondent.*
P. S. *R. D.*

Lord!-how have I *run on!*-but you'll excuſe;
You know, the *proverb* * ſays, I cannot *chuſe*;
I've ſuch a *dev'liſh driver*, to my muſe.

SIR,

I Have lately read a Poem, printed for Mr. *Cox* at the *Royal Exchange*, entitled, *The Downfall of Bigotry*, &c. I think it admirably calculated to cure Perſons of a narrow, cenſorious, perſecuting Temper, and to inſpire them with Candour, Benevolence, *&c.* I wiſh you'd inſert theſe Lines as a Specimen.

O! *Bigotry*, how noxious is thy brood!
O! thou the bane of all that's great and good.
How doſt thou narrow and contract the mind,
And all the faculties in fetters bind?
Like *Polyphemus* with his eye put out,
Sightleſs, thy vaſſals ſtumbling ſtalk about;
Miſchiefs attend thy ſteps in end'leſs trains,
And all the furies revel in thy veins.
Thou in the breaſt doſt gall and verjuice pour,
Ruffle the ſmooth, and ſweeteſt tempers ſour.
Whene'er the good, and virtuous take thy taint,
Their goodneſs ſtrait grows dim, and virtue faint.
'Tis not by nature, but thy curſed ſpell,
So many here, reſemble thoſe in hell:
Ev'n Jeſuits, and inquiſitors, that vie
With wolves and bears, in blood and cruelty,
That reſtleſs are while others are at reſt,
And when they do moſt miſchief, moſt are bleſt,
Perhaps were with as gentle tempers born,
As thoſe an *Hoadley*, or a *Boyle* adorn:
But bigotry with baleful venom kills
All ſeeds of virtue, and all rage inſtils.
From thy foul womb dire perſecution ſprings,
Arm'd with ten thouſand deadly darts, and ſtings;
In the ſame black deſigns you both agree,
The curſed mother thou, and daughter ſhe;
What hideous clangors fill th' unhappy plains,
What groans of priſoners, and what clank of chains,
Where perſecution reigns with lawleſs power,
Like rav'ning lions ready to devour!
Oceans of blood are by the monſter ſhed,
And myriads to the grave in triumph led.
Lo! theſe her goodly ſpoils, and trophies are,
And thus againſt mankind ſhe wages war!
O! wretched lands! where ſhe erects her ſway,
In vain you baſk beneath the ſmiling day:
In vain on you heav'n pours its bleſſings down,
This plague alone will all your comforts drown.
But, bleſt *you* lands! where liberty reſides,
Sits at the helm, and all the motions guides:
More happy far, than where *fell* tyrants ply,
Tho' much more poor your ſoil, and bleak your ſky.
O! liberty! ſay what unnumbred charms,
To bleſs mankind, are circled in thy arms:
With pleaſing ſcenes thou doſt the hours beguile,
Make deſarts ſing, and barren mountains ſmile,
Make crops of corn ſpread over waſtes their ſkreen,
And meadows deck in robes of flowery green;
Make traffick flouriſh, fleets o'er oceans roam,
And waft the ſtores of both the *Indies* home;
Make learning thrive, each face with knowledge ſhine,
And pure religion ſcatter joys divine.

On the Death of Mr. RICHARD RYDER.

Aid, weeping muſe, to vent my ſwelling grief,
To word my trickling tears, to ſigh relief;
The many throbbing groans, the painful throws
That heave, and beat, to all the world diſcloſe.
But hark, my ſoul! to reaſon's dictates keep,
Come, let the *chriſtian* teach thee how to weep.
The loſs is great, the wound is deep, 'tis true;
In *Ryder*'s life you ev'ry virtue knew:
A tender mate, a parent fond, yet wiſe,
Eſteeming all, who God and goodneſs prize:
His ſole ambition to relieve the poor,
Cancel their wants, their preſſing griefs to cure.
Is this the man whoſe urn you fill with tears,
Whoſe death you mourn, diſtreſs'd with anxious fears?
Sing rather at his happy change, and riſe
In rapt'rous notes with him above the ſkies.
See him in realms of light, with glory crown'd,
With pleaſing accent dwelling on the ſound
Of heav'nly grace, which there they echo round.
But when reflecting on this ball below,
I view the dreadful gap, the rueful woe,
Caus'd in domeſtick life, in friendſhip's name,
This ſinks my flight, this cools poetick flame.
Weep then, O virtue, weep, your patron's gone;
Let orphans cry, let widows mourn forlorn.
Loaded with grief hang down your * tow'ring heads,
Ye lofty trees, forget to bloom ye meads,
Keep on your duſky garb, your winter weeds.
For now, ſad news! the careful, cautious hands,
That oft with pleaſure dreſt you, woods and lands!
To labour ceaſe, having diſcharg'd their truſt,
Are with his laſt remains return'd to duſt,
Till *Jeſus* comes again, to bleſs the juſt.
Propitious heav'n! may each ſurviving friend,
Live *chriſtian* like, and like a *chriſtian* end;
That when the awful trump ſhall rouſe the dead,
And each awake to leave his duſty bed,
We may with him who now our tears employs,
Wing in ſweet concert to eternal joys.

THE

* *He needs muſt go, whom the D-v-l drives.*

† *The Seat at* Bovington-Hay *in* Hertfordſhire.

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

THURSDAY, *Feb.* 1.

THE King went to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent up for, and attending, his Majeſty opened the Seſſion with the following moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have, upon all Occaſions, declared, how ſenſibly I have been affected with the many Hardſhips and Injuries ſuſtained by my trading Subjects in *America*. I have the Honour of my Crown, and the true Intereſt of my People too much at Heart, to ſee either of them ſuffer any Prejudice or Diminution, without purſuing the moſt proper and advantageous Methods for their real Security and Preſervation.

Theſe Conſiderations alone were ſufficient to incite me to exert my utmoſt Power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted Rights and Privileges of Navigation and Commerce; and nothing could add to my own Zeal in ſo juſt a Cauſe, but the due Regard I always have to the Petitions and Complaints of my Subjects, and the Advice of my Parliament. The Wiſdom and Prudence of your Reſolutions, upon this great and national Concern, determined me to begin with the more moderate Meaſures, and to try, once more, what Effect and Influence my friendly Endeavours, and preſſing Inſtances would have upon the Court of *Spain*, towards obtaining that Satisfaction and Security, which we were intitled to demand and expect; and your Aſſurances to ſupport me in all Events, enabled me to proceed with proper Weight and Authority.

Thus ſupported by the concurrent Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, I loſt no Time in making Preparations to do myſelf, and my People Juſtice, if the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* had laid us under that Neceſſity; and at the ſame Time I did, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, repeat my Inſtances for obtaining ſuch Juſtice and Reparation for the many Injuries and Loſſes already ſuſtained, and ſuch an effectual Security for the future, as might prevent the Conſequences of an open Rupture.

It is now a great Satisfaction to me, that I am able to acquaint you, that the Meaſures I have purſued, have had ſo good an Effect, that a Convention is concluded, and ratified between me and the King of *Spain*; whereby, upon Conſideration had of the Demands on both Sides, that Prince hath obliged himſelf to make Reparation to my Subjects for their Loſſes, by a certain ſtipulated Payment; and Plenipotentiaries are therein named and appointed, for regulating, within a limited Time, all thoſe Grievances and Abuſes, which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation in the *American* Seas; and for ſettling all Matters in Diſpute, in ſuch a Manner, as may, for the future, prevent, and remove all new Cauſes and Pretences of Complaint, by a ſtrict Obſervance of our mutual Treaties, and a juſt Regard to the Rights and Privileges belonging to each other. I will order the Convention, and the ſeparate Articles to be laid before you.

It hath been my principal Care, to make uſe of the Confidence you repoſed in me in this critical and doubtful Conjuncture, with no other View, but the general and laſting Benefit of my Kingdoms; and if all the Ends, which are to be hoped for, even from ſucceſsful Arms, can be attained, without plnnging the Nation into a War, it muſt be thought, by all reaſonable and unprejudiced Perſons, the moſt deſirable Event.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Eſtimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the Service of the current Year. I heartily wiſh, that the Poſture of Affairs would have permitted me to retrench the publick Expences, for which I am obliged to demand the preſent Supplies: And I make no Doubt, but your experienced Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, and the proper Concern you have always ſhewn for the publick Good, will induce you to grant me ſuch Supplies, as you ſhall find neceſſary for the Honour and Security of me and my Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot but earneſtly recommend it to you, not to ſuffer any Prejudices or Animoſities to have a Share in your Deliberations at this important Conjuncture, which ſeems, in a particular Manner, to call upon you to unite in carrying on ſuch Meaſures, as will be moſt conducive to the true Intereſt and Advantage of my People.

FRIDAY, 2.

Peter Burrell, Eſq; having, on *Jan.* 31, been re-elected Sub-Governor of the *South Sea* Company for the 3 enſuing Years, and *John Briſtow*, Eſq; Deputy-Governor; his Majeſty being graciouſly pleas'd to continue Governor; the following Gentlemen were, on this Day, choſen Directors, *viz. Joſeph Adams*,

dams, Joſhua Baker, Jonathan Collyer, Tho-mas Crowſlad, John Edwards, Joſeph Faw-khrop, Joſeph Gulſton, jun. *Edward Haiſtwell, John Hamilton, Richard Howard, Richard Jackſon, George Jennings, Robert Lovick, Ro-ger Mainwaring, Sydenham Malthus, Natha-niel Paice, John Philipſon*, Eſqrs. Capt. *Ri-chard Pinnell, Samuel Smith, Bennet Swayne, Thomas Thomas, Lewis Way. Abraham Hume, James Lock, Henry Lloyd, John Manley, Wil-liam Towſon, Thomas Turner, Walter Vane, Robert Wylde*, Eſqrs. The 8 laſt were not in the former Direction.

This Day the humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords was preſented to his Majeſty, as follows:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

Amongſt the many convincing Proofs, which your Majeſty hath given of your paternal and unwearied Care of the Rights of your People, nothing can fill their Hearts with more grateful Sentiments, than that ſincere and affectionate Concern, which you have ſo often declared, for the many Hardſhips and Injuries ſuſtained by your trading Subjects in *America*. The Honour of your Majeſty's Crown, and the true Intereſt of your People, are, and ever will be, inſeparable; and as your Majeſty hath, on all Occaſions, demonſtrated to the World, that you have both equally at Heart, it was impoſſible for us, not to have the firmeſt Dependence on your Zeal and Vigilance for their real Security and Preſervation.

The gracious Regard which your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs for the Reſolutions and Advice of your Parliament, is a great Inſtance of your Royal Goodneſs; and though your Majeſty's conſtant Deſire, out of Tenderneſs to your People, to avoid involving theſe Kingdoms in the manifold Inconveniencies of War, muſt incline you to approve the Beginning with more moderate Meaſures; yet we never entertained the leaſt Doubt, but that true Greatneſs and Fortitude, which inſpire your Royal Breaſt, would induce you to exert your utmoſt Power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted Privileges of Navigation and Commerce; and in doing Juſtice to yourſelf and your Subjects, if the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* had made ſuch Meaſures neceſſary.

We beg Leave, on this Occaſion, to offer to your Majeſty our unfeigned Thanks for your great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion, in acquainting us from the Throne, that a Convention is concluded and ratified between your Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, whereby Reparation is agreed to be made to your Subjects for their Loſſes, by a certain ſtipulated Payment; and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating, within a limited Time, all thoſe Grievances and Abuſes which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation in the *American* Seas; and that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to order the Convention and ſeparate Articles to be laid before us.

We ſhall fall ſhort of thoſe warm Impreſſions of Gratitude, which we feel in ourſelves, as well as be wanting in our Duty, if we did not return your Majeſty our moſt thankful Acknowledgments for your Royal Care, in making uſe of the Confidence repoſed in your Majeſty, with no other View, but the general and laſting Benefit of your Kingdoms. Reparation for paſt Injuries and Loſſes, and effectual Security for the future, founded in Juſtice, and warranted by Treaties, have been the great Views of your Majeſty, and your Parliament, in this national and important Affair; and if thoſe Purpoſes can be attained, without plunging the Nation into a War, it muſt give the trueſt Satisfaction to all your faithful Subjects, who cannot but be as deſirous to preſerve the Peace, as they are able and ready to defend and vindicate their Rights, againſt the Incroachments of all Aggreſſors.

We are deeply ſenſible, how unbecoming and pernicious it would be, at any Time, to ſuffer either Prejudices or Animoſities to mix themſelves with Parliamentary Deliberations; and your Majeſty's gracious Recommendation to us, particularly to avoid them at this important Conjuncture, cannot fail to awaken in us a more than ordinary Caution on that Head. *Great Britain* hath but one common Intereſt, conſiſting in the Security of your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Welfare and Happineſs of your People: And when your Majeſty is pleaſed to exhort us to Unanimity, it is only calling upon us to unite for our own Preſervation. We therefore beſeech your Majeſty, to accept the ſtrongeſt and moſt affectionate Aſſurances, that we will zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be moſt conducive to thoſe great and deſirable Ends.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for this dutiful and affectionate Addreſs, and for the Dependence you expreſs on my Care, to make uſe of the Confidence you repoſe in me, for the general Benefit of my People. You may rely on the Continuance of my Endeavonrs to perfect the Accommodation with the Court of Spain, *in ſuch a Manner, as may be moſt for the Honour of my Crown, and the true Intereſt of my Kingdoms; and that I will purſue ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall appear to be moſt conducive to the future Security of the Trade and Navigation of my Subjects.*

SATURDAY, 3.

The Lord Chief Juſtice *Lee*, in the Name of

of the reſt of the Judges of the Court of *King's-Bench*, delivered their Opinions in relation to a new Trial, which the Defendant had apply'd for, in the Cauſe that has been ſo long depending between *John Dormer*, Eſq; Plaintiff, and Sir *John Forteſcue Aland* and others, Defendants; they being unanimous againſt granting a new Trial. (See Vol. VII. p. 578.)

His Majeſty was pleaſed to make the following moſt gracious Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Hon. Houſe of Commons, preſented to him on this Day:

"Gentlemen, I return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs, and you may be aſſured, that I will uſe my beſt Endeavours to bring this important Affair to a ſpeedy and happy Concluſion."

Their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales* were pleaſed to make the following Anſwer, on the congratulatory Addreſs preſented to them on the Birth of a Prince, by the Hon. Houſe of Commons. (Vol. VII. p. 257.)

"Gentlemen, I and the Princeſs, have a grateful Senſe of the Joy you ſhew upon this Increaſe of the King's Family."

TUESDAY, 6.

Was held a Court of Aldermen, when Sir *Joſeph Eyles* was ſworn in Alderman of *Cheap* Ward, in the room of *Robert Cater*, Eſq; deceas'd. (See p. 48, 49.)

The ſame Day there was a Trial of great Conſequence before the Hon. the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, between the King and an eminent Dealer in Wines, in *Southwark*, who thought himſelf aggriev'd by having ſome thouſand Gallons of Wines charged as *Sweets*, which by a late Act of Parliament pay a Duty of near 5*d. per* Gallon. The Evidence for the King endeavour'd to prove them *Sweets*; the Witneſſes for the Dealer maintained them to be Wines drawn from the Lees of foreign Wines. Many Evidences were call'd, and Counſel pleaded learnedly on both Sides: But after a full Hearing the Court gave Judgment againſt the Owner for the Duty, which amounts to a large Sum, beſides a Penalty of 20*l.* incurr'd thereby.

We hear our excellent Laureat is turning the Convention into a Poem. ſo that we hope thoſe who do not like it in Proſe may like it in Verſe.

TUESDAY, 20.

In the Common Council that was call'd on this Day for drawing up a Petition to Parliament in relation to the preſent Convention, there were preſent about 200 Members; when the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor put the Queſtion, That all that were for appointing a Committee to draw up a Petition ſhould hold up their Hands: The Appearance was ſo great, it was thought that every Hand was held up; but, when he came to put the Queſtion the other Way, as is uſual, he found he had been miſtaken; for three held up their Hands againſt it, which three were Place-Men. Indeed, Sir *John Eyles* (formerly a Commiſſioner for the Sale of Lord *Derwentwater*'s Eſtate) *mov'd*, in the Court of Aldermen, the putting the Negative upon it, which was ſeconded by Sir *Robert Baylis* (one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms) but it being ſtrongly oppos'd, and excellently well ſpoken to by the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Barnard*, Alderman *Heathcote*, &c. *that* Court did not divide.

THURSDAY, 22.

Was held the annual Feaſt of the Sons of the Clergy at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, at which were preſent his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſeveral other Biſhops, and the Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*. The Collection at St. *Paul*'s and at the Feaſt amounted to 593*l.* 16*s.* The Collection at the Rehearſal amounted to 283*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*

Mr. *Dodſley*, Publiſher of a late Piece, call'd MANNERS, a Satyr, was diſcharg'd out of Cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, attending the Houſe of Lords.

FRIDAY, 23.

The Petition of the City of *London*, the *Weſt-India* Merchants, and the *Briſtol* Merchants, relating to the Convention, were deliver'd to the Houſes of Lords and Commons.

Seven Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death at the *Old Bailey*, viz. *William Udall*, for robbing Mr. *Thorne* on the Highway near *Iſlington*. — *James Lawler*, *James Leonard*, and *Henry Johnſon* for Burglary.—*Aſhby Johnſon*, and *Edward Cambell*, for Burglary.—And *Peregrine Audley*, for aſſaulting and robbing *William Maudley* on the Highway, of a Hat and Wig, and one Shilling in Money.

MONDAY, 26.

This Day his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Malt Bill, &c.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

ROBERT Hippeſley, of *Stanton*, Wilts, Eſq; to Miſs *Gore*, an Heireſs.

Rigby Molineux, of *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Martin*.

Thomas Hord, of *Coat* in *Oxfordſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Atkins* of the ſame Place.

Mr. *George Stapleton*, of *Queen's-College*, *Oxford*, to Miſs *Jenny Sherwood*, of *Shipton*, *Berks*.

Mr. *Joſeph Collet*, a Merchant of this City, to Miſs *Morſe*, Daughter of Mr. *Morſe*, formerly a Banker in *Lombard-ſtreet*.

Sir *James Daſhwood*, of *Northbrooke* in *Oxfordſhire*, Bart. to Miſs *Spencer*, Siſter to the junior Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*, a 70,000*l.* Fortune.

Frederick Frankland, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Thirſk* in *Yorkſhire*, to the Lady *Anne Lumley*, Siſter to the Earl of *Scarborough*.

Samuel

Samuel Gilbert, of *Litchfield*, Eſq; to Miſs *Wyarth*.

Joſeph Hales, of *Thorp* in *Northamptonſhire*, to Miſs *Mayo*, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

The Lady of *Crew Aſſleck*, Eſq; ſafely de-liver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir *Robert Thorckmorton*, Bart. of a Daughter.

The Lady of Sir *Rowland Wynne*, Bart. of a Son.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Haith and Guilford*, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. *Powel*, one of the Canons of *Weſtminſter*.

The Lady of Sir *Henry Hicks*, an eminent Brewer at *Deptford*.

Capt. *Giffard*, of the ſecond Troop of Horſe Guards.

Mr. *Fairfax*, a Roman Catholick Prieſt.

Mr. *Gregory*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Duke of *Bedford*.

At *Iſlington*, *Phillip Oddy*, Eſq; a Gentle-man of a large Eſtate in that Town.

John Bennet, Eſq; Maſter in Chancery.

In Childbed, the Hon. Mrs. *Cocks*, Wife to *James Cocks*, Eſq; and Daughter of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*. (See p. 49.)

Capt. *Richard Pinnell*, who was the Day before rechoſen one of the *S. S.* Directors. (See p. 99.)

At his Seat in *Rutlandſhire*, *Richard Snow*, Eſq; aged 86, by whoſe Death a conſiderable Eſtate falls to his Son, *Matthew Snow*, Eſq; Chronotary in the High Court of Chancery.

The Lady *Lucy Wharton*, late Wife to Sir *William Morrice*, Bart. and Siſter to the late Duke of *Wharton*.

At *Bury*, Sir *James Reynolds*, Knt. late one of Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Count *Brandenbourg*, Count of the ſacred Roman Empire, aged 81, who has for ſeveral Years reſided in *England*.

Lady *Clark*, Relict of Sir *William Clark*, Bart.

John Turner, Eſq; Recorder of St. *Ed-mund's-Bury* in *Suffolk*.

Ferdinando Gorges, Eſq; at his Seat at *Aſhly* in *Wiltſhire*.

Rev. Dr. *Panting*, Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Oxford*, and Prebendary of *Glouceſter*.

Of the Small-Pox, the Rev. Mr. *Venn*, Rector and one of the Week-Day Preachers at St. *Antholin's* in *Watling-ſtreet*, and Clark of St. *Giles's Cripplegate*.

Rev. Mr. *Weſtcomb*, M. A. Fellow of St. *John's College* in *Oxford*.

At the Caſtle of *Antrim*, in the North of *Ireland*, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viſc. *Maſſa-reene*.

Rev. Mr. *Eſtwick*, a Minor Canon and one of the Chanters of St. *Paul's*, and Rector of *Wenbithe*.

At his Grace the Duke of *Bridgwater's* Seat, in *Bucks*, Mr. *Conrade Ruſtina*, in the 109th Year of his Age. He was born in *Swe-den*, and had formerly attended ſeveral of our young Noblemen in their Travels into foreign Parts; but afterwards was Gentleman to the late Duke of *Bridgwater*, and alſo to the preſent Duke.

At *Exeter*, the Rev. Mr. *Maunder*, Rec-tor of St. *Martin's* in that City, and Vicar of *Cadbury*, beſides his Sine-Cure of *Bradminet*.

At *Glouceſter*, *Charles Hyett*, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Glou-ceſter*, and Repreſentative for that City in the laſt Parliament of K. *George* I.

Rev. Dr. *Jones*, one of his Majeſty's Chap-lains in Ordinary, ſuddenly.

Right Hon. *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Preſton*, and Baron *Graham* of *Eſk*, born 1708.

Rev. Mr. *Thomas Stapleton*, of *Queen's-Col-lege*, *Cambridge*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *George Bowen*, to the Rectory of *Narbeth*, with the Chapel of *Robert-ſon*, in *Pembrokeſhire*.

Mr. Archdeacon *Hayter* ſucceeds Dr. *Bundy* in the Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*.

Dr. *Tenniſon* made a Prebendary of *Canter-bury*, in the Room of Dr. *Goode*, Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Mr. *Harris* preſented to the Living of *Ware* near *Axbridge* in *Somerſetſhire*.

George William Harris, M. A. inſtall'd a Prebendary of *Yatminſter Pruria*, in the Ca-thedral Church of *Sarum*.

William Thorne, M. A. preſented to the Vicarage of *Biſhops-Lyddiard*, in *Somerſetſhire*.

Mr. *Garnett*, Fellow of *Brazen-Noſe College*, *Oxford*, to the Living of *Rane-Both*, *Northamp-tonſhire*.

Dr. *Brooke*, by the Dean and Chapter of *Cheſter*, to the Rectory of *Dodleſton* in that County.

Mr. *Cookſey*, to the Rectory of St. *Antho-lin's*, in the room of Mr. *Venn*, deceas'd.

Mr. *Marſh* of *Pembroke-Hall*, *Cambridge*, appointed one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

Mr. *Ratcliffe* choſe Maſter of *Pembroke-College*, *Oxon*.

Mr. *Sharp*, to the Rectories of *Forkington* and *Weſt-Dean* in *Suſſex*.

Mr. *Rayner* made one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to the Prince.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* made Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Oxon* and *Bucks*.

Four Gentlemen have been promoted from marching Regiments to be Lieutenants in the Guards, *viz.* Mr. *Charles Churchill*, Mr. *Perry*, Mr. *Urquhart*, an (Mr. *Newton*, Son of the General.

Francis Montagu, Eſq; made a Maſter in Chancery, in the room of *Tho. Bennet*, Eſq; deceas'd.

Earl of *Hyndford*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, made Col. of a Reg. of Foot on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment.

Lord *Loudon Campbell*, made Capt. Lieutenant of the Earl of *Dunmore*'s own Company, in the third Regiment of Foot Guards, in the room of the Lord *John Murray*, promoted to the Command of a Company.

Thomas Drury, of *Overſtone* in *Northamptonſhire*, Eſq; created a Baronet of *Great Britain*.

Sir *John Turner*, of the middle *Temple*, Bart. elected Member of Parliament for *King's Lyn* in *Norfolk*, in the room of his Uncle, Sir *Charles Turner*, Bart. deceas'd.

Tho. Carew, of *Crocomb*, Eſq; for *Minehead*, in the room of Sir *William Codringtsn*, Bart. deceas'd.

Lord *Auguſtus Fitzroy*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Graſton*, for *Thetford*, in the room of Sir *Edmund Bacon*, Bart. deceas'd.

William Forreſter, jun. Eſq; for *Great Wenlock*.

Capt. *Treſuſis*, for *Grampound* in *Cornwall*.

William Harvey, of *Betſworth*, Eſq; for *Rygate*, in the room of the late Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*.

Herbert Mackworth, Eſq; for *Cardiff*, in the room of the Lord *Windſor*, now a Peer.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JAMES *Jaques* late of *Leeds*, Mercer [illegible] Wollen-draper. — *Elizabeth Raworth* [illegible] *Roſamund Raworth*, late of *Manſfield*, Notting[illegible]*hamſhire*, Milliners and Partners. — *Will[illegible] Fry*, of *Chelſea*, Butcher. — *Francis Cra[illegible]* of *Lynn*, *Norfolk*, Mercer. — *Elizabeth Cr[illegible]* of *Cornhill*, Widow and Coffeewoman. — *P[illegible] Ellam*, of St. *Clement Danes*, Cabinet-make[illegible] — *Avis Steevens*, *Priſcilla Steevens*, and *Sa[illegible]nah Steevens*, of the City of *Briſtol*, Millin[illegible] and Copertners. — *Iſaac Meure*, of *Queen[illegible]ſquare*, Chapman. — *Theed Cleever*, of *Holb[illegible]* Vintner. — *George Halfhide*, of the *Mint*, Gun-maker. — *Charles Abbott*, of *London*, Ma[illegible] Factor. — *John Matthew*, of *London*, Mer[illegible]chant. — *John Parker*, of *Queen-ſtreet*, Apoth[illegible]cary. — *Lewis Price*, of *Giltſpur-ſtreet*, Hoſ[illegible] — *Richard Bruſby*, of *Stevenage*, Herf[illegible]ſhire, Innholder. — *Thomas Darby*, of *La[illegible]rence-Lane*, near *Cheapſide*, Warehouſeman. — *Robert Griffin*, of *Holborn*, Goldſmith. — *Henry Fellows*, of *Beaconsfield*, *Bucks*, Mer[illegible]man. — *William Taylor*, of *Norwich*, Wo[illegible]comber. — *Thomas Bongough*, of *Goodman[illegible]Fields*, Cyder Merchant. — *John Padley*, [illegible] St. *Alban's Wood-ſtreet*, Soapmaker. — *Ab[illegible] Walker*, and *David Walker*, late of *Readi[illegible]* *Berks*, Partners, Chapmen, and Dealers. — *Ra[illegible]ph Sclater*, late of the Pariſh of St. *Geo[illegible]* *Hanover-ſquare*, Tallow-Chandler. — *Jo[illegible]* *Mac William*, late of *Reading*, Chapman [illegible] Dealer.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	100 ¾	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 10*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.*	104 ¾
—*Annu.*	113 a 112 ⅞	*Lon. ditto*	13 ⅛
Bank	145 a 144 ¾ a ⅞	3 *per C. An.*	105 ⅜ a ¼
—*Circ.*	2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a 5*s.*	*Eng. Copper*	none
Mil. Bank	122 ½	*Salt Tallies*	½ a 2*l.*
India	171 ½ a 170 ⅞	*Emp. Loan*	109 ½
—*Bonds*	6*l.* 14*s.* a 15	*Equiv.*	111

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 5 2a6 2½	*Bilboa*	39 ¼
D. Sight	35 3	*Leghorn*	49 ¾ a ⅝
Rotter.	35 7	*Genoa*	52 ½ a ⅝
Hamb.	34 3 2 a 4	*Venice*	50 ⅝
P. Sight	31 ⅜	*Lisb.*	5*s.* 5*d.* ¾
Bourdx.	31	*Oport.*	5*s.* 5*d.* ⅜
Cadiz	39 ¾	*Antw.*	36 2 a 3
Madrid	39 ⅝	*Dublin*	8 ⅞

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 29	*Oats*	12 13
Rye	12 17	*Tares*	19 23
Barley	13 16	*Peaſe*	20 28
H. Beans	19 23	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
B. Malt	19 23	*B. Malt*	18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Jan.* 23. to *Feb.* 20.

Chriſtned	Males 731	Females 685	14[illegible]
Buried	Males 1007	Females 1025	20[illegible]
Died under 2 Years old			7[illegible]
Between 2 and 5			1[illegible]
5		10	[illegible]
10		20	[illegible]
20		30	1[illegible]
30		40	1[illegible]
40		50	1[illegible]
50		60	1[illegible]
60		70	1[illegible]
70		80	[illegible]
80		90	[illegible]
90 and upwards			
			20[illegible]

Hay 36 to 42*s.* a Load.

W[illegible]

WE hear from *Smyrna*, that after the Retreat of *Sary-Bey-Oglu*, the famous *Turkiſh* Rebel, from that City, the Inhabitants reſolving to ſecure themſelves from being again laid under Contribution by that enterprizing Rebel, had built a Wall round their City; but this is like to prove no ſufficient Security, for that Rebel having retir'd to the Mountains, as now appears, only to draw the *Turkiſh* Army that was ſent againſt him, into ſome Snare or Ambuſcade, or to gain Time to aſſemble a greater Number of Troops, and finding the *Turkiſh* Army did not purſue him, as ſoon as he had gathered an Army of about 20,000 Men together, he iſſued forth from his mountainous and inacceſſible Places, and began to approach the *Ottoman* regular Army. Upon his Approach, this regular Army called in all their Detachments, and intrenched themſelves in an advantageous Camp, near the City of *Smyrna*; but the Rebels, tho' not quite ſo numerous as the regular Troops, were no Way daunted at theſe Preparations: They advanced boldly, and attacked the regular Troops, in their fortified Camp, which they did with ſo much Vigour and Reſolution, that after an obſtinate Battle, the Camp was forced, and the regular Troops obliged to ſave themſelves by Flight into the City of *Smyrna*, having a great Part of their Army dead in the Field of Battle. Upon this Victory, *Sary-Bey-Oglu* has aſſumed the Title of Baſhaw of *Smyrna*, and inſiſts upon the City's acknowledging him in that Quality; and as there is, at preſent, no Body of regular Troops in that Part of the World, ſufficient to withſtand him, it is thought the City will be obliged to ſubmit, and to receive him as their chief Governor.

At the ſame Time, our Advices from *Conſtantinople* ſay, that *Kouli Kan*, now *Sophy* of *Perſia*, has recalled his Ambaſſadors, and is in full March, with a great Army to the Frontiers of *Turkey*; ſo that the Affairs of the *Ottoman Porte* ſeem at preſent to be in a very tickliſh Situation; and they ſeem to be themſelves contributing as much as they can, to render them worſe; for the *Prime Viſier* having taken a Diſguſt at the *Baſhaw* of *Bender*, ſent for him, and accuſed him of ill Conduct before the *Grand Seignior*; alledging, that when the *Muſcovites* began to retire, he ought to have paſſed the *Drieſter* in Purſuit of them, becauſe he might have cut off their whole Army in its Retreat. The *Baſhaw* made his Defence by alledging, that there was nothing the *Muſcovites* wanted more, than his paſſing the *Drieſter* in Purſuit of them; for that he had, they would certainly have wheeled upon him, by which he would have been engaged in a general Battle, and might probably have received a total Defeat; beſides, he ſaid, that had the *Grand Seignior*'s expreſs Orders not to paſs the *Drieſter* upon any Account. But as the *Prime Viſier* was diſpleaſed with him, nothing he ſaid could have any Weight; the *Prime Viſier* adviſed, and the *Grand Seignior* ordered his Head to be ſtruck off, which was immediately executed. This *Baſhaw* was accounted one of the beſt and braveſt Generals in *Turkey*, which was probably the Cauſe of his falling a Victim to the Jealouſy or Envy of the *Prime Viſier*.

According to the old Proverb, Fortune ſeems to favour the brave *Corſicans*; for the *French* Fleets that were carrying large Reinforcements for their Troops in that Iſland, have been all diſperſed, and ſeveral of the Ships loſt, by violent Storms at Sea; ſo that the *French* ſeem to be heartily tired of their Undertaking. In the mean time, the *Corſicans* having held a general Council, came to a Reſolution, never to accept of the Accommodation propoſed by *France*, and have ſince publiſhed a Manifeſto, containing their Reaſons for coming to that Reſolution; the principal of which is, That it is requiſite for the Happineſs of the Kingdom of *Corſica*, as it is an Iſland, that it ſhould be governed by a Sovereign, who being poſſeſſed of no other Dominions, would find himſelf obliged to ſtay in the Kingdom, and employ all his Attention to govern his People, like a Father, who having but one only Son, ſtudies the Advantage of that Son only, to the utmoſt of his Power. That God has given them ſuch a Sovereign in the Perſon of Baron *Newhoff*, who, as he poſſeſſes no other Territory, will apply himſelf ſolely to govern that Iſland according to its ancient Laws, and to render the People happy, by opening its Ports, and trading to all Countries with a perfect Neutrality; a Happineſs they muſt never expect under the Reign of any Sovereign, that has other Dominions, as well on Account that the Iſland would, in ſuch a Caſe, be governed by none but Miniſters, whoſe Government is always a Burden to the People, as becauſe that foreign Princes having frequent Quarrels with one another, the Iſland of *Corſica* might thereby be often involved in Broils quite foreign to, if not inconſiſtent with, its natural Intereſts, *&c.*

On the 11th Inſtant, his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* declared publickly, coming out from Council, that a Marriage between *Madame de France*, his eldeſt Daughter, and *Don Philippe*, Infant of *Spain*, was agreed on.

The Intendant of the Court at *Herenhauſen*, in *Hanover*, has received Orders from *London*, to have the Apartments of that Palace ready in *May* next; and as the Magiſtrates of the City of *Hanover* have received Orders to ſecure Lodgings for Foreigners at the ſame Time, it is thought his Majeſty will take a Tour thither next Summer.

The

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. CONſiderations upon the Inſtitution of Marriage. Printed for *J. Whiſton*, price 2*s.*

2. A Summary of Deſcents in Fee-ſimple. Printed for *Ward* and *Chandler*, price 6*d.*

3. Diſſertations upon Tythes. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

4. A new Treatiſe of Huſbandry, *&c.* By *S. Trowell.* Printed for *O. Payne*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

5. A compendious Eſſay upon vocal Muſick. By *A. Phillips.* Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

6. A merry Converſation between a Quaker and his Maid. Printed for *E. Hill*, pr. 6*d.*

7. The Natural Hiſtory of *North Carolina.* By *J. Brickell*, M. D. Sold by *S. Harding*, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

8. The Hiſtory of *Solyman* the Great. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

* 9. An Abridgment and Continuation of *Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales.* The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Worrall*, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

10. The wonderful Viſion of Hell. Printed for *J. Graham*, price 6*d.*

11. An Abſtract of the Life of *Tho. Halyburton*, M. A. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 1*s.*

12. The Royal Gauger. By *Ch. Leadbetter.* Sold by *E. Wickſteed*, 8vo, price 6*s.*

* 13. The Works of *Plato* abridg'd. The third Edition, price 6*s.*

14. The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, explain'd from Hiſtory. By the Abb' *Banier.* Printed for *A. Millar*, 8vo, price 6*s.*

15. Meaſuring compleated. By *J. W.* Sold by *J. Brindley*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

16. The Hiſtory of *Guſtavus Vaſa.* Printed for *J. Roberts.*

17. The Ladies Diſpenſatory. Printed for *J. Hodges* and *J. James*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

18. Arithmetick in Whole Numbers and Fractions. By *J. Hewitt.* Printed for *J. Clarke*, *S. Birt*, *T. Aſtley*, *J. Wood*, and *J. Hodges*, 12mo, price 1*s.*

* 19. Græcæ Grammaticæ Inſtitutio compendiaria. Autore Ed. Wettenhall, D. D. Editio quinta. Printed for Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*, *T. Aſtley*, and *S. Auſten*, 12mo, price 1*s.*

20. A ſerious Addreſs to the Church of *Scotland.* Printed for *J. Noon*, price 6*d.*

21. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. III. and IV. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s.* each.

POETRY.

22. Manners: A Satire. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s.*

23. A Kind of a Dialogue in *Hudibraſticks.* Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

24. A Rhapſody on Pleaſure and Virtue. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

25. A new Tranſlation of *Juvenal's* Satires. Printed for *D. Browne*, 8vo, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

26. An Ode to *W. Pulteney*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

27. *Muſtapha:* A Tragedy. Printed for *A. Millar*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

28. A Dialogue between *Menalcas* and *Philemon.* By *R. Brereton.* Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d.*

29. A Panegyric on a Court. Printed for *J. Mechell*, price 1*s.*

POLITICAL.

30. The preſent State of Politicks in *Europe.* Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

31. The Convention between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain.* Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

32. Country Common Senſe. Part II. Printed for Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*, pr. 6*d.*

33. Delays dangerous. Printed for *D. Farmer*, price 4*d.*

34. Lay-Tyranny. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 1*s.*

35. The Contempt of the Clergy conſidered. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 2*s.* 6*d.* ſtitch'd.

36. A brief Inquiry into ſtanding Forces. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

37. Some Thoughts on the ſtanding Forces. Printed for *J. Millan*, price 6*d.*

38. Remarks on the Obſervations on the Conduct of the Tories, *&c.* Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

39. The imperious Stile of the *Turks* exemplified. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

40. *Spaniſh* Inſolence. Printed for *R. Thomas*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

41. The Schiſmaticks delineated. Printed for *J. Roberts.*

42. Peace and no Peace. Price 6*d.*

SERMONS.

43. A Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion: Being a Collection of the Sermons preached at the Lecture founded by the Right Hon. *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; from the Year 1691 to 1732. With General Indexes, and the Additions and Amendments of ſeveral Authors. In three Volumes in Folio, price three Guineas in Sheets.

44. A Sermon before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Oct.* 23, 1737. By *F. Webber*, M. A. Sold by *C. Rivington* and *J. Knapton*, price 6*d.*

45. A Sermon on Sacramental Worthineſs. By *A. Oakes*, L. L. D. price 6*d.* And,

46. A Sermon on the Trinity. By *S. Rudd*, M. D. price 2*s.* Both printed for *J. Noon.*

THEOLOGICAL.

47. Select Contemplations and Meditations. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

48. The Neceſſity of good Works. By *J. Gill.* Printed for *A. Ward*, price 6*d.*

49. A Reply to Dr. *Waterland's* Charge. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

50. The Chriſtian Worſhip. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

51. The Family Expoſitor. By *P. Doddridge*, D. D. Vol. I. Deliver'd to Subſcribers by *R. Hett.*

52. Self-Love and Virtue reconcil'd only by Religion. Printed for *R. Hett*, price 6*d.*

THE
LONDON MAGAZINE.
MARCH, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 62.

FROM what I have ſaid, Sir, it will appear, that in the Time of King *Alfred*, and conſequently by the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the only Members of our Witenagemotes that had a Right to conſult, adviſe, debate, and give their Vote or Opinion *ſingulatim*, were thoſe who were poſſeſſed, in their own Right, of a capital Manor; or thoſe who were in Poſſeſſion of one, in the Right of their Dignity or Office; or laſtly, thoſe who repreſented ſome City or Borough that was, in its corporate Capacity, poſſeſſed of a capital Manor. As for the other Members, whether they were Lords of inferior Manors, or Repreſentatives of Boroughs that held of ſome ſubject Lord, or only Freemen, they had all an equal Right, and no greater Right than every Freeman had, to be preſent in our Witenagemotes; for they all appeared there as Freeholders or Freemen only, and were not to conſult, adviſe, debate, or give their Vote or Opinion *ſingulatim*, but only to approve or diſapprove, by ſome general Signal, of what was reſolved on by the King, and Majority of the Lords of capital Manors. Indeed, after King *Alfred* had divided, or at leaſt had regulated and eſtabliſhed the Diviſion of the Kingdom into Counties, Hundreds, and Tithings, and had eſtabliſhed in each County, a County Court, as all the Freeholders could not attend at the Witenagemote, it is highly probable that, at this County Court, the Freeholders began to chuſe and appoint two, three, or more, of their Number, to attend at the Witenagemote, in the Name, and at the Expence of the reſt. But theſe Elections, and the Repreſentatives ſo choſen, were very different from thoſe that were introduced after the Conqueſt; for at theſe Elections, every Freeholder of the County had a Vote, and the Repreſentatives ſo choſen had no Right to appear in the Witenagemote as Counſellors to the King, or to give their Vote or Opinion *ſingulatim*, unleſs they were Lords of capital Manors, as well as Repreſentatives of the County; and notwithſtanding this Election, every Freeholder of the County retained

his Right of being preſent at the Witenagemote, if he pleaſed to attend.

Having thus, Sir, ſhewn the Nature of our Witenagemotes in King *Alfred*'s Time, I ſhall next obſerve, that the Courts *de More*, eſtabliſhed by that Great King, ſeem to have been only a ſolemn and regular Meeting of the King and Lords of capital Manors, to conſult about thoſe national Affairs, which did not require the Authority of a Witenagemote; for that there was a Difference between the Witenagemote and Court *de More*, is plain, becauſe, in that King's Time, the Courts *de More* were held thrice a Year, at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*; whereas by a Law of that King's, it was enacted, that Witenagemotes ſhould be held twice a Year, or oftner if Need required; but as the Witenagemotes were uſually held at ſome of thoſe great Feaſts, at which the Courts *de More* were of Courſe held, therefore our Hiſtorians have confounded both together, ſometimes calling that a Witenagemote which was only a Court *de More*, and that a Court *de More* only, which was really a Witenagemote. At theſe Courts *de More*, it ſeems probable, that every Lord of a capital Manor, whether in his own Right, or in Right of his Office, or in the Right of the City or Borough of which he was the Repreſentative, had a Right to be preſent, and might attend whenever he pleaſed; but as for the Privy Council, which, it is ſaid, likewiſe owes its Original to this King, it ſeems to have conſiſted only of ſuch as the King pleaſed to chuſe for his continual Counſellors and Adviſers; and therefore we cannot ſuppoſe, that any of the great Affairs of the Nation were ever finally determined in that Council.

I ſhall conclude my Account, Sir, of the antient *Saxon* Witenagemote, with this Obſervation, That by the Conſtitution or Form of Government eſtabliſhed among the antient *Germans*, and by that Conſtitution or Form of Government which was eſtabliſhed among the *Saxons* after they ſettled in *Britain*, the Approbation of the People in general, was neceſſary for giving the Authority of a Law or national Decree, to every Reſolution that was agreed to by the Majority of thoſe, who had a Right to give their Vote or Opinion *ſingulatim*, in their general Aſſemblies or Witenagemotes; and that therefore, according to our preſent Conſtitution, if it any Way reſembles that of the antient *Saxons*, the Popularity of publick Meaſures or publick Laws, is of much greater Conſequence than moſt People imagine; for whatever Faction, whatever Number of Grandees or private Men, who may happen by Chance, or by Ways and Means, to get a Majority in Parliament, and under the Protection of that Majority, ſhall purſue ſuch Meaſures, or make ſuch pretended Laws, as are diſagreeable to the People, that is to ſay, the Freeholders or Freemen of the Nation in general, the Meaſures they purſue, the Laws they make, ought to be look'd on as ſo many Violations of the Conſtitution, and they themſelves ought to be conſidered as the publick Enemies of their Country. The Ealdermen or Rulers among the antient *Germans*, conſidered that they were the Rulers of a free People, and that a free People are to be perſuaded but never to be forced, to approve of publick Meaſures, or to conſent or ſubmit to publick Laws. Such an Attempt would, indeed, have been ridiculous in any Nation of antient *Germans* or *Saxons*; for as the whole Body of the People not only were provided with Arms, but had Skill and Courage enough to uſe them, it would have been ridiculous in a ſmall Number of Men

o think, that they could make the eople ſubmit to that, which the Majority of them did not approve f. This is never to be done, but n Countries where the People are enied the Uſe of Arms, or bred up o a Neglect of military Diſcipline, nd the Government ſupported by n Army of mercenary Hirelings.

Let me now, Sir, conſider the ower of the Crown, according to ur Conſtitution, as it was eſtabiſhed by the Great King *Alfred*, nd from him handed down to, or ather revived by, *Edward the Conſſor*. As to our Witenagemotes, it evident that the King could exlude no Freeman in *England* from eing preſent in the Witenagemote, from joining with the reſt of his ountrymen, in approving or diſaproving, by ſome general Signal, of hat was therein reſolved by the ing and Ealdermen, or Lords of pital Manors: And it is likewiſe ident, that the King could give Man a Power or Right of apearing in that Aſſembly as a Senar or Counſellor, but by giving m ſome Eſtate in Land to be held the King *Jure Coronæ*, which rant the King could not make ithout the Conſent of the Witenemote; nor could the King debar y Man that had a ſufficient Eſtate ld of the Crown, of his Right to pear there as a Senator or Counllor; therefore, it muſt be admitd, that with reſpect to thoſe who re the conſtituent Members of r Witenagemotes, and with reect to the Rank a Man was to ld in that Aſſembly, there was Sort of Power lodged ſolely in e Crown.

Then, Sir, as to the Diſtribution Juſtice, and the appointing of giſtrates and Officers for that Purſe, the King had no Share in it, cept with reſpect to thoſe of the heſt Degree; and even as to m, they were either hereditary, or ſuch probably as were named by the King, with the Conſent or Approbation of the Witenagemote. The Lords of Manors were for the moſt Part hereditary, and adminiſtred Juſtice within their reſpective Manors, by the Advice, and with the Concurrence, of their free Tenants in their Courts Baron. The Tithing Man was choſen by the Freeholders of the Tithing, and the Sheriff by the Freeholders of the County: Even the Ealderman or Earl of a County was either hereditary, or he was choſen by the People, or appointed by the King, with the Conſent of the Witenagemote; and all theſe Magiſtrates appointed each the Officers under him. In all the inferior Courts therefore, the King had not ſo much as a Share in the Diſtribution of Juſtice, nor in appointing any of the Officers belonging to the Court. But as the Earls or Sheriffs, or their Subſtitutes, in their County Courts, often committed Injuſtice; and as it was difficult for the Parties injured, to apply to the Court *de More*, or to the Witenagemote, for Redreſs; therefore, *Alfred* eſtabliſhed in each County, a ſuperior Court which was called the King's Court, becauſe the King ſat there in Perſon, or in his Abſence, the Lord High Chancellor of the Kingdom, who being a publick Officer, was probably in thoſe Days never named or appointed without the Conſent or Approbation of the Witenagemote. To this Court there lay an Appeal from the County Court; and in this Court the Judges and Officers of inferior Courts were often puniſhed for their Malverſations in Office; but no Action or Suit could be originally commenced in this Court, and tho' the King ſat here in Perſon, yet there lay an Appeal from it to the Court *de More*, or Witenagemote: Nay, if the Sentence or Decree was pronounced or made by the Chancellor, there not

only lay an Appeal to the Court *de More*, or Witenagemote, but he was liable to be there tried and puniſhed, if it appeared that he had been guilty of manifeſt Partiality or Injuſtice.

And laſtly, Sir, with reſpect to the military Affairs of the Kingdom, it ſeems moſt probable, that the King never declared War, nor finally concluded a Peace, without the Conſent of the Witenagemote; and as to the Officers or Commanders of our Armies, it ſeems evident, that the King had only the chief Command; for as to all inferior Officers, every Lord of a capital Manor had the Command of all the Troops raiſed within his own Manor, and appointed ſuch Officers as he pleaſed under him; and the Heretogh, Hold, or Duke, who was choſen by the County, had the Command of all the Forces raiſed in his County. The chief Command only belonged to the King, and if he did not go in Perſon, the Commander in Chief was, I believe, but ſeldom appointed by the King without the Conſent of the Witenagemote; at leaſt, whoever was appointed, was anſwerable to the Witenagemote for his Conduct.

Thus it appears, Sir, that by our Conſtitution before the Conqueſt, the People, in ſome Shape or other, had the Nomination of, or at leaſt a Controul over, all the Magiſtrates and Officers neceſſary for the Support of our Government; for as we had then few or no Taxes, we had few or no Tax-Gatherers; and probably, if we had at that Time any Taxes, the Sheriffs in their reſpective Counties, and the Magiſtrates, in their reſpective Cities or Boroughs, who were all Officers named by the People, were the Perſons employed to collect them.

The Executive Power was then, as now, chiefly lodged in the Crown: That is to ſay, our Government was adminiſtred, and our Laws executed, in the Name of the King; but with reſpect to the Officers that adminiſtred our Government, or executed our Laws, thoſe of an inferior Degree were all choſen by the People, or appointed by thoſe that were choſen by the People, and thoſe of a ſuperior Degree were named by the King, with the Conſent of the Witenagemote: The Inferior were ſubject to the Check or Controul of the Superior, and the Superior were ſubject to the Check or Controul of the People aſſembled in their Witenagemote. By this Means the Crown was ſure that all lawful Orders would be punctually complied with, and the People were inſured againſt the Execution of any unlawful Orders. Whereas, if all the Officers of as high as well as low Degree had been choſen by the People, they might upon ſome Occaſions, or in ſome Places, have ventured to neglect or diſobey the lawful Orders of the Crown; and if all the Officers of a low as well as high Degree had been named by the Crown, they would have been able, and therefore might have ventured to have executed the Orders of the Crown, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom. An Army commanded by Officers all named, from the higheſt to the loweſt, by the King, will generally do whatever the King commands them; but an Army commanded by a General in Chief named by the Crown, and the Officers under him all named by the Laws of their Country, will not execute Orders that are contrary to thoſe Laws, which gave the inferior Officers their reſpective Commands in the Army. If the General in Chief ſhould reſolve to execute ſuch Orders, he would find himſelf unable to do ſo, becauſe the under Officers would not obey him.

This different Nomination of Judges, Sir, had likewiſe an excellent Effect

ffect upon the Adminiſtration of uſtice; for if the Earl or Sheriff, y being under ſome indirect Influnce, ſhewed a Partiality to one of he Parties, the Chancellor could ot well be under the ſame Influnce, and would therefore probably orrect that Injuſtice; and if the Chancellor, by Means of any indiect Influence, reverſed a juſt Deree, he of Courſe had the Earl r Sheriff, and perhaps the whole County, for his Accuſers in the Wienagemote; and ſuch an Accuſation would always be of much greater Weight, than the Accuſation of a rivate Man. Thus the Subjects were s well ſecured as poſſible againſt he Partiality and Injuſtice of their Judges; and as every Suit was to e firſt tried and determined in its roper County, the Parties had, for he moſt Part, Juſtice done them without much Trouble or Expence. As our Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* owe, I believe, their Original to the King's Court, which was eſtabliſhed y King *Alfred*, and appointed by im to be held in each County, if heſe Courts were all made Courts f Appeal only, if every Suit were gain ordered to be firſt tried and determined in its proper County, with an Appeal to ſome of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, under proper Regulations, and from thence to he Houſe of Peers, I am convinced t would be a great Eaſe to the Subject, and would greatly diminiſh he Number of our Lawyers, which would be another Advantage to he Nation; and if our Sheriffs were again made eligible by the Freeholders of each County, and our Tithing, Hundred, and County Courts, reſtored to the ſame Luſtre and Authority, in which they were n the Reign of the Good King *Alfred* and his *Saxon* Succeſſors, it would make the Appointing of Juſtices of Peace quite unneceſſary, which, I believe, would be no Diſadvantage to the Kingdom, tho' it would be a great Diſappointment to our old Women, who, upon any Quarrel, would then be obliged to ſcold it out, inſtead of running to a neighbouring Juſtice for a Warrant.

Having thus, Sir, given a ſhort Sketch of our Government, as it was regulated and eſtabliſhed by our good King *Alfred*, and handed down from him to *Edward the Confeſſor*, I ſhall now obſerve, that, by the Conqueſt, our antient *Saxon* Conſtitution was almoſt entirely ſubverted; for, tho' *William the Conqueror* pretended to reſtore the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, yet, it is certain, he never reſtored the Conſtitution of our Witenagemote. 'Tis true, as the *Norman* and *French* Lords that aſſiſted him in his Expedition, got great Poſſeſſions in *England*, they claimed a Share in the Government, and therefore he was obliged to eſtabliſh in *England* a Sort of Council, that ſome way reſembled the ancient *Saxon* Witenagemotes, which Council was from the *Norman* and *French* Word called a Parliament; but this Parliament conſiſted only of the great *Norman* Lords, and ſuch of the *Engliſh* as had favoured his Expedition, particularly the Biſhops and other dignified Clergymen; for, to our Churchmen he chiefly owed the Succeſs of his deſperate Attempt. Perhaps ſome of the principal Cities aud Boroughs were likewiſe allowed to ſend Repreſentatives; but the People had from that Time no Share in the Legiſlature or Government of their Country, ſo that our Government became a Sort of Ariſtocratical Monarchy, and continued ſo, much longer than ſome People imagine.

In theſe Parliaments, Sir, every Man that came had a Right to conſult, adviſe, debate, and give his Vote or Opinion *ſingulatim*; and, for this Reaſon, many of the great

Norman

Norman Lords, in this and the following Reigns, got the Cities and Boroughs, that held of them, ſummoned to ſend Members or Repreſentatives to Parliament; for, as *William* had given many of the Boroughs that formerly held *in Capite* of the King, to ſome of his *Norman* Lords, and had retained to himſelf many of thoſe Boroughs that formerly held of Subjects, the Diſtinction between Boroughs that held of the King, and thoſe that held of a Subject, came to be forgot; and it was thought that every free Borough, whether it held of the King or of a Subject, had a Right to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, and that the Repreſentatives of all Boroughs had an equal Rank or Privilege in Parliament: That is to ſay, that the Repreſentatives of every Borough or City had a Right not only to be preſent, but to conſult, adviſe, debate, and give their Vote or Opinion, in the ſame Manner as the Lords of Capital Manors formerly did in our Witenagemotes. By this Means, a great Number of little Boroughs got a Privilege, in this and the following Reigns, to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, not becauſe they were in Poſſeſſion, in their corporate Capacity, of any Manor held *in Capite* of the Crown, but becauſe they were dependent upon ſome great Lord, who had an Influence at Court or in Parliament; but as to the People, as *William* made, in ſome Meaſure, an entire Conqueſt of them, and in many Reſpects treated them as a conquered People, they were entirely diſregarded, and were therefore, for many Reigns after, ſuppoſed to have no Share in the Government or Legiſlature of their Country.

As King *William*, Sir, reſolved to lodge the whole Power legiſlative, juriſdictive, and military, in his *Normans*, and ſuch of the *Engliſh* as were his ſure Friends, he parcelled out almoſt the whole Kingdom among his Friends and Followers, by granting great Tracts of Land to them and their Heirs, to be held of the Crown by military Tenure; and every one of theſe Grants he erected into an Honour or Barony, which he made diſtinct and independent of the County. The *Engliſh* Lords of Capital Manors, that lay within theſe Baronies, were many of them left in Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, eſpecially if they were ſuch as had given no Aſſiſtance to *Harold*; but then, inſtead of holding their Manors of the Crown, as formerly, they were obliged to take them holden of the *Norman* Lord, within whoſe Barony they lay; by which Means they were excluded from a Right of being preſent in Parliament, and were ſubjected to the Juriſdiction and Conduct of the *Norman* Lord, of whom they held their Manors. And to take all Power, as much as poſſible, out of the Hands of the People, *William* made ſome of his Followers hereditary Earls, and others hereditary Dukes or Heretoghs, of moſt of the Counties in *England*: Nay, even the Shrievalty, or Office of Sheriff, was in ſome Counties granted to ſome *Norman*, or other great Lord, in Fee; tho' in moſt, the People continued to chuſe their Sheriffs as formerly; but as thoſe Sheriffs were only Subſtitutes to the Earl, and as they had no Power over thoſe Lands within the County, that had been erected into a Barony, their Power was but very inſignificant. From *William*'s Time therefore, the whole Power of our Government was hereditarily lodged in the King and a few great Lords or Barons, who came to the Parliament attended by great Numbers of their military Tenants, as the King was upon ſuch Occaſions, by a great Number of thoſe who were the military Tenants

nts of ſome of his own Manors; t, the Power of Adviſing and Vo- ng ſeems to have been lodged en- ely in the King and Barons, and ch of the Cities or Boroughs as e King pleaſed to ſummon to Par- ment.

This Form of Government, Sir, ntinued during the Reigns of *Wil- m* the Iſt and IId, and that of *enry* the Iſt. But the Civil Wars tween *Stephen* and *Matilda*, and oſe between *Stephen* and *Henry* d, brought many of the great Ba- nies, by Forfeiture, into the ands of the Crown; and *Stephen*, ing ſenſible of the too great Power the Barons, ſplit ſuch Baronies fell into his Hands, into great umbers of ſmall ones, and granted em to great Numbers of Perſons, hich enabled him to oblige a eater Number of his Friends, and the ſame Time he avoided lodg- ſo great a Power in any one Fa- ly as to make it formidable to Crown. *Henry* the IId. followed ſame Maxim, and as all theſe all Barons claimed a Privilege being ſummoned to Parliament, d of having a Seat and a Vote in t Aſſembly, the Aſſembly be- me too numerous, from whence Kings began to aſſume a Power ſummoning ſuch of the Barons y as they pleaſed, and to pretend t none had a Right to be preſent, t ſuch as were ſummoned. For s Reaſon, by King *John*'s great arter, the Barons got it enacted, t the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ab- s, Earls, and greater Barons uld be ſummoned to every fu- e Parliament, by the King's par- ular Letter or Summons directed each; and, that he ſhould ſend general Order to the Sheriff of h County, to ſummon all the all Barons within each County; as for our Cities and Boroughs s to be preſumed, that the great well as ſmall were ſummoned by the Sheriff only, in Purſuance of the general Order ſent to him to ſummons the ſmall Barons.

As it was inconvenient for Gentlemen of ſmall Eſtates to come up to every Parliament, it is to be ſuppoſed, Sir, that from this Time the leſſer Barons began to meet at the County Court, and to appoint two, three, or more, of their Number, to attend the Parliament, in Name, and at the Expence of the reſt; but this was not at firſt directed by the Writ of Summons, nor did the reſt of the ſmall Barons, by this Election, give up their Right to be preſent in Parliament, if they had a Mind to attend in Perſon and at their own Expence; for nothing like a Law for excluding the ſmall Barons from their Seats in Parliament, was paſſed till towards the End of the Reign of *Henry* III, when that King, after the Defeat of the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, got his Parliament, which, it is to be ſuppoſed, then conſiſted of the King's Friends only, to paſs a Law, whereby it was enacted, that none ſhould come to Parliament, but ſuch as the King ſhould pleaſe to ſend a particular Summons to. The Election therefore of Knights of the Shire did not proceed at firſt from any Law, but from a Cuſtom which the ſmall Barons introduced among themſelves, for their own Conveniency; and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, in the Parliament he ſummoned, did not introduce a new Cuſtom, but only, by his Letters to the Sheriff, fixed or rather adviſed the Number that ſhould be ſent as the Repreſentatives of the ſmall Barons of each County, and the Number of Repreſentatives that ſhould be ſent by each City and Borough.

This Diſtinction, Sir, which in King *John*'s Time was introduced between the great Barons and the ſmall, gave the former an Occaſion to look upon themſelves as of a ſuperior

perior Rank or Quality, tho' 'tis certain they were not ſo at firſt; for every Man that was a Baron, let the Value of his Eſtate be what it will, was in Rank equal to the greateſt Baron of the Kingdom, and therefore might be ſummoned by a particular Writ, to take his Place *inter Pares*, if the King ſo pleaſed; from whence proceeds the Power the Crown now has of calling any Man to the Houſe of Peers; but this Power, from its Original, would ſeem to be confined to the Calling of ſuch only as are poſſeſſed of at leaſt a ſmall Barony, or Manor held of the Crown; and for ſome Time after the Parliament's dividing itſelf into two Houſes, by which the Houſe of Peers and Houſe of Commons were eſtabliſhed, the Conſent of Parliament was generally thought requiſite for creating a Man a Peer of the Realm.

Tho' there was really no Difference in Law between the greater and leſſer Barons, or between the Barons and the Repreſentatives of Cities and Boroughs; tho' they had all an equal Right to be preſent, and to ſit and vote in the *Norman* Parliaments; yet, Sir, before the Beginning of the Reign of *Edward* IIIt, the Repreſentatives of the leſſer Barons, and of the Cities and Boroughs, began to be called the Commons, and to be looked on as the Repreſentatives of the People; tho' 'tis certain the People, at leaſt in our Counties, had not then, nor for many Years after, any Share in electing them; and the Repreſentatives of our Cities and Boroughs, were the Repreſentatives rather of the Barony poſſeſſed by the City or Borough, than of the People of the City or Borough. This Miſtake proceeded from the lame Accounts People then had of the antient *Saxon* Witenagemotes: In all theſe Aſſemblies they found the People had a Right to be preſent, and to approve or diſapprove of what was reſolved on: In the *Norman* Parliaments they could find nothing of the People being preſent; and therefore, they began to look upon the Knights of Shires, and the Repreſentatives of Cities or Boroughs, as the Repreſentatives of the People, who were therefore called the Commons, in order to diſtinguiſh them from the *Majores Barones*, who were called Lords or Nobles. From this Miſtake aroſe the Difference in the Writs of Summons; for in the particular Writs that were directed to the great Barons, they were ſummoned, *de arduis Negotiis Regni tractaturi & Conſilium impenſuri*; whereas, in the general Writs ſent to the Sheriffs, the Members were ſummoned, *ad audiendum & faciendum & conſentiendum*; for as the Knights of Shires, and Repreſentatives of Cities and Boroughs, were ſuppoſed to repreſent the People, it was thought they could have no greater Privilege in Parliament, than the People had in the antient *Saxon* Witenagemotes, which was only to approve or diſapprove of what was reſolved on by the King and Senators, or Lords of capital Manors.

Tho' our Great King *Edward* IIIt had a Law paſſed, in the End of his Father's Reign, for enabling him to have always ſuch a Parliament as he had a Mind, yet that Great King, Sir, was too wiſe to take Advantage of ſuch an illegal Act of the Legiſlature; for by the Statute of *Weſtminſter* it appears, that the Commonalty, by which is to be underſtood the Repreſentatives of the ſmall Barons, and of the Cities and Boroughs, were ſummoned to the Parliament, which was held the third Year of his Reign, and was the firſt Parliament ſummoned by him; and it is highly probable that this Cuſtom was followed during his whole Reign, as it has been ever ſince. In this King's Reign, the Houſe of

d the Houſe of Commons firſt be-
n to ſit in different Apartments,
d to deliberate and determine ſe-
rately and diſtinctly from one a-
ther; and therefore to this Reign,
r Conſtitution may be ſaid to owe
e Form in which it appears at
s Day; for in this Reign the
mber of Repreſentatives for each
unty, and likewiſe for each City
d Borough, was pretty well aſcer-
ned; tho' the Boroughs that had
Right, or were obliged to ſend
preſentatives, were not fixed for
ny Years after, nor was it deter-
ned what Sort of ſmall Barons,
which of them, ſhould have a
ght to vote at the Elections for
ights of Shires: Both theſe were
t to the Diſcretion and Juſtice of
Sheriff, which became after-
rds the Occaſion of many Com-
ints, and of a very conſidera-
Alteration with reſpect to the
ights of the Shire; for the great
ons had ſo much Influence upon
Sheriffs, that by Degrees they
them to admit their military
ſocage Tenants, to vote with the
ll Barons at Elections for Knights
the Shire. To this the great Ba-
s were prompted by their Ambi-
n, in order that they might have
reat Number of their Friends, or
ner Tools, Members of the Houſe
Commons; and as the ſmall Ba-
s looked upon their ſending
mbers to Parliament as a Bur-
, they were glad to wink at
Innovation, becauſe by this
ans they got a much greater
mber of Perſons obliged to con-
ute towards paying the Wages
the Knights of the Shire. At
the great Barons began to get
Sheriffs to admit even their
yholders, and, perhaps, their
mers, to vote at County Elec-
s, by which great Diſputes and
t Confuſions were occaſioned at
e Elections; and therefore in the
gn of *Henry* VI. ſeveral Acts of
Parliament were paſſed, for regu-
lating and determining who ſhould
have Votes at County Elections for
Knights of the Shire, and in the
10th of that King's Reign a Law
was made, by which it was deter-
mined, that a Chuſer of Knights of
Parliament muſt be reſident, and
have Freehold, Worth 40*s. per An-
num*, beſides Repriſes, within the
ſame County.

Thus, Sir, by Degrees, and by
Cuſtom, not Law, the Conſtitution
of our Parliaments was brought to
that Form in which it now remains,
and which muſt be allowed to bear
a much greater Reſemblance to the
antient *Saxon* Witenagemote, than
that Form or Conſtitution of Parlia-
ment which was introduced by *Wil-
liam the Conqueror*. It may there-
fore be ſaid, that from *William the
Conqueror* to *Henry* VI, a Period of
near 400 Years, nay, I might come
farther down, our Conſtitution was
all the While ſtruggling to recover
from that Convulſion, which it was
thrown into by the Conqueſt; du-
ring which Struggle it contracted ſe-
veral ill Habits, which, if not re-
moved, may at laſt prove its utter
Deſtruction. After our Parliament
came to be divided into two ſe-
parate Houſes, the Peers began to
think they owed their Seats in Par-
liament to the Titles conferred upon
them by the Crown, and not to the
Baronies they poſſeſſed, which was
a Suppoſition no Way founded ei-
ther upon the antient *Saxon* Conſti-
tution, or upon that which was e-
ſtabliſhed by the Conqueror; and
yet this Suppoſition came at laſt
to be looked on as a certain Maxim,
and was allowed to be a Part of our
Conſtitution. While the Eſtates of
our Barons and great Families re-
mained unalienable, this Innovation
did no harm, nor was it much
taken notice of; but after *Henry*
VII. got a Law paſſed, which put
it out of the Power of our Barons

to entail their Eſtates upon their Poſterity, we ſoon came to have Lords without Baronies, and Baronies without Lords; which may ſome Time or other throw ſuch a Weight of Power into the Scale of the Commons, as muſt render our Peers of little or no Conſequence, and this would of Courſe put an End to our preſent happy Conſtitution.

Another ill Habit contracted during this Struggle was, that by the Decay of our Tithing, Hundred, and County Courts, and the ſplitting of our great Baronies, almoſt the whole juriſdictive Power of the Kingdom, and of Courſe the Nomination to all Poſts and Offices concerned in the Law, came to be lodged ſolely in the Crown. A third was, that by the Decay of our great Baronies, and eſtabliſhing a Commiſſion of Lieutenancy in each County, which, I think, was firſt introduced in the Reign of *Edward* the IId, the whole military Power came to be lodged ſolely in the Crown. Theſe two, with ſome other Alterations that have lately happened, may, if not prevented, at laſt give the Crown the whole legiſlative, as well as the whole juriſdictive and military Power of our Government; becauſe they may enable the Crown to have always ſuch Parliaments as will conſent to all ſuch, and to none but ſuch Laws, as the Crown ſhall be pleaſed to propoſe; and if ever this ſhould happen to be the Caſe, our Conſtitution will then be at an End.

I could point out, Sir, ſeveral other Blemiſhes in our Conſtitution, which were occaſioned by the Miſtakes of thoſe that had the Care of preſerving it ſince the Conqueſt, but ſhall content myſelf with that only which relates to our Cities and Boroughs. By the antient *Saxon* Conſtitution, our great Cities and Boroughs, that held great Manors of the Crown, ſent their Repreſentatives to our Witenagemotes, as Senators or Counſellors to the King; and the Boroughs that were made free by ſubject Lords, and conſequently held of them, ſent likewiſe their Repreſentatives to our Witenagemotes; but theſe laſt did not appear in the Witenagemote as Senators or Counſellors to the King, but only as Freemen; therefore, they laſt had no Right to ſend Repreſentatives to any Parliament after the Conqueſt, which was never deſigned but as an Aſſembly of the Lords of capital Manors or Baronies only; and when the Diſtinction began to be made between the greater and leſſer Barons, the ſame Diſtinction ought to have been made between the Cities or great Boroughs, and the little Boroughs: The former of theſe, like the greater Barons, ought to have been ſummoned to Parliament by a Writ directed to each in particular; and the latter, like the leſſer Barons, ought to have been ſummoned by a general Writ directed to the Sheriff. In which Caſe, when the Parliament came to divide itſelf into two Houſes, the Repreſentatives of our great Cities and Boroughs would of Courſe have taken their Seats, as by our old Conſtitution they had a Right to do, in that Houſe which is now called the Houſe of Peers; the Repreſentatives of the leſſer Boroughs which held of the Crown, would have taken their Seats in that Houſe, which is now called the Houſe of Commons; and thoſe little Boroughs which held of ſubject Lords, would have had no particular Repreſentatives in Parliament at all; but would at laſt have come in to have votes for Knights of the Shire, as the inhabitants of our upland Towns have done ever ſince *Henry* VI. and may do, if they have a Freehold in the Town or County, of 40*s.* a Year. But inſtead of this, by miſtaking our antient Conſtitution, the Repreſentat-

atives of our greateſt Cities, e- of *London* itſelf, are excluded n the Character of being Coun- ors and Adviſers to the King; ſuch a great Number of little oughs have got a Right of ſend- Repreſentatives to the Houſe Commons, that it may at laſt e of the moſt dangerous Conſe- nce to our Conſtitution.

his ſhort Hiſtory of our Conſti- on I have given you, Sir, in or- to make it appear, that our pre- Form of Government proceeds inally from, and is founded n, the Form of Government brought **into** *Britain* by the *ons*, according as it was regula- and eſtabliſhed by our brave, , and juſt King *Alfred*. It was Form of Government that the ple of this Nation longed ſo h to have reſtored after the queſt, but it was not for the itution of this Form of Go- ment that the Barons properly ht. This was their Pretence, rder to ſpirit the People up to with them againſt the King; they were far from having an ination to have it fully reſtored; uſe, ſuch a Reſtitution would ſtripp'd them of a great deal hat Power, which they had got ditarily eſtabliſhed in their Fa- es.

hope, Sir, I have ſucceeded in Deſign; I hope I have convin- every Gentleman that hears that the Plan upon which our nt happy Conſtitution was ori- lly formed, was that which was lated and eſtabliſhed by King *d*; and therefore, from the arks I have made upon the n of Government eſtabliſhed by it will appear, that by the nal Form of our Government, People, in ſome Shape or other, t to have the Nomination of all nferior Magiſtrates and Officers ſſary for the Support of our Go- vernment, and that our Parliaments ought to have the Approbation of, and a free and unbounded Controul over, all the ſuperior Magiſtrates and Officers that are named by the King. It was this croſs and counter Check that made all the Magiſtrates and Officers in *Alfred*'s Time ſo diligent, ſo exact, and ſo juſt, in the Diſcharge of their Duty, that, as Hiſtory relates, a Pair of Gold Bracelets hung ſafely in the High-way, without any Man's attempting to ſteal them. Under theſe Laws the People lived happily, till the Cowardiſe and Cruelty of *Ethelred* II. made them a Prey to the *Danes*; for that weak Prince diſheartened his own People, and encouraged his Enemies, by treating with the latter inſtead of fighting them, and by giving them Money inſtead of Blows, according to the Advice of one of his Biſhops. By this Means, I ſay, he encouraged his Enemies to renew and continue their Attacks, and by that bloody and cruel Maſſacre of the *Danes* in this Kingdom, which his Cowardiſe prompted him to get perpetrated, he provoked their Reſentment, by which he added Fury to their Avarice; and he that was, before, but an unequal Match for them, when they were led by their Avarice only, proved a much more unequal Match, when they were led by Avarice, and prompted by Revenge.

The Succeſs of the *Danes*, Sir, interrupted for ſome Time, that wiſe and popular Form of Government that was eſtabliſhed by *Alfred*; but it was again revived under *Edward the Confeſſor*, and the People had then again a Taſte of that Happineſs which they had before enjoyed, and which they could never afterwards forget. Their Happineſs was, however, but of ſhort Duration; for the diſputed Succeſſion to our Crown after that King's Death, and the Treachery and

Selfiſhneſs of our Clergy, made us again the Prey of our Enemies, and crowned with Succeſs one of the moſt deſperate Attempts we read of in Hiſtory. *William the Conqueror* was ſo far from having any Regard to our Laws or Conſtitution, whatever ſome Hiſtorians may vainly pretend, that he endeavoured, as much as he could, to introduce not only the Laws, but the Language of his own Country. During his Reign, he was, with reſpect to the *Engliſh*, a moſt abſolute Monarch; but, as he had ſeveral independent foreign Lords that were Sharers with him in the Expedition, he was obliged to make them Sharers in the Spoil, and likewiſe in the Government he eſtabliſhed; which introduced a Sort of Ariſtocratical Monarchy, without the leaſt Mixture of a Democracy. This continued for ſeveral Ages; and it was, as I have ſhewn, rather by Chance than by Deſign, we recovered that Share of the Democracy we now ſo happily enjoy; in which, if any Defects, or if any dangerous Innovations ſhould ever creep in, we muſt not look for a proper and full Redreſs from any Period, ſince the Conqueſt; we muſt revive the Demand of our Forefathers, *Reſtore to us the Laws of* EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

The Anſwer to this, and this Journal to be continued, in our next.

Common Senſe, Feb. 24. N° 108.

Farther THOUGHTS *on the* CONVENTION. *(See p. 86.)*

BOTH Houſes having, laſt Year, enter'd into vigorous Reſolutions to ſupport his Majeſty in whatever Meaſures ſhould be taken in order to obtain Juſtice and full Satisfaction from the *Spaniards*, ſuch formidable Squadrons were fitted out, that we had no leſs than 100 Sail of Ships at one Time in Commiſſion; a moſt immenſe Expence to this Nation!

Our Miniſters, ſo ſupported, have been able to prevail upon his Catholick Majeſty, without firing a Gun, to ſign a Convention.

Our Merchants flatter'd themſelves that his C. Majeſty would have been obliged, by way of Preliminary to any Treaty with him, to have renounced all Pretenſions to ſearching our Ships; but this, as well as our Right to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Campeachy*, to loading Salt at the Iſland of *Tortuga*, and alſo the ſettling the Limits of *Florida* and *Carolina*, are referr'd to one Mr. *Keene*, and one Mr. *Caſtres*, as ſuch Commiſſaries as the King of *Spain* ſhall appoint; which, no doubt, is as well.

I hope the Demand, which *Spain* ſome Years ago made of *Gibraltar*, on Pretence of a Promiſe on our Side to give it up to them, will not be refer'd alſo; becauſe, by yielding to refer Things to Commiſſaries, it may be underſtood by the *Spaniards* as acknowledging the Right to be doubtful; and we have, in Reaſon, by what is paſt, to ſuppoſe that *Spaniſh* Commiſſaries will decide a doubtful Right in our Favour.

Thoſe who have no very good Opinion of the Perſons, at preſent at the Helm of our Affairs, have taken Occaſion, from hence, to repreſent this Tranſaction as a Miniſterial Expedient; for, ſay they, the Miniſters had Weight and Credit enough with the Court of *Spain* to bring it to thoſe Terms which the Nation expects, and to which we have an undoubted Right, that have had Time enough, and have wanted no Support to effect it; and the Malecontents are ſuch Infidels they will not believe that 2 Plenipotentiaries can make uſe of more perſuaſive Arguments than 100 Sail of Men of War.

To this, indeed, the Friends of r moſt incomparable Miniſters an- er, that if his *C.* Majeſty ſhould t make thoſe Conceſſions, neceſ- y for ſettling our Rights upon a id Foundation, we are but where were; we may break off the reaty, and ſo fit out new Squa- ons. To which the Malecontents ply, that this may be Sport to the *aniards*, but muſt be Death to us: he immenſe Charges waſte us, hile they do not put themſelves the Expence of a Dollar; and, *Pyrrhus* ſaid, he ſhould be undone two or three ſuch Victories, we ay be ruin'd by two or three ſuch egotiations.

They compare the Politicks of a ertain Gentleman to that of a bold nterprizing Fellow, who undertook teach an Aſs to ſpeak *Greek*. The ory being told to the King, he nt for the Fellow, who reſolutely rſiſted, that he would do it in ch a Time, if he had a certain llowance *per Diem*. The Time as fix'd, and the King promiſed im his Reward; but this Condi- on was annex'd to it, that, if he d not perform it by the limited ay, he ſhould be hang'd; and, cordingly, had him guarded that e ſhould not run away.

The Fellow being aſk'd, when e was out of the King's Preſence, ow he could have the Impudence undertake a Thing that was im- ſſible? His Anſwer was, that ei- er the King might die, the Aſs ight die, or, perhaps, he himſelf ight die, before the limited Time.

If any Miniſter has been teaching Aſs to ſpeak for us; if, for Rea- ns that only regard himſelf, he as been amuſing the Nation with hings he never intended to per- rm, or knew he was not able to erform, as he has been much better aid, he ought to have the ſame eward at laſt.

Don Sebaſtian de la Quadra's Declaration, or Proteſt, in the Name of the King, his Maſter, made and ſign'd previous to the Convention, ſeems to be an Innovation, in the Forms and Methods uſually practiſed in negotiating; but his *C.* Majeſty was reſolv'd he ſhould not be miſunderſtood; for he ſays,—under the Validity and Force of this Proteſt, the ſaid Convention may be proceeded on, and in no other Manner. So that the Convention ſeems to be purchaſed at the Price of receiving and agreeing to this Proteſt; and, indeed, it is ſaid, in the Body of the Proteſt itſelf, that it is by *reciprocal Agreement*. (See p. 86.)

Plutarch, in the Life of one of the illuſtrious *Romans*, I think, *Paulus Emilius*, after deſcribing the Strength of both Armies and the Conduct of the Generals, ſays, that which ever Army *Paulus Emilius* had commanded, muſt have gain'd the Victory. I don't doubt, had all Circumſtances been equal betwixt us and *Spain*, but whatever Side our Miniſters had been employ'd in, muſt have gain'd the Advantage in this Negotiation; but, to the Misfortune of *Spain*, Circumſtances and Events were entirely on our Side. I ſay nothing of the vaſt Superiority of our naval Strength, which alone muſt give Weight to any Arguments: But the Affairs of *Italy* being unſettled, the farther View of the Court of *Spain* with Reſpect to *Don Carlos*, and their being come to no perfect Underſtanding with *France*, muſt have put the *Spaniſh* Miniſters under ſuch Difficulties in their treating with us, that they muſt be obliged to yield to Terms, which they would not ſubmit to at a more favourable Juncture; they muſt have purchaſed Peace upon any Conditions.

If, therefore, more honourable and advantageous Terms have not been obtain'd for *Great Britain*, by this Convention, and ſhould not be obtain'd

obtain'd by the Convention which is to follow, than ever were granted to us before, I would adviſe thee, *Don Benjamin*, to bid adieu to the Lanes and Alleys of *Lyn*, where thou hadſt the good Fortune firſt to behold the Light, and remain in that Country, which hath done thee the Honour to dub thee a Gentleman. (See p. 87.)

If the *Spaniards*, who are ſo well acquainted with this Gentleman's excellent Talent for Negotiation, ſhould tempt him to engage on their Side, I aſk thee, *Don Sebaſtian de la Quadra*, what will become of thee? *Don Benjamin* muſt be the Man. Little didſt thou conſider, *Don Sebaſtian*, whom thou hadſt to deal with in this knotty Affair; it was not only *Don Benjamin* of *Lyn*, but another Perſon, his Adviſer, of a much larger Head,—a Head as fat as his Head and thy Head put together.

If the *Spaniards* think they have Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with this Convention, the Declaration or Proteſt, before-mention'd, might be form'd on Purpoſe to give them a Pretence to break off and begin again; they may talk as the *Engliſh* Officer did, who was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Almanza*, who dining with ſome *French* and *Spaniſh* Officers, where the Converſation turning upon the Events of the Battle, and ſome of them ſeeming to think that our Side had not made the moſt of it, he anſwer'd gallantly, Let us change Generals, and we'll fight the Battle over again. The *Spaniards* may be for changing Miniſters, and beginning the Treaty again; but we muſt beg their Pardon there, we know when we are well: If we ſhould make ſuch a Conceſſion, they might alſo be deſirous of having that great Man, who hath made us ſo mighty among the Nations, to go over and direct all their Affairs: A Matter which it would be the Intereſt of all *Europe* to oppoſe: For, were *Spain* directed for 15 or 16 Years by ſo able a Head, it might grow powerful enough to aim at univerſal Monarchy.

To ſpeak more familiarly of this Affair, I hope it is a good Convention, for it is a Point in which the Nation cannot be deceiv'd. The Intereſt of *England*, with reſpect to *Spain*, is underſtood by every trading Man in the Kingdom. We know the Strength, or to ſpeak more properly, we know the Weakneſs of *Spain*; we know what we have a Right to expect, and what muſt be obtain'd to keep the Nation from ſinking. Tho' one Man may be more preſumptuous and arrogant than all, no one Man is wiſer than all; and therefore no Artifices to puzzle, to conceal the State of our Caſe, will do; the Multitude hath many Eyes, they have many that ſee for them, ſome of which are Perſons of a more diſcerning Sight, perhaps, than he who flatters himſelf they are all blind.

If the great Aſſembly of the Nation approves of this Convention, I ſhall certainly perſuade myſelf that it is ſafe and honourable; for they cannot, at leaſt they will not, give a Sanction to Madneſs and Folly. A certain Author, indeed, tells us, that a Parliament may vote, that black is white. It may be ſo; but black will be black ſtill, in ſpite of all the Votes in the World. However, we are in no Danger of any Thing like this from our preſent Parliament; and therefore I ſay, if it is approved, it muſt be a good Convention.

The Courage and Strength of this Nation hath been ſo often felt, that it can never grow contemptible, but by an extreme Weakneſs of Conduct within. If we once come to loſe by a Treaty, more than it is poſſible we could loſe by an unſucceſsful

War,

ar, we ſhall become the Bubbles
d Dupes of the World. I am
nfident there is as much good
nſe in the Nation at this Time,
when we made the moſt glorious
gure: If it is not brought into
unſel and Action, I am afraid
e Fault lies in our Want of Spirit
well as Honeſty. If Perſons mean
Character, and meaner in Under-
nding, ſhould be ſent to negotiate
th foreign States, it does infinite
iſchiefs; for they will be apt to
dge of a whole Nation by the
mple preſented to them, and you
ll find infinite Difficulties in treat-
g with a People that once comes
deſpiſe you. The great Art of
overnment conſiſts in knowing the
alents of Men, and appointing
em to ſuch Provinces for which
ey are diſpoſed by Nature, and
ted by Education. A pilfering low
enius, extremely qualified to make
fraudulent Contract, or falſify an
ccount, may (where Impudence
d Corruption can prevail) paſs for
clever Fellow, eſpecially among
ockjobbers, and low Mechanicks,
ho have a Turn to Knavery; but
iſe ſuch a Man up to the great
ffairs of a Nation, where not only
e Knowledge of his own, but that
all other Countries is abſolutely
ceſſary, he is out of his Element:
e is doing he knows not what,
d going he knows not where: He
ſteering in a vaſt Ocean, without
e leaſt Knowledge of the Com-
ſs. If Preſumption and Conceit
nſeparable from Ignorance) poſſeſs
m, he will ſuffer no Man to come
ar the Helm but himſelf, and
en the Government muſt unavoid-
le ſuffer Shipwreck, unleſs he is
ated as it is lawful, by the ma-
ime Laws, for the Sailors to treat
Pilot, who hath taken upon him
conduct the Veſſel into Port, and,
his Ignorance, is running it upon
ocks or Quickſands. See a Trea-
ſe, *De Jure maritimo & navali.*

Tho' Providence may think fit to puniſh this Nation, yet I think it will not permit it to fall. All the Grievances it hath ſuffer'd for many Years paſt are imputed to one M—r. It is impoſſible, from the Nature of human Affairs, but the Spirit, or, call it the Genius, of the Nation muſt get the better; for there is ſcarce one Inſtance in Hiſtory, of a whole People, even in the moſt arbitrary Countries, being againſt one Man, but they prevail'd at laſt.

Old Common Senſe, Feb. 24.

Of the CLOTHIERS *and* Blackwell-Hall FACTORS.

SIR,

THAT the Poor, who depend on the Woollen Manufactures, have, for ſome Years paſt, been liable to many grievous Hardſhips, and, that the late Riot at *Melcſham* was, in ſome Meaſure, the Reſult of thoſe Calamities, (ſee p. 9.) I am very ready to acknowledge; but that thoſe Diſtreſſes, and Hardſhips, are owing to the Extortion of their immediate Employers, (at leaſt thoſe concerned in the ſuperfine *Spaniſh* Cloth) I as openly deny; and ſhall demonſtrate, that whatever the Poor, employ'd in the working up *Spaniſh* Wool, have ſuffer'd, is not owing to the Unmercifulneſs of the Clothier, but the Tyranny of the *Blackwell-Hall Factor*; who, tho' originally but the Servant of the Maker, is now become his Maſter, and not only his, but the Wool-Merchant's and Draper's too.

I know, Sir, this Aſſertion will, at firſt Sight, appear not a little ſurprizing; the Factor having always, hitherto, been underſtood as an innocent, uſeful, neceſſary Agent between the Maker and Retailer; but this popular Miſtake is not owing to any Merit of his, but to the deplorable Situation of the Clothier, who durſt not utter his own Grievances,

for

for Fear of being totally undone, as ſeveral actually have been, on the firſt Step they took to effect their own Deliverance. Even the very Materials that form this Letter, have been communicated to me by ſtealth; and tho' all of them have, ſepa- A rately, confirm'd the Truth of every Article, not one would venture to acknowledge, even to his Neighbour, that he had contributed the minuteſt Particular.

But perhaps, Sir, you may ſay, How is it poſſible that theſe Men, B who ſtile themſelves but Factors, or Agents, could find Ways and Means to lord it as Tyrants over their Employers? Why thus: They have manag'd it ſo, that the Merchant dare not ſell his Wool to the Clothier, nor the Clothier preſume to C buy it of the Merchant. On this grand Point their whole Power is founded. But, to make this indiſputably clear, Sir, you are to underſtand that, in the Year 1695, the Clothiers finding themſelves in much the ſame Circumſtances they D are at preſent, by the Credit given to the Drapers on one Hand, and their being obliged to purchaſe Wool of the Factors on the other, apply'd in a Body to Parliament for Relief; and an Act was accordingly paſs'd, reſtoring to them *Blackwell-Hall* for a Market, limiting the Credit to be given for their Goods to 6 Months, obliging the Factor to demand Notes of Hand of the Draper, payable in that Term, for the Uſe of the Clothier, on Penalty of forfeiting Double the Value of the F Debt; and, in caſe the Draper refuſed to give ſuch Notes, ſo demanded, fining him 20*s.*

For a little while, this Act had its deſir'd Effect; theſe Notes were immediately return'd to the Clothier, who carried them to Market G for Wool, *&c.* and, by that Means, made them anſwer in Trade almoſt as well as Caſh itſelf. The Factors, thus ſtript of the moſt valuable P of their Buſineſs, immediately co certed ſuch Meaſures as render the whole Act ineffectual, and p it into their Power to tyrannize ov the Clothiers as much as ever. Th was done by their tampering wi thoſe of the Trade whoſe Circum ſtances were moſt precarious, wh induc'd by the Promiſe of a ſpeed Sale of their Goods, prior to tho of any other Maker, were eaſi prevail'd on to forego the Advan tage of the Notes granted them b Parliament. This fatal Preceden being once ſet, the Factors inſtant exacted a like Compliance from a the reſt; and if any demurr'd, o refus'd, not one Piece of the Cloth was ſold afterwards: B which Means, being obliged t keep their Workmen employ'd i the Interval, their whole Stock tho' ever ſo large, was in the En exhauſted; and the more Mone they had in Trade, the more it be came their Intereſt to truckle t their old Oppreſſors, and, again take off their Wool on what Term they pleaſed.

This important Point carried, lik true Politicians, they reſolv'd to pur ſue their Blow, and add ſome new Acquiſition. Accordingly, they a gain allow'd the Drapers ſuch un reaſonable Credit, that it was im poſſible for the moſt ſubſtantial Clo thier to carry on the Trade, whil the Returns were ſo ſlow and precar rious: On an univerſal Complaint therefore, of this Grievance, the graciouſly condeſcended to inſtru the Debt to be paid 12 Months after it was contracted; but, in Return of ſo great a Favour, inſiſted on two and a half *per Cent.* as a Reward and if any was raſh or ſtubborn enough to diſreliſh, or oppoſe this new Impoſition, he had the Mortifi cation to wait 6 Months longer fo his Money, *viz.* a Year and a Hal in all; which, together with

Month

onths the Cloth is in making, and
hat (one Piece with another) it
ntinues in the Hall before it is
d off, make two Years on the
hole. Now let any one judge
w large a Stock is neceſſary to
ry on a Trade under all theſe
ſadvantages, particularly, when
recollected that the Clothier is
iged to pay his Workmen ready
ney all this while, whether his
ods are vended or no; and that
modeſt Factor always inſiſts on
ng paid for his Wool with the
Money he receives for the
th. Neither is even this all;
if the Clothier, hard drove by
vaſt and continued a Charge,
uld be compell'd, as too many
, to draw upon the Factor for
ney before 'tis due, according to
ir Calculation, one Misfortune
kes Way for another, and he
ſt pay an extravagant Premium
the Advance, tho' 'tis ten to one
that very Money was his own.
Nor are you to wonder, Sir, that
ſe worthy Gentlemen are ſo ſoli-
ous to monopolize the whole
rket of *Spaniſh* Wool, ſince, on
Medium, they get 4*l.* on every
k: Now, a conſiderable Clothier
y be ſuppoſed to work up 80
ks a Year, which is, in a Man-
, a Rent-Charge of 320*l.* to the
ctor annually; for, 'tis more than
bable, that this very Wool is
chas'd with the Clothier's Caſh;
, while the Factor grows rich
hout any Riſque, and with very
e Trouble, he is doubly excis'd
n for what he receives, and what
ot only withheld, but employ'd
anifeſtly to his Prejudice.
Tis farther to be obſerved, Sir,
, as by far the greateſt Part of a
thier's Stock muſt of Neceſſity
lodg'd in the Factor's Hand, if
(the Clothier) happens to break,
lie inſolvent, the Factor imme-
ely ſeizes on the Whole; it be-
ſays he, *a Pledge for Money ad-*
vanced, Wool ſold, &c. ſo that the
reſt of the Creditors ſeldom receive
a Farthing; while he, to whom the
poor Man's Calamity is principally
owing, runs away with all.

Beſide theſe capital Grievances,
Sir, there are ſeveral others which,
tho' inferior in Degree, are, when
added together, no ſmall Encreaſe
of the Load; ſuch as the Factor's
lumping his Charges for Warehouſe-
Room in the Hall, Porteridge, Preſ-
ſing, Packing, *&c.* every Article of
which ought to be particular; as
likewiſe ſending out Cloths to the
Drapers at the Expence of the Clo-
thier; not for Sale, but, one would
almoſt be tempted to think, to ſup-
ply the Shops with the Paper and
Packthread they are ſecur'd with,
ſince they are frequently return'd
ſtript of both, tumbled from End to
End, expos'd to all Weather and
Accidents, and in ſuch a Condition,
as renders it abſolutely neceſſary to
have them clean'd, preſs'd, and
pack'd anew. And all this, after
they have been out of the Hall 6
or 8 Weeks, tho' the above-quoted
Act of Parliament provides, that
every Cloth ſhall be reputed ſold,
after it hath been detain'd 8 Days.

One would think, Sir, I had al-
ready mentioned Grievances enough,
not only to juſtify the Clothier, but
to excite the Concern of the whole
People in their Favour, and the Aid
of the Legiſlature in their Redreſs.
But there is yet another behind,
which ought not to be omitted.
Theſe worthy Factors, not content
with all theſe Methods of Oppreſ-
ſion, to crown the Whole, often ſet
up People to act as Maſter-Clothiers,
on their Stock, during any little
Glut of Buſineſs; and, as 'tis eaſy
to imagine, give all the Cloth ſo
made the Preference of the Mar-
ket: Hence thoſe that trade on
their own Bottoms, and employ the
Poor in good and bad Times alike,
are liable to all the Diſadvantages

of the one, with little or no Share in the Benefits of the other. And hence more Perſons are admitted into the Trade, than the Trade can poſſibly maintain; which opens a new Door to the Tumults and Riots ſo lately felt, and ſo neceſſary to be prevented for the future.

Now, Sir, I ſay again, let the Publick judge, whether this miſerable State of the Clothiers deſerves Pity, or Blame; whether the Diſtreſſes of the induſtrious Poor are to be plac'd to their Account; and, in one Word, whether 'tis their Fault that our Woollen Goods come dearer to Market than thoſe of other Nations. Sure I am, I have heard many of them ſay, that if the Legiſlature would deliver them from this inſupportable Yoke, they would oblige themſelves both to increaſe their Wages, and lower the Price of their Goods. And why the Intereſt of theſe uſeleſs Drones in the human Hive ſhould interfere with two ſuch great and national Advantages, is beyond my Wit or Judgment to reſolve. I hope, however, on this plain and unaffected Repreſentation of their Caſe, and, at a Time, when the whole Woollen Manufacture of *Britain* is like to come under the Conſideration of Parliament, that ſome true Patriot will ariſe to do Juſtice both to the Oppreſſor, and the Oppreſſed; which is the hearty Deſire of,

Your humble Servant,

TROWBRIDGE.

Craſiſman, Feb. 24. Nº 659.

Farther THOUGHTS *on the* ARMY, MILITIA, *&c.* (ſee p. 76.)

SIR,

AMONGST all the Pleas for a *ſtanding Army*, I think none hath been more ſtrongly urg'd than the Practice of *neighbouring Countries*, particularly *France*, that we may be on the Par with them, by having a Body of what are call'd *regular Forces*, in order to oppoſe *theirs*, if there ſhould be any Occaſion. It is not my preſent Deſign to examine how properly this Argument hath been urg'd, for an Example to be imitated by a *free Nation*; nor ſhall I prove how much more properly it might be urg'd, that the *Switzers*, tho' not environ'd by the *Seas*, who have no *Ships* to defend them, tho' they are divided amongſt themſelves into *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, and the *ſmaller Cantons* are always jealous of the *greater*; yet they never had a *ſtanding Troop* amongſt them, but have always rely'd upon their *Militia*, and, in the Midſt of very *powerful Neighbours*, ſtand in no Dread of the exorbitant Power of *France*, on the *one Hand*, nor the Power of the *Houſe of Auſtria*, with its mighty Armies, on the *other*. My chief Intention is to obſerve, that even from the Example of *France*, that an *abſolute Monarchy*, it cannot be urg'd, that a *Militia* ſhould be made uſeleſs; for *France* keeps her *Militia* well-exercis'd, notwithſtanding its vaſt Body of *ſtanding Forces*; ſo that in Caſe of a Defeat of their *Army*, it might ſoon be recruited, by an immediate Draught from the *Militia*, of well-exercis'd Soldiers. For this Reaſon, I think, there could not be a more uſeful Project laid before the Publick, at this Juncture, than a well-contrived Plan for regulating the *Militia*.

If we proceed in no better a Way than hath been hitherto practis'd, I ſhould be ſorry to ſay any Thing that might occaſion a new Addition to our *Taxes* and *Expences*, by needleſs Levies of *Trophy-Money*, and the Charges of hiring, equipping, and ſending out Men from diſtant Places, in order to aſſemble a few Days in the Year, and then return little better ſkill'd than when they went out. But the beſt Way,

con-

ding to my crude Conception of Matter, would be for the *Ser-nts* and *Corporals* in our *ſtanding* *cps*, to be ſent from Town to wn, and from Pariſh to Pariſh, order to teach all Perſons, fit to r Arms, the *manual Exerciſe*; when the People have been l-inſtructed and exercis'd in their pective Pariſhes, it would be pro- to draw them out in large Aſſem- s in their ſeveral Counties, to n the Manner of Exerciſe in ater Bodies, as in *Battalions*, for ance; as alſo to learn and prac- all *other military Performances*.

don't doubt that whoever ſhall w up a good Plan for regulating *Militia*, will conſider the pro- Qualification of the *Officers*, who to command them; particularly, they ſhould be Perſons of *ſome te* in the reſpective Counties, to ch the *Regiments* belong'd; and their Eſtates ſhould be of ſome *ain, appointed Value*, according to Degrees or Superiority of Com- d.

our Readers will perceive, that only Aim and Wiſhes are to ſee Country put in a good Poſture Defence, according to our Con- tion; that, in Caſe of a *foreign* *ſion*, we may not have our All nd upon our Succeſs in *one Bat-* like that of the *Conqueſt*; or in any Caſe, the *Proteſtant* *e* may not be loſt, without y an hearty Stroke for it, as *Popiſh one* was loſt at the *Revo-*, without a Battle in *Britain*, ion'd by the Diſaffection of the . In Purſuance of this Aim, ght ſhew how little any Num- of *mercenary Forces*, conſtantly up, can contribute to this End. my Part, I ſhould pray, in a of Struggle, that they may be to deal with all the diſcon- d Hearts and Hands, which the nce, the Diſlike, and the juſtly hended Danger of *their own* *nce* have occaſion'd.

The preſent Advocates for *military Power* pretend to find an Abſurdity in this Method of Reaſoning; for if a *mercenary ſtanding Army*, ſay they, is of ſo little Uſe, either againſt *foreign Invaſions*, or *domeſtick Inſurrections*, where can be the *Danger* of it? My Anſwer to this frivolous Objection ſhall be very ſhort. Tho' they would be of very little Uſe, in Caſe of a *general Deſaffection*, as in the late K. *James*'s Reign, yet whilſt the *Conſtitution* is not openly attack'd, and the *People* are diſpoſed to preſerve their Allegiance to the *preſent Government*, a *ſtanding Army* is not only burthenſome, but dangerous, by enuring the Minds of the People to a *military Force*, and wearing out all their ancient Impreſſions of *Liberty*. But to proceed.

Another Thing requiſite, towards putting a Nation in a good Poſture of Defence, next to their Knowledge in the Uſe of *Arms*, is their being zealouſly well-affected to their *King*, their *Conſtitution* and the *Adminiſtration*; and the Plan for ſecuring all theſe Points, is of very plain and eaſy Formation; for *Diſaffection in Governments* is always owing moſt immediately to Corruption, or Errors, in the *Adminiſtration*, and is but rarely charg'd on the *Conſtitution of the Government*, or on the *Royal Families*, who reign; tho' there are Examples of its ending in the Deſtruction of *both*. The Generality of the People are as naturally fond of their *old Forms of Government*, as of their *Mother-Country*; and even under *ill-conſtituted ones*, under the *worſt* and *moſt abſolute Monarchies*, the *Slaves*, tho' they ſometimes deſtroy their *wicked Governors*, ſeldom think of aſſuming to themſelves a *better Form of Government*, in the Room of the *other*. There is likewiſe the ſame Attachment in the People to the *Perſons of their Kings*, and they charge all Faults in Government on *their Miniſters*.

We, for our Parts, have reduc'd it into Law and Maxim, *that our* Kings *can do no Wrong*, their *Miniſters* being anſwerable for what is done, and cannot plead for any *illegal*, or *improper Meaſure*, that they had *Orders* for it. Since therefore *Diſcontent* and *Diſaffection* do not take their original Riſe from the Diſlike of the People to the *Conſtitution of their Government*, or to *their King*, it muſt be imputed, as I ſaid before, to the Conduct of *thoſe*, who adminiſter; and therefore nothing is more requiſite to prevent it, in any Government, than to ſuit the *Adminiſtration* to the *Good of the People*, and the Inclinations of the Majority of them. But in a Conſtitution, like ours, the Method of preventing *Diſaffection* is very plain. The only Difficulty here is to give *Cauſe* for it; and, indeed, there can be no dangerous Diſaffection amongſt us, unleſs the *Conſtitution* itſelf is firſt impair'd and trampled on; for the *People* having a *Repreſentative*, veſted with Powers to enquire and adviſe, concerning *national Affairs*, (the chief Part of whoſe Buſineſs is, to redreſs *Grievances*, and bring *evil Counſellors* to Puniſhment) they will put a Stop to the firſt Riſe of all juſt Cauſes of *Diſaffection in the People*, unleſs the *Repreſentative* itſelf ſhould become *corrupt*, and actuated by different Motives than their *Conſtituents*. As, 1*ſt*, if thro' *miniſterial Practices*, they ſhould not be all freely choſen by the *People*; or, 2*dly*, if, when choſen, they ſhould be unduly influenc'd; or, 3*dly*, if thro' *long Continuance in Truſt*, without *Re-election*, they ſhould want the proper Nature of a *Repreſentative*, which ought always to be either revocable at Pleaſure, or re-elected at ſhort Periods; ſo that a *Law*, which will compleatly prevent all Corruption at *Elections*, and all undue Influence after the *Elections*, as well as ſecure the *Frequency of Elections*, is an infallible Scheme to produce Acquiescence, Content, and good Affection amongſt the *People*; and conſequently an honourable Regard to us from our *Neighbours*, a Dread of us in our *Enemies*, and a *flouriſhing Trade*, with all earthly Happineſs and Proſperity.

I turn back again, to expreſs my Concern at the defenceleſs Condition our Nation ſeems to be in from the *People's* being kept uninſtructed in the Uſe of *Arms*, and relying on what cannot be ſafely depended on. What a melancholy Proſpect muſt it afford to thoſe, who have large Stakes in this Land, and are heartily concern'd for the Preſervation of our *Liberties* and *Religion?* With what pale Faces would they look upon one another, if but 3000 Men were landed in *Suſſex* or *Kent*, another Body expected in the *North*, an Alarm in the *Weſt*, and an Invaſion in *Ireland*, while the *Fidelity of the People* was, at the ſame Time, ſuſpected, in every Place, conformably to the Diffidence already expreſs'd of them? How impoſſible would it be to bring a large Body of Men together, who know how to *handle their Arms*; or what Confidence could we have in our *mercenary ſtanding Troops*, who *double Pay*, and *large Recruit-Money* ſhall be offer'd them, on the other *Side*; and when they may deſert with a *Premium* and *Protection*, who now often deſert with *Loſs*, and in utmoſt Danger of their *Lives*? Where will our Help be, if we have proceeded upon *Schemes*, inconſiſtent with truſting our *Arms* in the Hands of our *Freeholders* and *their Servants?* For as to all other Aid and Reliance, take the Opinion of the famous *Algernon Sidney* and Mr. *Trenchard*. The former ſpeaks of * *Forces* hir'd from abroad——"*Mercenary Soldiers*, ſays he, always want *Fidelity*, or Courage

* *Cap.* 2. *Sect.* 23.

and moſt commonly *both*. If they are not *corrupted*, or beaten by the *Invader*, they make a Prey of their *Maſters*." Mr. *Trenchard* ſpeaks thus of a *ſtanding Army*; "A † ſmall Army can be of no Uſe to us, but to hinder the *Militia* from being train'd, and to enſlave us at *home*; for they are too few to defend us againſt an *Invaſion*, and too many for the *People* to oppoſe.

Common Senſe, March 3. N° 109.

A POINT of univerſal Concern muſt, in a free Country, become the Subject of univerſal Debate: Every Man hath a Right to deliver his Opinion upon it, and ought to do ſo, that the Sentiments of all may be made known to the few who are appointed to repreſent the whole Community. This is a ſufficient Juſtification for what hath already, or may hereafter be ſaid on that important Affair, which, at preſent, engages the Attention of the whole Nation.

It is certain, that, if *Spain* had made full Reſtitution to our Merchants to the laſt Shilling, it was not Satisfaction ſufficient. The Nation certainly expected a ſtrong, and abſolute Security for the Freedom of their Navigation for the future. —A clear, plain and unambiguous Acknowledgment of our Rights to a free and uninterrupted Navigation, was the leaſt we could expect. Every Refuſal, nay every Delay, in a Point of ſuch Importance, was a Diſſolution of all former Leagues, and amounted to a Declaration of War.

I would not be underſtood to mean, as if I intended to leſſen that juſt Compaſſion, which every *Engliſhman* ought to feel for the Sufferings of our Merchants; but as their Caſe is of a Nature to be involv'd in that of the whole Community, I would not ſeparate them.

That the *Spaniards* conſent to pay our Merchants a Sum of Money, is certain; but we cannot infer from hence, that they give up all Right to ſearching our Ships hereafter, for what they call contraband Goods: They are diſtinct and ſeparate Points; and we have been inform'd, that ſome Ships have been ſearch'd and rummaged, which have neither been ſeiz'd nor plunder'd. A Cuſtom-Houſe Officer hath a Right to viſit all Ships in our own Ports, but he hath no Right to take any Thing away. If he ſhould be puniſh'd for robbing, we cannot infer from thence that he had no Right to ſearch. It is to be hoped, therefore, that our Plenipotentiaries will inſiſt upon Satisfaction to be made for the Inſult of ſearching our Ships upon the open Seas, and a clear Renunciation of all Right to do the ſame hereafter.

Beſides, where a groſs Sum is paid, and the Application of it left to others, no Conſequence can be drawn to explain the true Intention of him who firſt advanc'd it. *Spain* pays a Sum of Money to our Miniſters, but we do not know for what particular Captures the Reparation is deſign'd by *Spain*. How can the Application of our Miniſters point out their Intentions, and ſhew what Ships they intended to make Satisfaction for, and what not? And therefore, if a plain Eclairciſement be not obtain'd, they may be left free to chicane hereafter, and ſay, they never gave up the Right of Searching.

I have Reaſon to think, that Application hath been made to them for a more explicit Acknowledgment of our Right; if ſo, it is natural to believe they have refuſed to make it. If it be really underſtood by the Miniſters of both Crowns, that conſenting to pay for Part of what hath been plunder'd from us, is giving up the Right to ſearch for the

† *Argument againſt a* ſtanding Army, *in the State Tracts*, p. 574.

the future, it is pity, for the Satisfaction of our own People, as well as to prevent Miſtakes when *Spain* may have other Miniſters, that both Articles are not provided for in the ſame explicit Terms.

I cannot ſay how far we may depend upon being made eaſy in thoſe Points that are ſtill left to be diſcus'd; whether, when our Fleet is recall'd, and that of *Spain* return'd home loaded with Treaſure, ſhe will make Conceſſions ſhe refuſed before. If one Nation collects its Strength, while another exhauſts it; if one makes uſe of Events and Circumſtances, and another neglects them; it is no hard Matter to gueſs which will get the better in Negotiation.

POSTSCRIPT.

WE gave the Publick an Account in our laſt, that a certain Perſon, who hath long been diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Bob Booty*, was lately put into bodily Fear, upon Advice that ſeveral worthy Perſons were reſolv'd to put an End to his Rogueries, for the Good of Mankind. *Bob* had not only laugh'd at Honeſty all the Days of his Life, but brag'd, among his Gang, that Juſtice was much more afraid of him, than he was of Juſtice; but no ſooner was *Bob* acquainted with his Danger, but he fell into ſuch a Panick that his very Inſolence forſook him. The firſt Expedient that came into his Head was, to call together his Gang: A Summons was left at each of their Habitations, in theſe Words, *You are deſired to meet your Friends at the Cellar in Knaves-Acre, near Thieving-Lane.* This was the Place where they always aſſembled to receive *Bob*'s Orders, when a Job offer'd.

The Troop being met, and *Bob*, by the Help of a Joint-Stool, having rais'd his Perſon to a certain Eminence above the reſt, began to cough and hem, according to the Cuſtom of Orators before they harangue; but *Bob* found his Spirits ſo low, that he could ſcarce give Utterance to his Thoughts: Thrice he eſſay'd to raiſe his Heart from the Bottom of his Abdomen, and thrice it ſunk below his Waiſtband; at length, having recover'd his Voice, and, like good *Æneas*,

—Duplices tendens ad ſydera palmas,
Talia Voce refert ——— which is as much as to ſay, he ſpoke to the following Effect:

Friends and Aſſociates,

You, whom I have rais'd from the moſt contemptible Part of Mankind, to be the Companions of my Adventures, for no other Merit but that of your eminent Worthleſſneſs, attend to an Affair that is of no leſs Conſequence, than whether we ſhall be any more a Gang, or not.

You know I am purſued by our common Enemies, a Parcel of pedling Raſcals who are ſtiled The Society for the Reformation of Manner: The Danger which now threatens me, I impute intirely to your Want of Vigour for my Service: You behave as if you had loſt your Courage, which hath given Spirit to our Enemies; unmindful of the Obligations you owe me, you ſhrink when I want you moſt. Have you forgot how many Years I have been emptying other Mens Pockets to fill yours? Have you forgot, that I have ſtarv'd thouſands, that you might wallow in Luxury? If I have pillaged, have I not ſhared the Booty? Whatever other Men may reproach me with, it cannot be denied but I have rewarded the Gang: Yet now, forſooth, ſome of you pretend you cannot go ſuch Lengths, and that you ſhall loſe your Characters; ——— D—m your Characters, have you not been paid for them? Would you eat your Cake, and have your Cake?

Have

Have you no Conſcience in you? Would you pretend to keep your Characters after you have ſold them? Now you pretend to bluſh, with a P---x to ye; D---m your Modeſty, it does become you indeed to be aſhamed of any Thing? Come, come, act like Men of Senſe; you know I always told you, that Right and Wrong conſiſt in nothing but Power, and the Strength of Numbers. The Rogue at the Bar, you'll ſay, is deſpiſed; that's true: But ſhould a Rogue get up on the Bench, he'd be feared. If we ſtick together, we may get the better of this Attack; and when it is over, Robbery ſhall be Law, Juſtice and Virtue; and, inſtead of Halters about our Necks, we may have Ribbons about our Shoulders; for I will cruſh our Enemies to Atoms; I will ruin them with their own Money, ſo that they ſhall never more be able to give us Diſturbance; nay, I'll bring our Profeſſion into ſuch Vogue, that an honeſt Man ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew his Face.

But I miſs ſeveral of our Aſſociates; what! they ſneak in Time of Danger. I ſee it is they that have not yet been dip'd in dirty Work; I always apprehended Miſchief from that Quarter: I ſuſpected they would bilk me upon the firſt *Coupe D'Eclat* I perform'd. I often told you, if there was one honeſt Man in the Gang, it might be our Ruin; but you mind nothing; you would draw in ſome Perſons of Reputation, under Pretence we acted upon honourable Principles. I told you they would leave us the Minute they were undeceiv'd; now you ſee what comes of it. I cannot do every Thing myſelf; it ſhould have been your Buſineſs to have ſouſed them over Head and Ears in Iniquity, that they might not be able to go off.

If you fancy that, by giving me up, you may ſlip your own Necks out of the Halter, you are bit. If it is decreed, that I muſt ſwing, I am reſolv'd not to ſwing alone; for, by G----, I'll peach every Knave and Fool among you, that is to ſay, the whole Gang here preſent, d---m my Eyes if I don't, and ſo look to it.

Craftſman, March 3. N° 660.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I Am a Man, like yourſelf, well ſtricken in Years, and know that I am look'd upon by many as an *odd, whimſical, old Fellow*, from ſome Peculiarities in my Way of thinking, to which moſt Men in Years are naturally ſubject. In my younger Days, my Inclinations led me to the Study of *Politicks*. With this View I ſearch'd and examin'd all our *Hiſtories, political Diſcourſes*, and *Treaties*. The Art and Myſtery of *Treaty-making* was not then carried to ſo great a Perfection as it hath been ſince. In former Times, *Treaties* were generally underſtood to mean the Settling of *Peace* after *War*, or for contracting of *Alliances* to carry on a *War*.

Having premis'd this, I muſt take Notice, that the Nation ſeems to be ſeiz'd with an epidemical Frenzy, on Account of the *late Convention*. I have heard, indeed, of *three* or *four Perſons*, who have eſcap'd this *general Diſeaſe*, and ſhewn themſelves to be in their right Senſes, by not being aſham'd of approving the *Convention*. This is a ſufficient Proof that it muſt be a *good Treaty*; ſince *thoſe*, who made it, are certainly the beſt Judges whether it anſwers their Deſigns or not. For my Part, as I am convinc'd that it is a *moſt excellent Treaty*, I think the laſt Piece of Service I ſhall be able to do my Country, will be to ſhew the *Errors of Judgment*, which are the true Cauſe of the preſent *Dilirium*.

Our

Our Minds have been too intent upon the *Reſtitution* and *future Security*, which ought to be obtain'd for our *Merchants*, ever ſince 1726; and all Phyſicians ſay, that a conſtant Application of Thought upon *one Object* is apt to turn our Brains. But our Expectations being rais'd to the higheſt Pitch, and the Neceſſity of abſolutely determining it inſiſted upon, will not ſuffer them to obſerve the *Wiſdom*, with which it is done, and the neceſſary Benefits, that will accrue to the *Nation* from what is done. They think *this Treaty* is big with many Evils, which have been largely aggravated to the World. But if you preſs it home to them, in their Intervals of *Senſe*, to know what are the Words in the *Treaty* itſelf, which gives them Offence, they ſay the *Treaty* is nothing, and fall a *laughing*. This puts me in mind of a Story that *old Men* love to tell, of ſome *Indians*, ſtil'd *Princes*, who were here ſome Years ago. Amongſt other Things, they were to be entertain'd with a *Whipt Syllabub*, and they fell ſo greedily upon it, that no ſooner were their Spoons in their Mouths, than they gap'd and ſtar'd at one another, and burſt out at once into a loud Fit of Laughter; notwithſtanding which, we all know a *Whipt Syllabub* is a very good Thing, tho' it muſt be allow'd there is no *great Subſtance* in it.---To return:

This *Convention* will be found to be one of the moſt accompliſh'd Pieces of its Kind. For, *firſt*, *foreign Nations* cannot be jealous that any *unnatural Alliance* is deſign'd by it, to alter the *Balance of Europe*; or that we are more favour'd in our *Trade* than any *other Nation*; which two Suppoſitions, but a few Years ago, put all *Europe* into a Flame, about the *Vienna Treaty*.

Beſides, we had before try'd all *former Remedies*, as well as ſeveral *new Inventions*, which could be found in the whole Quackery of *Negotiation*. But they all prov'd ineffectual; and therefore it was found neceſſary to reſort to one of *Machiavel*'s political Maxims, to avoid the *middle Way*; for he ſeems fond of that Part of the *Roman Hiſtory*, which may be apply'd to this Point. When the *Senate* were debating what they ſhould do with the *Privernates*, one of the *Senators* aſk'd them, "If we ſhould pardon you this Time, *what Peace* could we hope for from *you?*" To which they anſwer'd; "that if it be upon *good Terms*, it will be *firm* and *perpetual*; but if it is upon *ill Terms*, it will hardly laſt long."—Thus were they made Citizens of *Rome*, as they deſerv'd.

Let it be conſider'd in this Light, without entering into the Diſpute, whether *England* was the great naval Power in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, and *Spain* in the Infancy of it, under *Philip* II. or whether *ours* hath declin'd, ſince *Philip* V. hath made *Spain* the chief naval Power. It is ſufficient for us to know that we have been ready (at ſome Expence, indeed) to exert our *Superiority on the Main*; and it is the Fault of the *Spaniards*, that they would not *mind it*, nor give us the Trouble of *beating them*. But as we ſcorn'd to treat with them in the uſual inſolent Manner of a *conquering Power*, it was very generous as to *ourſelves*, and polite towards *them*, before we *examin'd and ſettled the Cauſes of our Diſputes*, to recal our *Fleet*; for it would not have been very civil to hold the *Rod* over their Heads, during the *Negotiation*; nor politick, according to the Rules of obtaining a *firm and perpetual Peace*; the old Maxim of treating *Sword in Hand* being now found by Experience to be quite wrong, tho' it was urg'd very ſtrongly in Juſtification of the *late famous Fleet at* Spithead; for as the diſtinguiſhing Character of a *Spaniard* is his *Pride*, ſo no-

nothing influences him more, to good or ill Actions, than his *Punto*. Since therefore it is neceſſary to make it a *good Peace*, on *their Side*, and to lay them under the *ſtrongeſt Obligations of Honour* to obſerve it, we ought certainly to give up any Thing, that may tend to prevent it. By theſe Means, we bind them down by *their own Intereſt* and *Honour* to accept of a *laſting* and *honourable Peace*; and ſurely nothing could be better contriv'd for *thoſe ſalutary Ends*, than the *late Convention*; which is ſaid to contain *nothing*, but is for that very Reaſon the beſt and ſureſt Way of ſettling a *laſting Peace*.

Our paying for the *Spaniſh Fleet*, deſtroy'd by us in 1718, makes People ſtark mad, whenever it is mention'd; and all this from not attending to the Nature and Cauſes of Things. Let them only recollect that, but a few Years ago, it was very much the Language here, that *Spain* would never forget nor forgive our deſtroying *that Fleet*. What therefore can be more politick than *ſuch a Spunge* to wipe it out of their Memory? What does it ſignify that we *take a little Shame to ourſelves* by it? Tho' our *Admirals* and *Commanders* were repreſented by *Spain* as a Pack of *Pyrates*; yet we ſhall obtain this immediate Benefit from it, that an End will be put to the *Reprizals*, which *Spain* hath been ever ſince making upon us, under that Pretence; and that we may long continue the good Friend and Ally of *Spain*.

The Heads of Multitudes are likewiſe diſtracted with the deplorable Thought of the Loſs of *Georgia*. They recapitulate the *Advantages* of it; the *Expence* of it to the Nation, *&c.* But let them conſider how much the Nation is burthen'd with *Taxes*, according to their own Confeſſion; and therefore, if we can obtain a *laſting Peace*, what a conſiderable Eaſe this will be to it, and how much *our more valuable Colonies*, as well as *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, want Hands to carry on their *flouriſhing Manufactures*; in which Caſe, the Wiſdom of *ſuch a Meaſure* cannot fail of its due Applauſe.

The *South-Sea Company*'s being oblig'd to pay 68,000*l.* down immediately to *Spain*, without any Regard to 325,000*l.* allow'd by *Spain* to be due to *them*, runs very much in the *ſame Peoples* Heads; for they are apt to look upon *Treaties* in a *mercantile Light*, and think that *one Debt* ſhould at leaſt be ſet againſt *another*. But *Princes* are mighty Things, and above thoſe low Forms of *mechanick Juſtice*. In order to purchaſe *Amity*, we are ſometimes oblig'd, for *Reaſons of State*, to give up a *little Money Affair*, for the Sake of *greater Advantages*.

There is *another Thing*, which very much diſturbs the Minds of ſome People; that however the *Money* may be got, no *ſtated Account* being produc'd, every Thing is left to a *future Diſcuſſion*; but this is likewiſe for their *Good*. In all *ſuch Diſorders*, it is certainly proper to put the *Perſons*, who are moſt infected, or moſt capable of ſpreading the Contagion, under *ſome Reſtraints*, that they may be the more eaſily cur'd.

Nor let them be caſt down about *another Circumſtance*, on which indeed great Streſs hath been laid, *viz.* that *this Treaty* would do more than *all our former Treaties*, ſince we have now moreover obtain'd the GREAT SEAL of *Spain* for *all our Rights*; let them not deſpair, I ſay, upon finding that we have only got his *Catholick Majeſty*'s SECRET SEAL to it; for I do aſſure them that it makes the *preſent Convention* as valid and effectual as any of our *former Treaties*.

Having thus clear'd up the Doubts

and Obſcurities, which have oppreſs'd *theſe People*'s Minds, let them be enliven'd by thoſe glorious Rays, which begin already to dawn upon us, and the laſting Benefits they may obtain for *this Nation*, by not inſiſting on the *full Reparation* they expected; for ſuch a Conceſſion will have great Weight to get the *Act of Navigation* repeal'd, as far as it relates to the carrying of *Sugars* from our *Colonies* directly to *foreign Markets*, without being oblig'd to bring them *here* firſt; a Privilege, which the *French* enjoy at preſent, and is one of the Reaſons aſſign'd why they get the better of us in *that Trade*. Nay, as we do not ſeem, at preſent, to be ſo much oblig'd to them as formerly, the *Merchants* may flatter themſelves with a farther Advantage, by having the Duties on *Rum* taken off, which will prevent the Conſumption of ſo much *French Brandy* here. To this may be added, that as *Sweden* hath been long taking our *Stipends* for nothing, and we want *Pretences* or *Abilities* to continue them, they have accepted them from *France*; which may now be a Reaſon for allowing ſuch Encouragement to our *Plantations*, as to give a *Bounty* for the Importation of *American Iron*, and laying higher Duties upon the *Swediſh*. All theſe Things, I ſay, may be obtain'd at laſt, for the Benefit of the Nation, upon *this Account*, and not be only a *Douceur* thrown out to cajole the *Merchants*. This would certainly enable them to pay very *high Rates of Inſurance*, as they muſt do, if the *Liberty of* SEARCHING *in any Limits*, or under *any Pretences*, be left to *Spain*, in *our future Negotiations*.—— But, at all Events, they will, no Doubt, be amply provided for, *ſome Way* or *other*.

§. *From my Chambers.*

I Readily concur with my worthy Friend *Common Senſe*, in recommending the LONDON MAGAZINE, in Oppoſition to that *Farrago of Nonſenſe and Stupidity*, *the* GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE; (ſee p. 92.) being very deſirous that, if my Writings are to be publiſh'd, or abridg'd, by any Body but *myſelf*, they may be ſet in a fair and impartial Light, which Dr. *Urban* and *his Authors* are not capable of doing.——Let them *criticize*, and *cavil*, and *miſrepreſent*, as long as they pleaſe; but *direct Theft* and *Murder*, at the ſame Time, are not to be endur'd, either by the Laws of *God* or *Man*.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

Old Common Senſe, March 3.

THIS Writer, ſpeaking of our pacific Meaſures, ſays: Such a Temper and Diſpoſition, ſo notoriouſly manifeſted in a M———, which had carry'd all before them for ſo many Years together, was ſufficient to invalidate all the Efforts of the People. The *Spaniſh* Court muſt have had no Eyes not to take Advantage of ſo palpable a Diſcovery; and that once made, they might ſecurely laugh at the Reſentment of the Publick, and even our formidable naval Preparations. When certain Perſons were, on all Occaſions, their Advocates, extenuating their Depredations, diminiſhing our Loſſes, and, at all Times and Seaſons, making their Caſe their own; what had they to apprehend from ſuch Enemies? Or why ſhould the *Port-Mahon* Squadron be leſs pacific than that at *Spithead?* Nay, it is not impoſſible but they had yet ſurer Grounds to go on, than the moſt natural Conjectures; and Aſſurance itſelf might be as much their Friend, as bare Likelihood or Probability.

Ay, but I may be told, they had real Fears, and fairly witneſs'd them, by condeſcending to treat as ſoon as our Fleet appear'd on their Coaſts. Yes, but in what Manner?

In

In the idle, lazy, evaſive Way of Convention and Preliminary; which every Body knows are but State-Arts to waſte Time, and amuſe, not haſten a real Accommodation. I appeal to the whole Kingdom, whether *Spain*, or the moſt conſiderable Nation in *Europe*, would have dar'd to have treated with the Long Parliament, or the great *Cromwel*, in this dilatory Manner, when his Fleets were yet in Harbour; much leſs when they were arm'd, and ready to precipitate his Vengeance when and where he pleas'd? 'Tis well known, our Ships are as numerous, and our Seamen as brave now, as they were formerly; what hinders then, but they ſhould be treated with the ſame Reſpect, and command that Redreſs which it ſeems ſo unlikely, if not impoſſible, to procure by Treaty? 'Tis ſaid, that when a ſingle Quaker apply'd to the Protector for Juſtice againſt the *French*, who had plunder'd him at Sea to a conſiderable Value, he ſent him to Cardinal *Mazarine* with a peremptory Demand of Reſtitution within 3 Days; which being put off with ſome idle, ſophiſtical Evaſions, the Loſer returns, and acquaints *Cromwel* with the Succeſs, who immediately orders out a proper Force to make Reprizals; out of which, he makes full Satisfaction to the Quaker, pays himſelf the Charge of procuring it, and, like an honeſt Man, returns the Surplus to a Farthing. (See Vol. VII. p. 485.) Were the ſame vigorous Maxims in Faſhion now, would the Court of *Spain* dare to trifle with us? Surely they would not; and, inſtead of our ſoliciting there for Juſtice and Reparation, it would be their Buſineſs to deprecate here, tho' too late, the Chaſtiſement ſuch Treatment deſerves. But alas! they ſee we are divided among ourſelves, and, inſtead of *being one huge Chriſtian Perſonage*, according to *Milton*'s ſublime Idea of a Commonwealth, acting with one Head, Heart, and Hand, one Member is at Variance with another, and, by that Means, all are an eaſy Conqueſt to the common Enemy.

Daily Gazetteer, March 5. N° 1155.

The CONVENTION *defended.*

THE only Queſtion is, whether the preſent Convention with *Spain* does not contain in it the beſt Terms of Accommodation that we had any Manner of Grounds to expect, and whether it would have been either juſt or prudent, to have engaged in a War in order to have obtain'd better; ſince, I preſume, it will be agreed on all Hands, that better could not have been obtained without one.

By ſubmitting to make Satisfaction to our Merchants, the Court of *Spain* has acknowledged, that they were in the wrong in the Seizures they made of our Ships; and in conſequence of that, that we have a Right to a free Navigation in the Seas of *America*, ſo far as is conſiſtent with their own Rights, and former Treaties; for, on that Foot they have expreſly agreed, that all Differences ſhall be regulated and adjuſted: And what can we deſire more? nay, what could we deſire more, if our Armies were actually ravaging their Countries, and our Fleets riding triumphant in their Ports, and they were obliged to ſue for Peace? Unleſs we would ſupport Injuſtice by Force, and compel them to open to us a free Trade to their Colonies, without any Limitation whatever.

But as extravagant as this may ſeem, this is, in other Terms, what the worthy Gentlemen, who call themſelves Patriots, and their Echoes, *Common Senſe* and the *Craftſman*, and the Pamphlets wrote on the ſame Side, have inſiſted on;

No Treating, ſay they, *at all, without firſt an expreſs Declaration, that none of our Ships trading in the Seas of* America *ſhall be ſearched on any Pretence, or under any Circumſtances whatever! nay, without an expreſs Declaration of our Right even of entering into their Ports in Caſes of Neceſſity, and then only, and in no other Caſe to be ſeized, when they are actually taken in the Fact of trading there.*

But ſurely People that talk at this Rate, cannot be in earneſt themſelves, and muſt have a very mean Opinion of the reſt of Mankind, if they think they can impoſe it on others: What! *enter into their Ports, in Caſes of Neceſſity, and to be ſeized then when they are found trading there only!* They have treated our Miniſters upon this Occaſion with ſuch Language, as I believe never was made uſe of before to Perſons of their Rank; but if they really meant what they ſaid, it is uſing the *Spaniſh Miniſters* much worſe, for they muſt look upon them to be downright Ideots, to imagine they could ever be prevailed on to make ſuch Conceſſions,

I ſhould be glad to know, who are to be Judges of theſe Caſes of Neceſſity; for I ſuppoſe even *they* will hardly inſiſt that the bare Averment of the Parties ought to be admitted as a Proof; for, if that were to be ſo, no Body can doubt but theſe *Caſes of Neceſſity* would occur ſo frequently, that all the Ports of *New Spain* would be continually crowded with the Ships of *Britain*; and they will not allow the *Spaniſh* Tribunals to be Judges, becauſe they ſay that would be but a *Mockery of Juſtice*, where a *Spaniſh* Advocate is to plead the Cauſe of our Merchants, *and the Judges themſelves are to have a Share in the Prize.* Before what Judicature then muſt this Matter be tried? I cannot for my Life conceive, unleſs it is at *Jamaica*, by a Jury of *Buccaneers*; A moſt righteous Judicature truly! and no doubt ample Juſtice would be done; there would be none of thoſe tedious Forms, which the *Spaniſh* Courts of Juſtice are charged with; they would make quick Work of it, I grant; they would diſpatch the Cauſe as ſoon as ever it came before them, without the leaſt Delay.

But it is ſaid, and much inſiſted on, *that where no general Trade is allowed, no one Species of Goods can be more prohibited than another; and the Searching there has no Object at all, and no Foundation in Reaſon.*

But tho' *no general Trade is allowed*, yet may it not, nay is it not true in Fact, that a clandeſtine Trade is carried on? And if that is ſo, and notoriouſly known to be ſo, is that Nation, where no ſuch general Trade is allow'd, to ſtay till thoſe clandeſtine Traders come into their very Ports, before they give them any Interruption? If that were the Caſe, would their Laws, prohibiting a *general Trade*, tho' confirm'd by their Treaties with all other Nations, be any Thing but a mere dead Letter? They might as well throw open all their Ports, and allow of a free and open Trade at once, in the utmoſt Extent and Latitude.

The only effectual Methods by which any contraband Trade can be carried on, are the only Ways which theſe Gentlemen inſiſt on our Ships ought never to be interrupted in; *no viſiting, no ſearching of Ships*, ſay they, *upon the high Seas; it is an Inſult upon our Underſtanding, and a Contempt of our Power.*

But with theſe Gentlemens Leave, the Ships that are concern'd in this illicit Commerce keep always out upon the *high Seas*, and unlade their Cargoes in Boats or ſmall Veſſels, that are ſent for that Purpoſe from the Shore; and therefore, if their being upon the *high Seas* merely,

was

was to be a Protection to them, it would be utterly impoſſible for the *Spaniards* to put a Stop to this unlawful Trade, tho' they caught them in the Fact.

Suppoſe a Ship ſhould lie hovering upon their Coaſts for a conſiderable Time together, within a ſmall Diſtance of the Shore, without any apparent Reaſon or Neceſſity, are they to be abſolutely excluded from all Means of informing themſelves of the Cauſe of it? They durſt not go on board, becauſe that would be called *viſiting* and *ſearching* them, and ſtopping them upon the *High Seas*; and yet certainly nothing could be a ſtronger Evidence than this, that this Ship was a Smuggler: What then, in ſuch a Caſe, muſt they do? Why nothing, as I can conceive, but, according to the Rules theſe Gentlemen lay down, even let them run what Goods they pleaſe, and patiently ſubmit to ſuch a manifeſt Violation of their Rights.

As Multitudes of ſuch Caſes muſt happen, how abſurd it would have been for our Miniſters, to have inſiſted, as theſe Gentlemen would have had them, that previous to any Treaty, an expreſs Declaration ſhould be made by *Spain*, that no *Britiſh* Ship ſhould be *ſtopp'd, viſited* or *ſearch'd* on the *High Sea*, on any Pretence whatever? If we had even the Sword at their Throats, and they lay at our Mercy, could we have talk'd in a more lofty and authoritative Stile? Nay, would it not have been the moſt unjuſt, the moſt unreaſonable Thing in the World, to have extorted ſuch Terms from them even then? Ought not the Caſe that has been mention'd (and infinite Numbers of the ſame Kind muſt daily occur) to be made an Exception out of this general Rule?

And may not ſuch Points be very ſafely left to be ſettled by Plenipotentiaries, conſiſtent with the Freedom of Navigation in the Seas of *America?* The *Freedom of Navigation* is the Right of ſailing upon the *High Seas*, and of proſecuting our Voyages, without Interruption, either to our own Colonies and Provinces, or to thoſe Places and Ports, where, by particular Treaties, or by the Law of Nations in general, we have a free and open Trade; but the *Freedom of Navigation* is not what theſe Gentlemen inſiſt on; a Right to continue upon every Coaſt, without purſuing any certain Courſe, within any Diſtance from the Shoar, and for as long a Time as we pleaſe, even where no Trade at all is allow'd, provided we keep upon the *High Seas* only: Is not this a Grievance which ought to be provided againſt? I am ſure we do it in *England*; and why ſhould not *Spain* have the ſame Liberty? All our Wool that is clandeſtinely exported, is carried on board Veſſels that lie out at Sea ready to receive it: And for that Reaſon, an Act of Parliament was made, in the ſixth Year of his late Majeſty, to make it *lawful for any of his Majeſty's Ships of War, Frigats, or armed Sloops, appointed for the Guard of Coaſts, or for any Veſſel belonging to the Cuſtoms, to compel the Maſter of ſuch Veſſel to come into Port; and the Ship is thereby declared ſubject to the ſame Penalties and Forfeitures as are preſcribed by another Act made in the ſame Reign.* What is this to be called but *Viſiting* and *Searching?* and yet did we ever hear of any Nation that complained of it? or ſhould we pay any Regard to their Complaints, if they did?

Nor is the Manner of ſettling the Boundaries and Limits of the diſtinct Rights of either Nation, ſo difficult as has been repreſented; the *Convention* itſelf has fix'd it upon the trueſt and ſureſt Foundation; all *the reſpective Pretenſions of the two Crowns, as well with relation to the Trade and Navigation in* America *and* Europe, *as to other Points that remain likewiſe*

likewiſe to be adjuſted, are finally to be regulated according to the Senſe and Purport of the Treaties ſubſiſting between them; and to avoid all Poſſibility of Miſtake, the Treaties themſelves are particularly enumerated in the *Convention*.

Upon the whole, this *Convention* anſwers all the Purpoſes that any reaſonable Man, who means nothing but the Good of his Country, can deſire; it does Honour to thoſe who had the negotiating of it; and the more ſo, becauſe the falſe and infamous Repreſentations that were made of our Adminiſtration to the Miniſters of all foreign Courts, particularly to the Miniſter of that very Crown, with which this Negotiation was carrying on, were ſufficient to create a Jealouſy and Diſtruſt, which might have defeated the beſt concerted Meaſures: Theſe falſe Patriots try'd all the wicked Arts that Malice itſelf could ſuggeſt, to render all Methods of Accommodation with *Spain* void, and then vilify'd the Miniſtry, for not obtaining Terms from *Spain*, which were both unreaſonable in themſelves, and would have been impoſſible to be obtain'd, if no Difficulties at all had been thrown in their Way. But even ſuppoſing this *Convention* were as mean and diſhonourable, as in their Libels and Speeches they have endeavoured to perſuade the Nation to believe it to be, upon whom, in Juſtice, ought the Odium of it to be fixed? Why, without doubt, upon themſelves; who, to gratify their own implacable Hatred and inſatiable Ambition, were moſt indefatigable in their Attempts to clog and obſtruct all the Paſſages that led to an Accommodation; and, from the whole Tenour of whoſe Conduct, it plainly appeared, that their ſole Aim was the Ruin of the Miniſtry, and that provided they could accompliſh that, they gave themſelves very little Concern about what became of their Country.

Common Senſe, March 10. N° 110.

Of the DUTY *we owe to our* COUNTRY, *and of ſtanding by a* MINISTER.

WHEN the Intereſts of a Nation are ſupported with Dignity and Honour, the People are told, It is wiſe to make thoſe fear you who are not inclined to love you.

When a contrary Conduct prevails, War is the worſt of all Evils: It is better to give up your Rights, waſte your Treaſure, loſe your Trade, to bear Affronts, to cringe, fawn, to be deſpiſed, beggar'd and ſtarv'd, than go to War.

But what Syſtem of Politicks muſt that Miniſter purſue, when thoſe who adhere to him ſhall own he hath acted his Part miſerably ill; but, however, that thoſe who have ſhared the publick Money with him, will protect him againſt his Enemies, *i. e.* againſt the Nation.

When a corrupt Miniſter hath reign'd long, hath impudently uſurp'd a Power of diſpoſing of all the Employments in the Government, and hath cantoned all the Revenues of the Publick among them, no Doubt ſuch Numbers may be attach'd to him by a Participation of Guilt, as may make a formidable *Guard du Corps* to ſtand betwixt him and Juſtice, when the Day of Reckoning comes.

It will be in vain to reaſon with Men under ſuch wicked Circumſtances; but there may be others in Employment whoſe Hands are clean, and who need not dread an Inſpection into their Conduct. With theſe we may expoſtulate, and aſk them, upon what Principle of Juſtice or common Honeſty they can pretend to ſupport ſuch a Man as is before deſcribed; let their Pretences be either Obligation, Gratitude, or Friendſhip?

Do

Do they take themſelves to be his Servants, or the Servants of the Publick? Do they ſuppoſe that the Money with which they are paid, comes out of his Pocket, or out of the Pockets of the People? If it comes out of his own Pocket, he muſt ſteal it; and in that Caſe they are the Receivers of ſtolen Goods: But, for once, I will beg the Queſtion, and take it for granted that all Men in Employment will allow, they are paid with the People's Money.

Upon this Preſumption I may aſk them, whether they do not think that the firſt Duty of every private Man be not owing to his Country? He who receives nothing from it, he who pays to the Support of it, owes it a Duty: But he who is hired to ſerve it, he who is rewarded by it, lies under double Obligations.

If, therefore, they would make us believe that there is one Spark of Gratitude remaining in any Corner of their Boſoms, let them pay it where it is due,—to that Country whoſe Bread they eat, by ſtanding up againſt him who hath injured and betray'd it.

The rich Man's Steward receives his Money and pays his Domeſticks. If he ſhould ſay to them, you are hired to do our Maſter's Buſineſs, and you eat his Bread, but if ever he ſhould call me to an Account for my Adminiſtration, I expect you ſhall all ſupport and defend me againſt him: If they agree to it, it is a villanous Aſſociation.

The corrupt Head of a Party may endeavour to perſuade thoſe who are ingaged with him, that all Honour conſiſts in protecting their Leader: But I muſt tell them, that they borrow this Doctrine from Thieves and Highwaymen.

Friendſhip is another Pretence for adhering to the Enemies of the Publick: It is an Argument calculated to impoſe upon weak Underſtandings that, not being wickedly diſpoſed, muſt be drawn in with the Appearance of ſome juſtifiable Motive. But the beſt of Mankind, the moſt excellent *Brutus*, hath left the World an Example, that private Friendſhip muſt never ſtand in Competition with publick Good. *Cæſar* heap'd Kindneſſes on *Brutus*, to engage him to ſupport his Tyranny. Did *Brutus* think himſelf bound to him by theſe Favours? No; for the Love he ow'd to *Rome*, he laid his Hands upon his Friend, upon *Cæſar*, who, if great Talents and noble Qualities could entitle a Man to arbitrary Power, deſerv'd to command the World. And *Brutus was an honourable Man.*

It is monſtrous to hear the abſurd Reaſoning of thoſe who have proſtituted their Underſtandings for Hire. When a Man merits all the Puniſhments due to the moſt deſtructive Meaſures, his Mercenaries ſhall tell you, gravely, that a Man is not anſwerable for the Conſequence, who acts to the beſt of his Underſtanding: And thus they make his very Inſufficiency and Ignorance an Excuſe for his Conduct. A wicked Creature at the *Old Baily* hath ſometimes confeſs'd a Murder, and then pleaded her Belly in Arreſt of Judgment. At this Rate, we may ſee a Miniſter bring his Country to the Brink of Deſtruction, and at laſt plead his Head.

Suppoſe I ſhould go to a ſick Man, and ſay to him, Sir, the Phyſician you conſult hath ruin'd all the Conſtitutions that ever fell under his Care, and if you continue him, I will allow that he will poiſon you; but as, for ſome Réaſons beſt known to myſelf, I am obliged to ſtand by him, I inſiſt upon it that you ſtill make uſe of him, and Nobody elſe whatſoever. Sooner may you expect Cure from ſuch a Phyſician, than to ſee the loſt Honour, Trade, and Proſperity of a Nation re-

reſtored by the ſame wicked Hands that deſtroy'd them.

There is certainly ſome Deference due to the Prejudices of a whole Nation; and were it poſſible that a Miniſter who had any Virtues could be hated, he would quit all Employments rather than his Unpopularity ſhould be a Burden upon the Meaſures of the Government, and ruin the Intereſts of the People. But what Puniſhment can ſuch a one deſerve, who, knowing himſelf not to be ſimply diſliked, but abhorr'd and deteſted, deſperately threatens the People with worſe Grievances if they do not come into his Meaſures, and thinks to make his very Crimes his Security; who reſolves never to give up his Power till it is wreſted from him by Force, and will ſooner trample upon the Liberties of his Country than quit his Hold?

POSTSCRIPT.

LAST Week a printed Liſt of the Common Council of the City of *London*, diſtinguiſh'd by their ſeveral Trades, was ſent to all the Lords, as well as to all the Members of the Houſe of Commons, by Dozens. In this Liſt, *Virginia Merchants*, who trade for 30 and 40,000*l.* a Year, are call'd *Tobaconiſts*; and *Scarlet Dyers*, a moſt beneficial Branch of Trade, are honour'd with the Title of *Rag Dyers*: The ſame Candor and Truth is obſerv'd thro' the whole Liſt. It was alſo ſent to all Parts of *Great Britain*, to be diſpers'd *Gratis* in the ſame Manner with the *Gazetteers*, and at the ſame Expence.

The Deſign of this Paper is to repreſent the City of *London* as a mean, contemptible Place, and the principal Citizens thereof as ſo many poor, low Fellows of no Conſequence; or to ſpeak in the Words of the Perſon by whoſe Direction this was done, ſo many *ſturdy Beggars*.

If we ſhould take Notice of the Falſhood of this Liſt, perhaps they will tell us, it may not be ſo falſe as it appears; for if the Citizens are not all poor and beggarly at preſent, theſe Gentlemen are determined to make them ſo.

Thus the greateſt City in the World is treated! a City that pays more to the Support of the Government, than *Paris*, *Madrid*, *Liſbon*, and *Amſterdam*, put together, pay to their ſeveral Governments! And by whom is it thus treated? By the Tools of one Man; worthy Perſons, who live by Infamy and Proſtitution!

If theſe modeſt Gentlemen ſhould think fit to print a ſecond Edition of this Liſt, I would recommend to them, to add one *Nota bene* to it, to the following Effect, That in 230 Common Council Men there are but Four Place-Men; that among the remaining 226 there is not one that ever receiv'd a Bribe.

It is fit theſe worthy Gentlemen ſhould be inform'd, that another Liſt will ſoon be printed, in Return for theirs, of Perſons of quite a different Character from Common Council-Men, with proper Diſtinctions; nor will their dirty Trade be omitted. The World (it is not doubted) will compare this Liſt with the other; they will weigh Man againſt Man: Then let every impartial Reader lay his Hand upon his Heart, and declare, which he takes to be honeſt and uſeful Members of a Commonwealth, and which deſerve to be h----d.

N. B. LAST Year a Collection was made of the *Letters* of *Common Senſe* from its Beginning, and printed in a ſmall Volume. The Publiſher is now encouraged to give the Publick a ſecond Volume. We ſhall only obſerve, that many of the Letters in this ſecond Volume had the good Fortune to pleaſe ſo well, that the Demand could not be ſupplied,

plied, and Application was made to us to republiſh them ſingle; but, as we intended to collect them in a Volume, we defer'd it for that Reaſon. Among theſe are two Diſcourſes, ſhewing all the Additions made to the preſent immenſe Civil Liſt within a few Years; a Point, that is of the utmoſt Conſequence for the whole Nation to attend to. Here is alſo the Letter upon the Luxury of the Table, with a Specimen of the preſent ingenious Table Talk: Upon the Foppery of aping the *French:* Upon the Fall of Operas: Common Honeſty to Common Senſe, with the Anſwer: A Compariſon betwixt *Fabius Maximus* and a Perſon living, in Anſwer to the Miniſterial Writers. We have, within this Fortnight, been applied to form ſeveral Hands to republiſh this laſt, as very ſeaſonable for this Criſis. There is alſo *Pantalon* made a Miniſter: And an Account of the Affair at *Steinhorſt*. Every one of theſe Papers, as well as ſome others upon foreign Affairs, are out of Print. The Publick will now have them carefully reviſed, ſo that we flatter ourſelves they will ſurvive the barbarous Mutilations of one *Urban*, a Pyrate or *Guarda Coſta*, who publiſhes a Thing call'd a *Magazine*.

Craftſman, March 10. N° 661.

THE Author of *Popular Prejudices* tells us, "that the Compenſation, obtain'd from *Spain*, is a Compenſation ſeldom obtain'd from any Nation, and *ſuch a Sum of Money* lodg'd, is a Pledge that *thoſe*, who gave it, are in Earneſt. 'Tis a Sign of Sincerity, on *one Side*, as 'tis of Addreſs in the *other*, who procur'd it." I ſhould be glad to know in whoſe Hands *this Pledge* is lodg'd, and by *whom* it is to be paid. It is well known, that a general Court of the *South-Sea Company* have refus'd any Part of the 68,000*l.* claim'd by the Court of *Spain*. The *P*————*t*, perhaps, may raiſe the 60,000*l.* for deſtroying the *Spaniſh Fleet* in the *Mediterranean*, in 1718; tho' a *former Parliament* approv'd of that Action, and the *Commander of our Fleet*, who did it, was afterwards rewarded with a *Peerage* for his eminent Services, on that very Account; as it is expreſs'd in the *Preamble to his Patent*, in theſe Words: "Moreover, when new Contentions were lately ſpringing up in *Italy*, and the Diſcord of Princes was on the Point of embroiling *Europe* again in War, he did, with *ſingular Felicity* and *Conduct*, interpoſe with *our Squadron*, cruſhing at one Blow the labour'd Efforts of *Spain* to ſet up a *Power at Sea*, and advanc'd the Reputation of our Arms in the *Mediterranean* to ſuch a Pitch, that *our Flag* gave Law to the *contending Parties*, and enabled us to ſettle the Tranquillity, which had been diſturb'd. It is juſt therefore for us to diſtinguiſh with higher Titles a *Subject*, who hath ſo eminently ſerv'd *us* and *his Country*, both as Monuments of his *own Merit*, and to excite others to the Love and Purſuit of Virtue."

I have quoted this Paragraph of the Preamble to the late Lord *Torrington*'s Patent, becauſe it bears Date after a *certain Hon. Gentleman* took the Advantage of the Times to thruſt himſelf again into *Place*; and yet his *Advocates* have ſince repreſented the Deſtruction of *that Fleet* as an unjuſtifiable Action, which hath occaſion'd all our ſubſequent Differences with *Spain*. The Deſcendants of that noble *Peer*, and *brave Commander*, are certainly very much oblig'd to *theſe Gentlemen* for their Compliment to his Lordſhip's Memory.

Our *M*——*r*, or *miniſterial Advocate*, gives an Inſtance "of *two Spaniſh Gentlemen*, who were invited by an *Engliſh Commander* on Board his Ship, and kept two Days ſtarving, to extort a *Ranſom*; and, that failing, he cut off the *Noſe* and *Ear* of one of them, and, with a Cutlaſs at his Throat, forc'd him to *eat* them." This *Engliſh Commander*, it ſeems, was only the Captain of a *Pyrate-ſhip*, whoſe Crew conſiſted of *all Nations*, and for which *no Nation* is therefore anſwerable, any more then for *Land Robbers*, *Highwaymen* and *Murderers*. But was this the Caſe of Captain *Jenkins*, or *thoſe*, who cut off his *Ear?* They did not, indeed, oblige him to *eat* it; but they did ſomewhat more inſolent and provoking to the whole *Nation*, as well as to his *preſent moſt auguſt Majeſty*, which is ſo well known that I need not relate it; and is too ſhocking to bear any particular Explanation.

After largely expoſing ſeveral other falſe Facts and Miſrepreſentations in the ſaid Pamphlet, he ſays: But there is another Fallacy, which runs thro' *all theſe miniſterial Writings*, and deſerves ſome Notice. It is ſaid that our *M*——*r* hath purſued the Advice of *Parliament*; which was, *firſt*, to procure *Reparation to our* Merchants; and, *ſecondly*, the *future Security of our* Trade *and* Navigation. Now *theſe worthy Gentlemen* alledge, that ſince the *Parliament*, in their Addreſſes, happen'd to mention *Satisfaction to our* Merchants, before the *future Security of our* Trade *and* Navigation, their Advice is exactly follow'd; the

firſt of theſe Points being finally ſettled, and the *other* left to the Diſcuſſion of *Plenipotentiaries*. But let me aſk *theſe learned Gentlemen*, whether even the *firſt Point* is effectually obtain'd? Have our *unfortunate Merchants* really receiv'd an *adequate Satisfaction for their Loſſes*, or are they likely to receive it? Was not the principal Deſign of *Parliament*, in their Addreſſes, to ſecure the Freedom of our *Trade* and *Navigation*, for the future, as well as to obtain ſome Reparation for the *Honour of the Nation*? Have *all theſe Points* been obtain'd, or how are they to be obtain'd? Why by *Plenipotentiaries* and *Treaties*; for *theſe miniſterial Gentlemen* give the *Spaniards* Hopes and Aſſurances that we are not able to obtain them by *War*. This, to be ſure, cannot be call'd *encouraging our Enemies*, nor *putting Arguments into their Mouths*; but only an honeſt Endeavour to *preſerve the Peace*; in which Caſe, Colonel *D——l* may be ſafely truſted with the *chief Command of our Army*, as well as the Duke of *A——il*, or Lord *C—b—n*.

Before I conclude, it is proper to take ſome Notice of a *Paper*, which was firſt given away at the Doors of *both Houſes*, and afterwards printed in the *Gazetteer*, with a mean and ſcandalous Deſign of repreſenting the *Common Council-Men* of the City of *London* in a ridiculous and contemptible Manner, by publiſhing their *particular Trades* oppoſite to their *Names*. (See p. 136.) This may, perhaps, have ſome Effect upon the Vulgar and Ignorant; but cannot impoſe upon thoſe, who are the leaſt acquainted with the Conſtitution and Intereſt of *this Metropolis*. Who are more proper to repreſent the *Commons of a great trading City*, than Perſons concern'd in *Trade*? Would *theſe modeſt Gentlemen* have the *Court Common-Council* compos'd of *Dukes*, *Lords*, *Privy Counſellors*, *Place-men*, *Penſioners*, and *Officers of the Army*? It muſt be confeſs'd, indeed, that ſeveral of the *preſent Members* are *Shop-keepers*, and may now and then ſtand behind a *Counter*; but moſt of them are either *Exporters* themſelves, or deal with *Merchants*, who are *Exporters*, and are therefore equally concern'd in our *foreign Trade*. ——Where do many of our *higheſt Nobility* go for *Fortunes*, when they have mortgaged, or ſquander'd away, moſt of *their own Eſtates*, but to theſe *mean Mechanicks*, as they are vilely repreſented? Are not many of *our preſent Nobility* deſcended from their Loins? Will not even their *Word* go as far as the *Note* or *Bond* of *moſt Courtiers*? Does an *embroider'd Coat*, or a *fine gilt Chariot* give a Man any Credit upon the *Royal-Exchange*? Did not *two famous Ambaſſadors* (*one of whom* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in *France* and *Holland*, as the *other* did at *Hanover*) marry the Daughters of a *Taylor*? How therefore can any Reflexion be thrown upon the *City of London* for having two *Taylors* in their *Common-Council*, according to the *miniſterial Liſt*, when *Perſons of ſuch eminent Diſtinctions* are not aſhamed to mix with the *ſame Blood*?

Daily Gazetteer, March 17. N° 1166.

JACOB BRITO, *a* JEW *in* SPAIN, *to* AARON MONCECA, *of the ſame Nation, in* TURKEY.

THE Perſecutions, my dear *Monceca*, to which our Brethren are expos'd in this Country, have occaſion'd my making many Reflexions on the mutual Evils that Chriſtians have done to one another, which have been entirely owing to that frightful Maxim, That it is not only lawful but even neceſſary to extirpate Hereticks. The Conſequences that flow from this cruel Principle are equally pernicious to all Sorts of Religions.

Perſons counted Hereticks in one Country, paſs for Orthodox in another; and ſo on the contrary. This is evident, if we only examine the ſeveral reigning Religions at preſent eſtabliſhed in *Europe*. A Proteſtant is a Heretick at *Paris*, a Papiſt is reckoned an Idolater at *London*. You ſee here two Nations of Faiths directly oppoſite, both calling the other Heretick. But ſuppoſe this abominable Principle of the Inquiſitors was equally admitted by all Nations, into what Horrors, into what Butcheries, would the whole World be plunged? In *Portugal*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, &c. all the *Lutherans*, the *Calviniſts*, the Preſbyterians, *&c.* would have their Throats cut, would be burnt alive, broke on the Wheel, or maſſacred. And in *Holland*, *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, if the ſame Maxim was follow'd, the Papiſts would be uſed in the ſame diabolical Manner. In *Muſcovy* both Proteſtants and Papiſts are equally Hereticks to the *Ruſſian* Faith. And in *Turkey* theſe ſame *Muſcovites* are ſacrificed to the Glory of *Mahomet*, and in *Perſia* to that of *Haly*. Behold, my dear *Monceca*, the Horrors, the Crimes, the Impieties that naturally flow from this Maxim, that Hereticks are to be obliged to change their Sentiments by Puniſhments and Tortures, or Death. If thoſe who pretend to be animated by a true Zeal for the Glory of God were really ſo, they would be very far from endeavouring to force the Conſciences of Mankind by Violences, contrary to the Law of Nature, and to the Notions of all People (who uſe their Reaſon) of the Supreme Being. Let it but once be eſtabliſhed in all *Europe*, that Religion is a diſtinct Thing from the Government of the State, how quietly would Princes ſit on their Thrones! And what Happineſs would their Subjects enjoy! Of what Signification is it to any Prince, that ſome of his People ſing in *French*, others in *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *German*, or *Latin*; whether they aſſemble on *Saturday* or *Sunday*; provided they love their Country, pay

their

their Taxes, and are beneficial to the Community? But some Politicians will say, if you allow many different Religions in a State, that will unavoidably produce Civil Wars. I own that will be the Case, when any of these Religions maintain and put in practice this pernicious Maxim, that we ought to make use of all Sorts of Means to annihilate and destroy all others: And then it sometimes happens, that all the other Sects join together, to oppose the one who would tyrannize. But when in a well-govern'd State, the People are persuaded that every individual ought to be allow'd to worship God according to the Dictates of his own Conscience, the whole Society lives in Peace and Tranquillity, tho' there should happen to be fifty different Sects.—— Farewel, my dear *Monceca*; live contented, and thou wilt be happy. And may the God of our Fathers load thee with Blessings.

Common Sense, March 17. N° 111.

Of the Decemvir APPIUS.

THE happy Calm we now enjoy from that excellent *Treaty*, which has, by so considerable a Majority, been approved of in Parliament, leaves us quite at our Ease as to Danger from abroad; and the secure Reliance we may have on the Wisdom with which our domestick Affairs will be managed by those who have taken such good Care of our foreign, makes it impertinent, at present, to trouble the Publick with any Thoughts upon those Points which have heretofore been the Subjects of this *Paper*.

I shall, therefore, perform the Promise I made at my first setting out, that, when nothing material presented itself relating to our present System of Politicks, I would amuse my Readers with *Remarks* upon *History*, *Poetry*, or any other agreeable *Subject*.

I was, last Week, reading in the *Roman* History, a very remarkable Passage, which, in all its Circumstances, has not, I think, been attended to quite so much as it deserves. Every one knows the Character of the famous *Decemvir Appius*, a bold, presumptuous, fraudulent, wicked Man, with some Parts; and how, under the Veil of the Legislative Authority, with which he and his Faction had been entrusted, for the Good of the Publick, they exercised a Tyranny worse than that of the *Tarquins* themselves.

The Effect of it was (as *Livy* says) that not only the *Romans* themselves were reduced to a State of Despair, but that the neighbouring Nations began to treat them with Contempt. This Contempt drew on great Depredations and Insults from those who before had trembled at the *Roman* Name.

Appius and his Faction were at a Loss what to do. They convened the Senate; but the best of the Senators had withdrawn themselves from it, and were retired into the Country.

In vain (says *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*) did the Herald summon them to meet: No one would go to the Senate but the Partisans of the Oligarchy, and the most wicked and scandalous of that Faction. What a Picture does this give us of the State of *Rome* at that Time! In the Senate a Faction who, calling themselves the Legislature, had suppressed the Laws, undermined the Liberties, and exposed the Honour of their Country to the Scorn of foreign Nations:——In a voluntary Retirement all the Friends of their Country, all who desired its Glory, or intended its Good. What a Reverse was here of the natural Order of Things! The Reader may wonder, perhaps, that these worthy Patriots should thus abandon the Senate to the Creatures of *Appius*. But what could they do there? The Weight of the Faction was such, that it was as vain to oppose, as it was shameful to comply; they might have dishonoured themselves, they could not serve the Republick. They had not Strength enough (says *Dionysius*) to resist, or to repress the Violence of these Men; the only Party which remained for them to take, was to abandon *Rome*. To what End, indeed, should they have imposed on the Publick by pretending to keep up the Forms of a free Government, when the Essence and Life of it was intirely lost? Was it not better to open the Eyes of the *Roman* People, than, behind the Skreen of Authority, and the Name of a Senate, to cover the Crimes, the Follies, the Oppressions of a Faction, which (as *Livy* says) *Donis corrumpebatur, & malebat Licentiam suam, quam omnium Libertatem?* Yet the Necessity of a War being become more evident by the daily Incursions of the Enemy, some of the Senators who had separated themselves before, return'd to the Senate. There they declared it to be their Opinion, that no Troops should be raised till the Constitution was restored.

But the Partisans of *Appius* carried their Point, as the others might have foreseen. A War was voted, and the Management of it committed to those who had drawn it on by their ill Conduct alone. What was the Consequence? They were shamefully beat; the *Roman* Soldiers would not fight under such Generals. So that it appears, the honest Part of the Senate, who were the Minority, would have done more wisely to have remained in their Retreat, than to have assisted the Faction in providing Supplies for a War, which, under such an Administration, they had Grounds to conclude would be carried on, like all their other Affairs, corruptly, weakly, ingloriously, unsuccessfully.

What insued by the Accident of *Virginia*'s Rape, is very well known. I will only ob-

ſerve, with *Dionyſius*, that, altho' that Accident was immediate Ruin to *Appius* and his Party, yet the Diſcontents of the Publick, which were the real Cauſes of it, were owing to a Series of infamous and tyrannical Proceedings, and it was ſo evident that this would undo him, that one of his beſt Friends, *Caius Claudius*, before that Accident happened, openly exhorted him to lay down his ill-got Power, and not endanger the Whole, by making his Safety incompatible with that of the State.

"Do you need any other Proofs (ſays he, in his Speech on this Occaſion) of the preſent ill Condition of the Commonwealth, and the general Diſcontent of the People, than *the Deſertion of the Men of the greateſt Honour and Integrity?* To ſay nothing of others, how many Senators are there ſtay in *Rome*, except ſome who are attached to you by the Ties of Relation or Friendſhip?

Perhaps you have made among yourſelves a ſecret Treaty; perhaps you have mutually given your Faith to one another; perhaps you have even called the Gods to witneſs your Engagements: If it be ſo, know that ſuch Promiſes, made to the Prejudice of your Country, and of your Fellow Citizens, cannot be made without Impiety. Conſider, that to execute them would be a new Crime, and that, on the contrary, it is a Merit to break them."

I have left out a deal more to the ſame Purpoſe; but the Turn of the Whole is to perſuade *Appius* to reſtore the Conſtitution: For the Oppoſition was not perſonal, but the Aim of the Senators, who had withdrawn themſelves from him and his Party, was to remedy Grievances, and to bring the Government back to its firſt Principles. If *Appius* would have conſented to this, they would not have hurt a Hair of his Head. But ſuch was his Luſt of Dominion, that he was deaf to Advice, and continued his Tyranny, till, all uniting againſt him, he ſuffered the Puniſhment which his Crimes deſerved.

POSTSCRIPT.

IF any of the Citizens of *London* have read a Paper call'd *the Gazetteer*, it is poſſible they might be ſtartled at the amazing Impudence of its Legion of Authors, which appears in a Paragraph of *Monday* the 12th of this Inſtant, in Relation to the Obſervations made in *this Paper* on the printed Liſt of the Common Council of the City of *London*, which was ſent *gratis* all over the Kingdom. (See p. 136, 138.)

They there challenge *Common Senſe*, to produce two Inſtances wherein that Liſt is falſe.

Tho' our perſonal Acquaintance with the worthy Citizens of which the Common Council is compoſed, is very narrow, yet we ſhall produce a few Inſtances wherein that Liſt is ſcandalouſly falſe.

Thomas Long, a Merchant, is there ſtiled *Warehouſeman*. *Robert Cary*, Eſq; a *Virginia* Merchant, who freights Ships every Year for *Virginia*, which bring back Tobacco, Part of which is exported into other Countries again, is ſtiled *Tobacconiſt*. *John Dumello*, a Merchant, is call'd a *Wine-cooper*. *William Hull*, a Merchant, is call'd *Pewterer*. *John Hanbury*, a Merchant, is call'd a *Warehouſe-keeper*. *Giles Vincent*, a Merchant, a *Packer*. *David Lequeſne*, a Merchant, is call'd a *Druggiſt*. To which I ſhall add, *Richard Romman*, a conſiderable Silk-Dyer, who is dignified in this Liſt with the Name of *Rag-Dyer*.

I call all Perſons Merchants who export the Growth and Manufactures of *England* into other Countries, and bring back thoſe of other Countries, or Bullion, in Exchange for our own. I don't think, becauſe a Merchant ſometimes ſends great Quantities of Pewter abroad, that turns him into a *Pewterer*; tho' it ſerves to ſhew how common Tradeſmen are intereſted in foreign Traffick.

Perhaps it may be wonder'd at, that I ſhould give myſelf, or the Publick, the Trouble of diſproving any Thing advanced by ſuch abandon'd Creatures; for which I have only this Reaſon.

We have ſaid before, that the Perſon who directed that Liſt was falling: We repeat it again, that he is going; like a ſinking Man, he is catching at every Straw that will keep him above Water a Minute: A Lie that will ſerve a Day, nay an Hour, is a Thing of ſome Conſequence to him; he and his Tools know, that all that live within the Bills of Mortality muſt ſoon diſcover the Falſhoods, with which it is fill'd; but it is calculated for other People. That *Liſt*, and theſe *Gazetteers* are ſent *gratis* all over *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and they may fall into the Hands of Perſons who may not have an Opportunity of better Information, and theſe are the People whom they expect to impoſe upon.

I ſhall therefore deſire the *London Magazine* to inſert this Anſwer in their next Month's Collection; for I am inform'd, great Numbers of it go into the Country: And if, in the mean Time, they can diſcover other Falſhoods in that Liſt, upon certain Authority, they have our Conſent to add them to it. And I take this Opportunity of recommending the *London Magazine*, rather than that which is publiſh'd by one who calls himſelf *Urban*; for, as it is not under the ſame Influence, the Publick has more Reaſon to expect Truth from it.

Additions to Common Senſe's *Obſervations on the Liſt of Common Council.*

Lieutenant Col. *John Williams* is call'd a *Carpenter*: This Gentleman was formerly in the

the Linen Trade, and no other, has left off all Buſineſs for 26 Years, has a very affluent Fortune to live upon, and never was a *Carpenter* by Trade.

William Cleaver, one of the greateſt Importers and Wine-Merchants in *London*, is call'd a *Wine-Cooper*.

Samuel Holmes, an eminent Diſtiller and Importer, who for ſeveral Years paſt has paid to the Crown for Duty above 20,000*l.* a Year, is call'd a *Brandy-Man*.

John Snart, call'd a *Scale-Maker*, has lived upon his Fortune out of Buſineſs for near 20 Years.

Thomas Hayne alſo lives upon his Fortune, which he acquired without Place or Penſion.

William Benn, Soap-Maker: This Gentleman is now High-Sheriff for the County of *Hertford*, where he has a plentiful Eſtate; but it ſeems, Mr. *Day*'s Place in the Poſt-Office is, in the Opinion of the *Gazetteers*, a better Title to the Diſtinction of *Eſq*; than that of being *High-Sheriff* of a County.

Craftſman, March 17. N° 662.

SIR,

I WISH there were no Grounds for the Objections of the *Malecontents*, that there is nothing in the late *Convention* but what a *Broker* might have done, and a *bad one* too; ſince it contains nothing but a Reference to an *Account* not produc'd, and a *Balance* to be paid by *ſome Body*, who does not ſeem in earneſt to deſign it. All the reſt, *ſay they*, is quite a Myſtery, the Work of a *K——ne* and a *C——ſ——s*, upon whom the Fate of *Great Britain* is to depend.—Such is the Inconſtancy of human Affairs, that *Great Britain* is reduc'd to ſue for Peace from a *proud* and *cruel Nation*, which was ſo lately oblig'd to beg it from *our victorious Arms!* I do not know how *this Change* is brought about from any Loſs of Power, on *our Side*, or any Acquiſition on *theirs*, except what is the Work of *our own Hands*, and at the Expence of *this Nation*, in aſſiſting them to conquer Kingdoms with *our Fleets*, which are now no longer formidable.—After a *Miniſter* hath declar'd, in full Parliament, the *Weakneſs of a State*, which is the Effect of his own *weak Meaſures*, does he expect that a *proud* and *ſubtle Adverſary* will not take the Advantage of *our Affairs?* He might have known, that *Reputation* is the great Support both of *Peace* and *War*. When that is loſt, we muſt be the Prey of other Nations, and *our Allies*, if we have any, may deſert us, as of no Uſe to them. This was the Caſe of the *Latins*, as we find in *Livy*: *Latii Status, ut neque Bellum, neque Pacem, pati poſſint.*

Let us examine the *Declaration* agreed to, by the *two Plenipo's* of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; the Baſis, on which the *whole Treaty* ſtands. Is not the Treaty of *Utrecht* invalidated, in ſome Meaſure, by *this Accord*, or *Declaration?* Are not the Rights of the *S. S. Company* ſacrific'd to the unjuſt Demands of the Court of *Spain?* Is not *this great Company*, eſtabliſh'd by a *ſolemn Treaty*, confirm'd by *Act of Parliament*, and of which his *moſt ſacred Majeſty* is Governor, put out of the *Protection of the Crown*, unleſs they redeem themſelves by a Fine of 68,000*l.?* This is ſo extraordinary a Caſe, that I do not wonder it was left out of the Body of the *Treaty*, but only agreed to between *our Plenipo's* and *theirs*, and made a Condition *ſine qua non* to the Ratification of the *whole Convention*.—This was certainly the Invention of ſome learned Head in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in order to ſave the Honour of the *Great-Seal*, and the *Danger*, which might ariſe from it. However, be it as it will, the *Company* muſt pay the Money, or there is an End of the *Convention*, ſince *our injur'd Merchants* cannot have the propos'd Satisfaction for their Loſſes, ſmall as it is, unleſs *thoſe*, who made the *Treaty*, would be pleas'd to pay it out of their own Pockets.

So far I could forgive the *two Dons* of *England* and *Spain*, if they would condeſcend to ſtop here. But what grieves me moſt, is *another Demand*, in which the *Honour of the Nation* is chiefly concern'd. We are to pay, it ſeems, for the Damage ſuſtain'd by the *Spaniards*, when we diſturb'd their Fleet in the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, in 1718. I thought ſo then, and think ſo ſtill, that this was the moſt glorious Action of *that Reign*, as it put a Stop to the haſty Growth of the *naval Power of Spain*, preſerv'd *Italy*, and the *Peace of* Europe. Well but, *ſay they*, we agreed to reſtore them, by the Treaties of *Madrid*, *Seville*, &c. Why therefore did they not take them, when offer'd, but ſuffer them to rot at *Port-mahon?* But, alas! *thoſe Treaties* were far from juſtifying *this Conceſſion*, in the general Opinion of the *Nation*; and perhaps, it would have been better, if it had never been mention'd in a *Treaty*, but a ſecret Way found out to gratify their Pretenſions, by giving them *ſome other rotten Ships* of like Value. Inſtead of this, our Deſtruction of their Fleet hath been repreſented, both by the *Spaniards* and their Tools in *England*, as an Act of *Pyracy*; Sir *George Byng* and *his Squadron* are branded as *Pyrates*; and conſequently the Robberies and Inſults of the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas* are only juſt Reprizals upon *us*. So that I apprehend the Balance of theſe Depredations, on *both Sides*, makes up the Account referr'd to in the *Convention*. This is what the *great Man* ſays is making *Spain pay Coſts*, and acknowledging our Right to ſail to *our own Plantations*, whenever we pleaſe.

But here I muſt aſk, why all this Solemnity about a *trifling Sum*, to be paid on *one Side*, or the *other?* Are the great Points of *Viſiting*, *Searching*, *Limits*, and the Poſſeſſion

of *Georgia* unſettled, and left to the Deciſion of Don *Benjamin*, and Don *C——ſ——s*? Is it reciprocally agreed already, on *both Sides*, without the Knowledge of *theſe two great Plenipo's*? For what can they do at *Madrid*? Are they to ſtay till the *Seas* are meaſur'd, in order to limit the Navigation of *Great Britain*; or are they to ſee *our Colonies* fairly divided? Whatever Reſtraints we may think proper to admit upon *our own Navigation*, I can never believe that ſuch unlimited Powers are given to any *two Men*, without Conſent of *Parliament*, even to thoſe of the moſt exalted Underſtandings; and therefore I muſt conclude, that this *Bargain* is already ſtruck and concluded; tho', perhaps, not yet proper to ſee the Light.

However the Matter ſtands between *our great Man* and *Don Quadra*, I ſincerely wiſh, both for the Sake of the *Miniſter*, as well as my *King* and *Country*, that the *Con——on* may go no farther. How fatal would it be to this Nation to give *Spain* a Right of *ſearching our Ships*, under any Pretence whatſoever, but as it is already limited by *Treaties*; and *what Treaty* is there between us, which gives *them* a Right to ſearch, any more than *ourſelves*? ——Have not we the ſame Right to ſearch a *Galleon* or two, if we find them ſtraggling near *our Shores*, as they have to ſearch any of *our Ships*? Let this be the Condition, and we aſk no more. But ſhall we ſuffer the *Spaniards* to call the whole Ocean their own, and give Laws to a *Nation*, which they never conquer'd, except by *Treaties*? We are as yet a *maritime Power*, and ſuperior to any other in *Europe*. But God only knows how long that may be our Caſe. Our *Seamen* are the Life and Strength of this Country. They do not only ſupport our *maritime Force*, but are the very Being of our *Commerce*; and *that Commerce* is the Nurſery of our *Seamen*. If any Branch of our *Trade* ſuffers by Force, or other Interruptions, for a conſiderable Time, *that Trade* muſt be loſt, and the Nurſery of *our Seamen* ſo far deſtroy'd. But what is ſtill of more fatal Conſequence, the Spirit and Valour of *our Seamen*, ſo famous throughout the whole known World, muſt be damp'd by the frequent Inſults and Abuſes of a *cruel* and *contemptible Enemy*, till they become as tame as *that Enemy* can wiſh, or as *they* were formerly themſelves.

From ſuch a melancholy Proſpect, what have we not to fear? From ſuch Evils, *good Lord deliver us*, and bring the *Authors* to Shame and Confuſion. At leaſt, let us not throw ourſelves headlong into the *Houſe of Bondage*. But as no *ſuch Treaty* yet appears, we may ſafely conclude that Meſſ. *K——ne* and *C——ſt——s* will be *ſuſpended*, before they are able to accompliſh all this Miſchief.

Common Senſe, March 24. N° 112.

How the SPANIARDS *loſt their* LIBERTIES, *with* REMARKS. Vol. III. p. 589, 642.

I Have been lately reading the judicious Dr. *Geddes*, from whom we have a much better Account of the antient Conſtitution of *Spain*, than in their own Hiſtorian, *Mariana*, who is ſo ſervile a Flatterer of Monarchy, that, thro' his Hiſtory, it ſcarce appears that the *Caſtilians* were ever free: But from our Countryman's Labours it is ſhewn, that if they could have guarded the Spirit, as well as they did the Forms of their Government, *England* and *Sweden* would not have been at this Day the only Nations in *Europe* that are free under a King.

Never was Country more flouriſhing than *Charles* of *Auſtria* found *Spain* at his Acceſſion to that Crown; he was himſelf a brave Prince, but, unfortunately, in the Hands of a Miniſter, the moſt rapacious and corrupt of thoſe Times. After * *this Tutor of the King* (for ſo he was) had pillaged *Caſtile*, by Miniſterial Rapine, as an Expedient to get more he adviſed the calling a *Cortez*. To ſecure himſelf a Majority there, he got it call'd at the *Groin*, a Town of *Galicia*, an inconſiderable Province, wholly attach'd to the Court; whereas in the great Cities *Valladolid*, and *Toledo*, the *Majority within Doors* might have been frighten'd by the *Majority without*.

When the King came to the *Groin* to hold his *Cortez*, two *conſiderable Men*, both *military Commanders*, had ſo much Regard to Honour and their Country as to wait upon him, and *remonſtrate againſt their Proceedings*. But the only Anſwer they receiv'd was, that one of them, upon his Allegiance, ſhould repair to *Gibraltar*, whereof he was Governour, and the other to *Naples* to look after his Regiment. But theſe worthy Patriots ſlighted his Orders, attended the *Cortez*, and *enter'd a Proteſt againſt all that ſhould be done in that Aſſembly*; to which the City of *Toledo*, whoſe Commiſſioners they were, had ſent no Procurators, not looking upon it as a lawful *Cortez*.

The Procurators of *Salamanca* having likewiſe *proteſted* againſt the giving a new Donative, before the Time was expired for the Payment of one granted in a former *Cortez*, were expell'd the Houſe for adhering to that Proteſtation; and tho' great *Numbers of the Procurators, and of the chief Cities* (ſays Dr. *Geddes*) *did vidently oppoſe the giving of any Money, the Sum demanded was granted by a Majority, who were ſaid to have been hired by Bribes, and Promiſes of Offices made to them by the Biſhop of* Badajox, *and the Commandador of* Calatrava, *who, for ſuch Practices, were every where*

* *Dr.* Geddes's *Tracts, Vol.* I. *Hiſtory of the Wars of the Commons of* Caſtile.

where call'd Flemish Tools; *as the Nobles, for looking on and complying with such Things, were call'd* * Chevre's *Journeymen.*

This threw the People of *Castile* into Despair; they saw their Liberties given up by their Representatives; the Sense of the Nation disregarded; and a corrupt, pecuniary Influence governing all, under a Minister who had no other Notion of the Ends of Power, than to acquire Riches for himself.

This carried them to Violences, natural enough in such a Situation, but which they had better not have run into. After associating together for the Defence of their Liberties, and revenging themselves on those who had sold them, with an Intemperance of Anger, which *dishonoured Justice*, as must inevitably happen in these popular Commotions, they drew up a Manifesto, which contain'd all their Demands. I shall only mention one Article, which seems to be the most important. ——Art. VI. *That it shall not be lawful for the King to give any Office, or Salary to any of the Procurators of the* Cortez.

Had they carried this, this would have carried all the rest. *A* Cortez *free from Influence* would have redress'd all their Grievances, deliver'd the King from evil Counsellors, and restored the Constitution. But this, and all the rest, was denied them by the Faction at Court; and they were driven into Confusions, which Cardinal *Adrian* himself, whom the King had left Regent when he went into *Germany*, was so honest to tell him, ought not to be charg'd on the *Castilians*, but *on his covetous and tyrannical Ministers, who had made them desperate.*

In the mean Time, the Nobility acted a cold and neutral Part. They were most of them attach'd to the Crown by Places, or Grants; and the Commons were so imprudent as to confirm that Attachment, and force them into a direct Declaration for the Court, by demanding a Resumption of Grants which would have ruin'd most of the great Families. However, some of them enter'd into Treaty with the Commons, and the Constable of *Castile* offer'd them Articles. —I will observe only upon the last.—Art. V. *That it shall not be lawful for the King to lay any new Taxes upon* the Subjects, *unless they be* given by a free *Cortez.*

This sounds very specious; but, in Effect, was nothing at all: For as it is not explain'd what should be done to make it a *free Cortez*, a *Cortez* with *a Majority of Place-Men* might have *call'd themselves free*, and imposed the most oppressive Taxes at the Will of the Court.

As this fell very short of their Demands, it was wisely rejected by all, but a few weak Men, who could not distinguish between *Names* and *Things*. Other Articles were proposed by the *Almirante* of *Castile*, still less advantageous and solid. Two of them were, that *sumptuary Laws should be made, and that Means should be found for the preventing the Exportation of Wool.* These were good popular Points, but of no Use at a Time, when the Question was, *Whether* Castile *should be free or enslaved.*

Had a free *Cortez* been call'd, well purg'd of Corruption, it might have been proper enough to have consider'd of the Oeconomy of the State; but what was it to the *Castilians*, whether those who betray'd them to the Court, *went thither in plain Coats or in Lace and Embroidery*; or whether their Wool was run or not, when a *clandestine Trade* was carrying on between the Members of the *Cortez* and a profligate Minister, in which the Commodities truck'd for were, on one Side, Places and Pensions, on the other, the Liberties and Honour of *Castile*?—All Hopes of an Accommodation being at an End, a Civil War ensued, in which the Commons acted so sillily that it could end in nothing but their utter Undoing. For, first, they united the Nobility on the Side of the Crown, by violently attacking their Interests; they enter'd into no Concert with *Valencia*, which was in Arms at the same Time against the King and Nobles; and they gave Time to their Enemies to recover Strength, and bring a disciplined Army out of *Navarre* against their Militia, which might have been easily prevented had they acted with Vigour at first. —I shall now offer a few Speculations upon what I think the Commons of *Castile* ought to have done at this Time.

It seems to me, that when it appear'd by the *Vote they had given*, that the Majority of the *Cortez* at the *Groin* were under the *Influence of the Court*, all the honest Part of the Assembly should have follow'd the Example of the Procurators of *Salamanca*, have protested against their Proceedings, and, without staying to be expell'd, have *withdrawn from an Assembly where their Presence could do no good:* They should then have united together upon *one great Point*, viz. *restoring the Independency of the* Cortez, by removing that Influence, which was strong enough to secure to the Crown a constant Majority there against the Sense of the Nation.

To bring this about, a *Limitation of the Number of Place-Men, in those Assemblies*, would have been, I think, better than a total Exclusion of them. For, 1*st*, It would have been a less violent Measure, and have met with less Opposition from the King or the Nobles. Then, it would have been liable to no Objections, as supposing an Inconsistency between the Service of the Crown, and that of the Publick; since it would have left the *grand Officers* their Seats, and excluded such alone as gave a reasonable Jealousy, from the Meanness of their Circumstances. Next, it would

* *Mr.* de Chevre, *Tutor and First Minister to* Charles V.

would fully have anſwer'd the End propoſed, which was not to weaken the Crown, but to ſet ſuch Bounds to the Influence which a Court might have in a *Cortez*, as would prevent a bad Miniſter from being ſure of carrying, there, whatever he took to be neceſſary for the Support of his Power.—This they ſhould have declared to be the Condition of their returning to the *Cortez*. This they ſhould have made the Ultimatum of their Demands upon the Crown, and, with all dutiful Submiſſion, have propoſed it to the King. This ſhould have been univerſally underſtood as the Aim of thoſe who oppoſed the Miniſter, not the turning out one *Set of Place-Men*, and letting the Influence of their Places remain.

If any, thro' *Singularity*, had left them, it would have hurt only themſelves, it could not have prejudiced the Cauſe. An Aſſociation form'd upon this juſt and moderate Plan, that propoſed to itſelf ſo reaſonable, ſo conſtitutional an End, could not have given Offence to the moſt *decent* Men, Fear to the moſt *Quiet*, or Scruples to the *Conſcientious*. All the Cities and Towns would have approv'd of it, and the Nobility muſt have come into it, or have own'd themſelves a Faction. The King himſelf could not have refuſed ſo juſt a Petition, which made no Encroachment on the Prerogative of his Crown, and only took from his Miniſters thoſe *rotten Supports*, which they would be aſhamed to lean upon, if they had Virtue and Ability, the *ſolid Pillars of a good Adminiſtration*. Could any Man deny, for Inſtance, that Officers of the Army ought not to have Seats in the *Cortez*, after the Anſwer made by the King to the two Deputies of *Toledo*, whom he ordered away to their Regiments? If they had obey'd that Order, what became of the Duty they ow'd their Country? If they refuſed to obey, they loſt their Commiſſions, which might have been the Bread of them and their Families. Was it ſafe for *Caſtile*, that ſuch a Conteſt, between claſhing Duties, ſhould be always ſtruggling in the Minds of a great Number of their Repreſentatives?

Was it ſafe or honourable for the State, that every Clerk of an Office ſhould be brought into the *Cortez*, to ſit there as equal in Dignity, and with the Freedom of a Legiſlator, to differ in Opinion from thoſe whoſe Commands he had that Morning receiv'd with the Submiſſion of a Servant? That *theſe* and ſuch as *theſe* ſhould decide upon the greateſt national Intereſts, who, if they voted according to their Conſciences, muſt have loſt their Salaries, when they had nothing elſe to ſave them from ſtarving? The clearing the *Cortez* of ſuch Members would have been the Demand of the whole Nation, and the Miniſter could not have reſiſted it, when it appear'd that nothing but *this* could *bring back the ſeparated Members*, or appeaſe the publick Diſcontent.

But the too great Impatience of Men, not uſed to bear ſuch Indignities, the Rage of popular Paſſions, and the ill Fate of *Caſtile*, drove them into a precipitate, and ill-managed War; by which the Chains were riveted upon them, which they ſtrove to ſtrike off. And when the King came back (from his *German* Dominions,) he call'd a *Cortez*, indeed, but compoſed of *Place-Men alone*, in which there was not *one Procurator* (as their Prolocutor told the King in his Speech) who was not either *in his Houſhold, or in ſome Office of his giving*. And to this Aſſembly his Majeſty thought it a ſufficient Anſwer, when they repreſented to him the great Wiſdom of that antient Rule of the *Cortez*, to proceed firſt upon Grievances, and then to vote ſupplies, That, *ſhould it be known at the Court of the* Great Turk, *that he had yielded this Point, it might much leſſen his Figure and Authority there.* After a little Heſitation they complied, voted a Donative, and from that Day to this, tho' *Caſtile* hath ſtill had a *Cortez*, both the Commons and Nobles have been abſolute Slaves.

§. *To the* AUTHOR *of* COMMON SENSE.

SIR, *Portſmouth, March* 19, 1738.

AS I never purchaſe any of thoſe Pamphlets, which I ſuppoſe to be wrote by the Authors of the *Gazetteer*, being furniſhed with them *gratis* by an *Exciſeman*, I did not give Orders to my Bookſeller to ſend me a Pamplet lately publiſhed, intitled, *A Series of Wiſdom and Policy: Being a full Juſtification of all our Meaſures, ever ſince the Year* 1721 *incluſive*; *and eſpecially of our late moſt honourable Convention with* Spain; becauſe I took it to be the Production of one of thoſe *ingenious Gentlemen*, and expected to have it *gratis* as uſual; but being diſappointed for two or three Poſts, I ordered my Bookſeller to ſend it me.

Upon Peruſal, I was *ſoon* convinced of the Miſtake I had been in; and as many other Gentlemen may have the Misfortune to labour under the ſame Miſtake, I muſt deſire you, by publiſhing this in your next, to let the World know, *that it is not a Miniſterial Pamphlet.*

I am, Sir, &c.

Craſtſman, March 24. N° 663.

A REVIEW *of our late* TRANSACTIONS, *from* 1724, *to the preſent Time.*

OUR Affairs are now come almoſt to a Criſis; for it is in a Manner confeſs'd that we are not in a Condition to go to *War*, and therefore we muſt accept of the *beſt Peace* we can obtain. Let us therefore take a ſhort Review of our late Tranſactions; from whence we ſhall be able to judge to *whom*, and to *what Meaſures*, our preſent Situation is owing.

I will begin with the Year 1724, when the *late King* inform'd his Parliament, *that we had Peace with* all Powers *abroad*; or, as the Author of the *famous Enquiry* ſtiled it, *a* Calm *hardly parallel'd by any paſt Proſpect.* It will therefore be needleſs to go any farther back; tho' the Treaty of 1721 hath been ſince lugg'd in to juſtify *certain Meaſures*, which have been ſufficiently explain'd already, and therefore I ſhall not enter into that Diſpute.

But in leſs than a Year this *glorious Proſpect* was overclouded again, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; which was repreſented by the *Court-Party* as ſuch an *unnatural* and *unaccountable Conjunction*, that it muſt proceed from ſome ſecret Deſigns, of the moſt dangerous Nature, both againſt *Europe* in general, and *Great Britain* in particular. This made the Treaty of *Hanover* neceſſary, according to their Method of Reaſoning, in order to counterbalance *ſuch a formidable Alliance.* But the Gentlemen on the *other Side*, were of a quite contrary Opinion, and look'd upon the Treaty of *Vienna* only as an Accommodation of Differences between the *two Courts*, which we had in vain attempted to reconcile; and therefore we ought in Policy to have acceded to it, as we were invited to do. Whereas our cloſe Conjunction with *France*, by the *Hanover Treaty*, had a natural Tendency to aggrandize *that Power*, and, at laſt, perhaps, throw us intirely into their Hands.

But it was alledg'd, by the *Court-Party*, that the *Emperor*'s Power was then grown exorbitant, by the Succeſs of Q. *Anne*'s War, and the Power of *France* ſo much reduced, that it was our Intereſt to aſſiſt the *latter* againſt the *former*. Their Arguments were, "* that Power is fluctuating; and tho' we did lend the *Emperor* an helping Hand, we are not to let him do what he pleaſes; that when we *ſet him up*, it was *good Politicks*, and now it is equally good to *take him down*;" Or, as the *Author of the Enquiry* more gravely argued, "† that we ſhould find in *him*, at laſt, the Enemy we then dreaded only in another;" meaning *France*.

The Reaſons for theſe Apprehenſions were, that the *Emperor* was engaged to aſſiſt *Spain* in obtaining *Gibraltar* by Force; that *Spain* was to ſupport the *Emperor* in the *Oſtend Company*; and that *both Courts* had undertaken to place the *Pretender* on the Throne of *Great Britain*; which Experience hath ſufficiently ſhewn us were all groundleſs.

In Purſuance of this *Court-Doctrine*, and in order to reduce the *Emperor*'s Power within due Bounds; 3 *large Squadrons* were fitted out, at a vaſt Expence, intirely *our own*; for *none of our Allies* paid a Shilling towards it, nor even ſupported us with any *additional Force*, or *Money*, notwithſtanding what the *Author of the Enquiry* aſſerts, "‡ that the Diſpoſitions made by *France*, ever ſince the ſigning of the *Treaty of* Hanover, have more than kept Pace with us, in the Largeneſs of the *Expence*; § and that the *United Provinces*, tho' they came late into the *Alliance*, ſhew'd a Warmth and Vigour, worthy of the Occaſion." As for the other contracting Party in the *Hanover Treaty*, I mean the *King of Pruſſia*, he ſoon took an Opportunity of detaching himſelf from it; and therefore I ſhall ſay nothing upon that Head.

One of theſe Squadrons was ſent to the *Baltick*, as the *Author of the Enquiry* aſſures us, ‖ in order to prevent the *Czarina*'s Deſign of dethroning the preſent King of *Sweden*, and thereby preſerve the *Balance of the* North; tho' *Sweden* had before made Peace with the *Muſcovites*, and was under no Apprehenſions from them, as they inform'd our *Admiral*, when he came before *Stockholm*.

Another Squadron was ſent to the Coaſts of *Spain*, in order to prevent, according to ** the *ſame Author*, any Attempt from *that Country*, in Favour of the Pretender, by Virtue of the ſuppos'd *ſecret Treaty*; tho' it ſoon afterwards appear'd, by Sir *John Jennings*'s Letter, which was made publick, "†† that the *Spaniards* were ſo little prepar'd to invade us, that when he came on their Coaſts, they ſeem'd to be in the greateſt Conſternation; that all the Troops they could aſſemble did not exceed 3000 *Men*, and that thoſe were in very *bad Condition.*"

[*The reſt in our next.*]

POSTSCRIPT.

A ſecond Volume of *Common Senſe* is now publiſh'd; where the Curious may read thoſe excellent Diſcourſes at large, and without the cruel Mutilations of that notorious Pyrate Dr. *Urban*, who is not content with getting an infamous Livelyhood, like his Brother *Turpin*, by *Robbing* and *Stealing*, but *abuſes*, *maims* and *murders* People, at the ſame Time.——Every *Author* therefore is concern'd in Intereſt to oppoſe *ſuch a barbarous Thief*, and purſue him with an *Hue and Cry* tho' the whole Nation.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

We have ſent the Letter ſign'd W. D. *to the Author of the* Problem.

* *See a Letter to the* Occaſional Writer, *printed in the Year* 1727. † *Enquiry, p.* 7.
‡ *p.* 102. § *p.* 103. ‖ *p.* 95. ** *p.* 95. †† *See the* Letter *itſelf, dated* Auguſt 10, 1726; *or the* Craftſman, *Vol.* IV. *p.* 266.

The merry MILK-MAIDS.

I.

YE nymphs and ſylvan gods,
That love green fields and woods,
When ſpring newly blown
Herſelf doth adorn
With flowers and blooming buds;
Come ſing in the praiſe
(Whilſt Flocks do graze
In yonder pleaſant vale)
Of thoſe that chuſe
Their ſleep to loſe;
And in cold dews,
With clouted ſhoes,
Do carry the milking pail.

II.

The goddeſs of the morn
With bluſhes they adorn;
And take the freſh air,
Whilſt linnets prepare
A concert on each green thorn;
The black bird and thruſh
On every buſh,
And the charming nightingale,
In merry vein
Their throats do ſtrain,
To entertain
The jolly train,
That carry the milking pail.

III.

When cold bleak winds do roar,
And flow'rs can ſpring no more,
The fields that were ſeen
So pleaſant and green,
By winter all candy'd o'er:
Oh how the town laſs
Looks with her white face,
And her lips of a deadly pale!
But it is not ſo
With thoſe that go
Thro' froſt and ſnow,
With cheeks that glow,
To carry the milking pail.

IV.

The miſs of courtly mould,
Adorn'd with pearls and gold,
With waſhes and paint
Her ſkin does ſo taint,
She's wither'd before ſhe's old;
Whilſt ſhe in commode
Puts on a cartload,
And with cuſhions plumps her tail;
What joys are found
In ruſſet gown,
Young, plump and round,
And ſweet and ſound,
That carry the milking pail!

V.

The girls of *Venus'* game,
That venture health and fame,
In practiſing feats
With colds and with heats,
Make lovers go blind and lame.

Nymphæ Mulctrale ferentes.

I.

Dilique deæque omnes, & agreſtia numina, nymphæ,
Quot colitis ſylvas, & aprici gramina campi;
Cum jam vere novo decorantur floribus agri,
Et gemmas induta recentes pullulat arbor;
Eja agite, illarum laudes (dum in valle reductâ
Paſcuntur virides laſciva armenta per herbas)
Nobis carmen erunt, quibus hoc ante omnia cordi eſt,
Linquere manè torum, & malè ſarto tegmine plantæ
Carpere iter madidos per agros, mulctrale ferentes.

II.

Jamque aurora rubens cœli purum aera captat,
Dum merulæ, turdique, & cætera turba volucrum,
Spinâ quâque bilares, & dumo quoque ſedentes,
Miſcent dulce melos; & tu, philomela, laboras,
Arguto liquidas effundens gutture voces,
Oblectare hilarem turbam, mulctrale ferentem.

III.

Cum venti ſtrident, tempeſtateſque ſonoræ,
Et florum cecidit varium decus; arvaque nuper
Viſa placere diu, & viridi lætarier herbâ,
Aſpera bruma tegit, canoque obvelat amictu;
Aſpice, ut urbanæ jam pallent ora puellæ,
Utque ſepulchralem referunt labia alba colorem!
Non ita ſit nymphis, quæ per glaciemque nivemque
Candenti vultu ire ſolent, mulctrale ferentes.

IV.

Bellula nympha aulæ, gemmis auroque decora,
Unguentis, liquidiſque coloribus illita vultus,
Fit vetula ante diem, & juvenili ætate ſeneſcit;
Illa gravi ornatæ ſudat ſub pondere veſtis,
Qui mos eſt dominarum, & pulvinaria ſubdit
Clunibus, ut poſſit multa & ſpecioſa videri.
Quantas delicias præbebit ruſtica veſtis
Interea, & corpus ſolidum, dulce atque rotundum,
Et ſucci plenum, nymphæ mulctrale ferentis?

V.

Devotæ Veneri, & proſtantes urbe puellæ,
Quæ nil de famâ curant, rectâque ſalute,
Frigoribus nimiis, nimiiſque caloribus urgent,
Et mutilos reddunt juvenes, & lumine caſſos.

If

If men were ſo wiſe
To value the price
Of the wares moſt fit for ſale;
What ſtore of beaus
Wou'd daub their cloaths
To ſave a noſe,
By following thoſe,
That carry the milking pail?

Si ſaperent homines, pretium & ſibi poſceret æquum.
Optima merx; quotus eſt bellus, qui credere cœno
Auderet nitidas veſtes, ut in ore decenter
Promineat naſus, per ſordida rura ſequendo
Innocuas tactu nymphas, mulctrale ferentes?

To a young LADY *with* Waller's POEMS.

THO' *Phœbus'* ſelf his much-lov'd poet crown'd,
Tho' *Britain* ſmil'd,—yet *Sacharissa* frown'd;
Hard-hearted maid, whom *Waller* cou'd not move,
Waller who taught e'en ſavages to love!
But whilſt you read in *Waller's* tuneful ſtrains,
Of *Sacharissa's* beauty, and his pains,
Let ſoft compaſſion move you whilſt you read,
Think, as like her you ſhine, like him I bleed.
O! did your charms but equally inſpire,
Both with the lover's and the poet's fire,
My verſe ſhould flow harmonious as your ſong,
And be like you the praiſe of ev'ry tongue;
Each happy line ſhould like your wit ſurprize,
Shou'd glow with all the luſtre of your eyes;
And like your ſpotleſs fame, each faultleſs line
Should laugh at all the little rage of time.
But my weak verſe in vain attempts your praiſe,
(*A* ———'s beauties claim a *Waller's* lays)
For tho' awhile I ſing, and ſeem to fly,
Borne by the heav'nly ſubject to the ſky,
So bold a flight unable to ſuſtain,
Too ſoon, alas! I'm forc'd to fall again.
So, the young tuneful lark, when firſt he tries
His voice, and wings, awhile he upward flies,
Pleas'd with the proſpect he purſues his way,
And ſings the beauties of the new-born day;
But quickly tir'd, ſwift flutt'ring he deſcends,
And all in ſilent admiration ends.

To SLEEP. *An* ELEGY.

'TIS thine, O *Sleep*, to bid all ſorrow ceaſe,
To give the weary reſt, the troubl'd peace,
To eaſe the pain'd, to pay the pris'ner's debt,
To make the poor their poverty forget,
To make the exile happy, captive free,
And give the vanquiſh'd, ſpoils and victory.
If thus the unhappy do thy pity claim, [vain?
Why ſhould I, wretched, wiſh for thee in
Juſtly thou doſt the villain's bed forſake;
But why ſhould innocence be doom'd to wake?
I have not, to my knowledge, guilty been
Of any ſin, unleſs to love's a ſin:
Then, *Sleep*, no longer cruelly refuſe,
A tortur'd wretch's weary eyes to cloſe.
Come, peaceful pow'r, come calm my troubl'd breaſt, [reſt;
O! come and give me ſomething more than
Let the dear maid in all her charms appear,
And let her ſeem as kind as ſhe is fair;
Thus let me dream, and may the viſion prove
An happy omen of my future love:
May I thoſe joys not only ſleeping find,
But waking too, may *Sylvia* be as kind.
Yet, if perverſe, the angry fates ordain,
That ſhe unjuſtly ſhall my love diſdain;
Then, gentle God, exert thy utmoſt pow'r,
Thus let me ever dream, and wake no more!

On the Death of the late celebrated Mrs. Rowe. *An* ELEGY.

COME, all ye fair, *in ſable weeds appear,
For all your ſex's pride lies buried here;
Here, all ye graces, all ye virtues come,
And watch, and weep round *Philomela's* tomb;
Ye muſes, here your ſacred ſorrow ſhed,
Ye lov'd her living, and ſhou'd mourn her dead;
With myrtle, and with bays adorn her herſe,
And ſing her praiſe in never-dying verſe;
Or bid your *Watts* again reſume the lyre,
And fill his ſoul with more than mortal fire;
Bid him to ſing again † (as long ago,
When ſilver *Thames* attentive ceas'd to flow)
To his tun'd lyre, in his harmonious lays,
The fair, the virtuous *Philomela's* praiſe.
Ah! no; ſhe ſcorn'd from others to receive
That immortality, ſhe beſt cou'd give:
Then reſt, dear ſhade, ſecure of deathleſs fame,
Time cannot blaſt your verſe, nor envy blame.
Alas! how poor muſt theſe low lines appear
To you, who now the ſongs of angels hear!
Yet ſhou'd I praiſe indeed, if I cou'd paint
Th' immortal glories of the heav'n-crown'd ſaint!

SONG.

To the Tune of, Let Ambition fire thy Mind.

LET not love enſlave thy mind,
Thou wer't born for nobler ends;
Thou a bleſſing wer't deſign'd
To thy country, and thy friends.

No

* ——— *we*
Do in thy verſes ſee
Both improv'd ſexes eminently meet,
They are than man more ſtrong, and more than woman ſweet. COWLEY.

† *See* Watts's *Horæ Lyricæ.*

No more fooliſhly employ
Thy ſuperior wit and ſenſe;
Scorn to dote upon a toy;
Drive the idle paſſion hence.

Strephon with this *ſtoick* ſong,
Am'rous *Celadon* addreſt;
Celadon, to ſtop his tongue,
With a ſmile made this requeſt.

Sir, with thanks for your advice,
Give me leave to aſk of you;
Had you been ſo mighty wiſe
If your *Sylvia* had been true?

SONG.

SINCE *Jove* has bid the ſun retire,
And lend the ſouthern world his rays,
Come, friends, let us approach the fire,
And warm us at the chearful blaze.

The glaſſes wait, the bowl is full,
Baniſh each anxious care to-night;
Let not a ſoul be grave or dull,
But ev'ry face expreſs delight.

Why ſhou'd vain man his time employ
In uſeleſs thoughts of what's to come?
The moments wing'd with grief or joy,
With equal ſpeed fly to the tomb.

Heav'n knows what's beſt, and aſks but this,
Break not the bounds of innocence,
Then freely taſte of ev'ry bliſs,
And drive each idle ſorrow hence.

A POEM, *ſacred to the Memory of a dearly beloved and only Daughter, who died in the Eleventh Year of her Age. Wrote by her mourning Father.*

A COMMON theme, a flatt'ring muſe may fire,
To raiſe our paſſions, tho' ſhe ſung for hire;
And may our praiſes, and our pity ſteal,
By feigning tranſports, which ſhe does not feel:
But when the ſong, from native love proceeds,
And paints the anguiſh of a heart that bleeds,
The mourning muſe exerts ſuperior ſkill,
And dips in tears, th' inconſolable quill;
Our boſoms then, with riſing ſorrows glow,
And grief ſpontaneous will from nature flow.
Ah! what is life, that thoughtleſs wiſh of all?
A drop of honey, in a draught of gall,
A half exiſtence, or a waking dream,
A bitter fountain with a muddy ſtream,
A tale, a ſhadow, a deluſive ſound,
That's loſt with mourning, and with ſorrow found:
A fading landſkip, painted upon clay,
The ſource of care, and idol of a day,
The ſweet deluder of a reſtleſs mind,
That, if 'twas loſt, but few wou'd wiſh to find.
Untimely thus, the infant-budding roſe,
By ſome rude hand, is cropp'd before it blows;
Away the little ſoul of fragrance flies,
And blooming beauty, unregarded dies,
Snatch'd from the parent ſtem, where once it grew,
Embalm'd in odours, and the morning dew.
Can I be dumb, when love and nature cries,
And I have loſt the darling of mine eyes?
Tho' 'tis in vain to wiſh for her return,
Yet all the ties of nature bid me mourn.
If you can ſtill the unrelenting ſea,
And make the jarring elements agree,
Or cauſe the tide to ceaſe to ebb and flow,
Or hinder the deſcent of hail and ſnow;
If you can ſtop the thunder's dreadful roar,
Or cauſe the billows not to laſh the ſhoar;
If you can lull a hurricane to ſleep,
Then may your words perſuade me not to weep.
Indulge me leave, but to lament her fall,
As *David* mourn'd for *Jonathan* and *Saul*,
When on mount *Gilboah* (O unhappy day!)
They to *Philiſtia* fell a ſhameful prey;
Or if it may with innocence be done,
As he lamented *Abſalom* his ſon,
When in the anguiſh of his ſoul he cry'd,
Would God, my ſon, I in thy place had dy'd.
Then lend your aid, if any ſuch there be,
That lov'd a child, or mourn for one like me;
Let your kind ſighs, with me in concert join,
And add your ſympathizing tears to mine,
That may in ſtreams, to ſwelling rivers flow,
Until thoſe rivers to a deluge grow.
But if there's none commiſerate my caſe,
And in your breaſt, no pity finds a place,
Let not your cenſure add to my concern,
Nor ſlight the cauſe, that moves me thus to mourn.
If you are free from trouble, void of pain,
Add not to mine, nor wonder I complain.
I know the ſtroke is from the hand divine,
To whom I may complain, tho' not repine.
Tho' I deplore the ſtroke, and wiſh it leſs,
Yet I will kiſs the rod, and acquieſce;
A Saviour's blood ſhall ſuperſede my fears,
And love paternal, juſtify my tears.
When death at firſt beſieg'd this little fort,
The feeble out-works were the tyrant's ſport.
A fever made the firſt attack in form,
And then convulſions took it ſoon by ſtorm.
Succours without were weak, like thoſe within,
The guards were ſickly, and the walls were thin;
In bad repair, the gates, and citadel,
And then no wonder that ſo ſoon it fell.
Death's icy hands, the lovely fabrick ſpoil'd,
He got a victim, *but I loſt my child.*
Five mournful days, with trembling hand and heart,
I play'd the whole artillery of art;
Five nights I paſs'd in ſorrow, like the day,
And almoſt mourn'd my own ſad life away:
But when the moſt, that art could do, was try'd,
Her leaſe of life was cancell'd, and ſhe dy'd:
She dy'd—the conſcious whiſp'ring winds reply,
And I!—*(unhappy father!)* ſaw her die:
I ſaw her die; can I the deed forgive?
How can I bear to ſay I did, and live?

Tho'

Tho' long her reaſon ſuffer'd an eclipſe,
No ſinful word proceeded from her lips;
Tho' ſore oppreſs'd with agonizing pain,
She utter'd nothing indiſcreet, or vain;
Which gives me hopes, her ſoul was waſh'd from ſin,
And grace abounding was at work within.
Whilſt nature yet maintain'd the doubtful ſtrife,
And death ſat brooding on the verge of life,
E'en then—when all the hopes of life were fled,
I, and the angels, waiting round her bed,
(They to conduct her to the realms of day,
And I to weep, to ſigh, to mourn and pray)
I kiſs'd her lips, I wip'd her dying face,
And took the father's, and the nurſe's place;
With bleeding heart, I heard her dying groans,
And met, with equal agony, her moans:
Each ſigh was as a dagger in my heart,
Tho' knew, I muſt, *but Oh! ſo loth to part!*
I mourn'd, I wept, I gave a looſe to grief,
And had recourſe to all things, for relief:
But all in vain! the laſt effort I make,
I gave—but oh! ſhe had not ſtrength to take;
Her ſlutt'ring pulſe, with intermiſſion play'd,
And then her heart its palpitation ſtaid:
And thus, thro' all the forms of death ſhe paſt,
Then with a ſigh, *my dear one breath'd her laſt.*
But who can paint the horror, or the power
Of nature's conflicts, in ſo dark an hour?
The wound was ſuch, that time can never heal,
No balm can cure it, nor no art conceal.
May that ſad day be baniſh'd from the year,
Or cloath'd in darkneſs, if it muſt appear;
Or may the ſun withdraw his beams at noon,
And ſolid darkneſs veil the ſtars and moon.
May all the ſands be ſtagnant in the glaſs,
And (as that hour returns) refuſe to paſs;
All clocks be dumb, and time forget to fly,
And may all nature be as ſad as I;
Let mourning in the blackeſt dreſs appear,
And ſhe be never nam'd, without a tear.
Oh! where are now, thoſe dear obedient hands,
So pleas'd to execute my whole commands?
Where are thoſe feet, ſo early taught to run,
As lightning ſwift, unweary'd as the ſun?
Where now thoſe arms, that with ſuch paſſion ſtrove,
To claſp my neck, and ſtifle me with love?
Where now thoſe lips, where mine were fond to dwell,
Or where that breath, that raviſh'd with the ſmell?
Where is that tongue, whoſe *prattle* charm'd my ears?
Where fled the hopes of my declining years?
Where is that face, *ſo pleaſant when ſhe ſmil'd,*
Or where's the woman, acting in the child?
Where thoſe dear eyes, that with ſuch ſweetneſs ſhone,
Or rather where, are all my comforts gone?
Where is that heart, ſo near to truth ally'd,
And never diſobey'd, but when ſhe dy'd?
Where is that breaſt, where virtue once did grow,
As roſes ſweet, and white as falling ſnow?
They're bury'd all, in the voracious grave,
Where kings are levell'd, with the meaneſt ſlave.
The wiſe, and great, when there they make their bed,
Are equall'd with the wretch, that begs his bread:
But there the wicked can no more oppreſs,
And there the weary find a calm receſs;
And this does all my expectations crown,
That I to her, ſhall *there* go quickly down.
Till then this hope ſhall mitigate my woe,
And dry thoſe tears, that in profuſion flow;
That when, by heav'n's command, I quit the ſtage,
Bow'd down by time, or cloy'd with taſteleſs age,
My bones ſhall reſt, in quiet by her ſide,
Like a fond bridegroom, ſleeping by his bride,
Till the laſt day ſhall both to life reſtore,
When death ſhall die, and time ſhall be no more.
This diſtant view does equal pleaſure give,
As now my ſoul is conſcious that I live.
And thou that oncewaſt mydelight and pride,
In whom I hop'd to have a nurſe and guide,
When feeble age ſhould bow my hoary head,
And pain or ſickneſs fix me to my bed,
If I may, *guiltleſs*, call upon thy name,
And aſk a boon, without incurring blame,
Tho' thou art happy now, amongſt the bleſt,
Indulge thy mourning father's *laſt requeſt.*
When ſome kind angel from this world below,
Shall bring the news *(for ſure the angels know)*
And ſhall to thee, and kindred ſpirits tell,
That mine has orders to forſake *her ſhell,*
And be tranſplanted to the realms of light,
Where *faith* and *hope* are ſwallow'd up in *ſight,*
Do thou, with heav'nly raptures, meet my ghoſt,
On th' utmoſt limits of that happy coaſt,
And thence attend me to the throne of grace,
To view my Saviour's reconciled face,
And taſte of joys, ineffable and new;
Till then (my little ſaint) *adieu, adieu!*

On her GRAVE *in St.* Peter's Church-yard *in St.* Albans, *are theſe four Lines.*

THO' here, in death's cold arms, I make my bed,
I only ſleep, until the great aſſize,
When the laſt trumpet, ſhall awake the dead,
Then I, (with thoſe that ſleep in Chriſt) ſhall riſe.

PSALM XXIX. *Paraphras'd.*

BRING to the Lord, ye mighty rulers, bring
Young rams, the firſtlings of the fleecy ſtore;
Bow humbly down before the Lord, your King,
Celeſtial anthems to *Jehovah* ſing,
Revere and worſhip, tremble and adore.

The

The boiſt'rous ocean's troubled waves obey,
Silent, *Jehovah*'s all-commanding nod;
The whiten'd billows of the foaming ſea,
Daſh'd on the rocks with miſts obſcur'd the day,
But haſt'ning back confeſt the awful God.

He hurls the rattling thunder thro' the ſkies,
Darts livid lightnings in the cloudy air;
He ſpeaks the word, and black'ning ſtorms ariſe,
But at his voice th' impending tempeſt flies,
And all the beauteous horizon is clear.

Vaſt, inexhauſted theme of angels ſong,
And mens amaze! the voice of God moſt high! [throng
Wh'ch rives the ſtately pine, the waving
Of *Leban*'s cedars, and the entrails ſtrong
Of knotted oaks, loud thund'ring from the ſky.

See! at his voice earth feels a gen'ral wound,
Whole foreſts whirling ride the duſky air;
And by the roots up-torn, with ruſtling ſound,
Confus'dly dancing in myſterious round,
Their Maker's glorious majeſty declare.

His voice the hinds perceive and drop their young, [ſever,
Untimely births; his voice the flames can
Where, high above the water-floods, among
The heav'ns he fits, by cherubs to be ſung
Almighty Lord and King, and that for ever.

Thus great, thus terrible is God; but when
To mercy he inclines, with white-rob'd peace
And innocence he glads the ſons of men,
Protects ſome ſerpents tooth, and lions den,
And gives their flocks and herds the wiſh'd encreaſe.

ACADEMICUS.

——— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,*
Auri ſacra fames?

INſatiate thirſt of gold! whoſe pow'rful ſway
Attracts the mind, and ſteals the ſoul away;
Curs'd ſource of mortal woe! allur'd by thee,
Th' undaunted ſailor plows the faithleſs ſea,
Braves the loud wind, and mocks impending ſtorms, [forms;
And dares his fate precarious in a thouſand
For thee the miſer hoards, with anxious pain,
The maſſy heap, and ſets his ſoul on gain,
While the young prodigal, profuſely gay,
Contrives new means to ſquander gold away.
Thrice happy mortals, who in *Saturn*'s reign,
(Exempt from avarice and thirſt of gain)
Bleſt with content, enjoy'd an affluent ſtore,
Nor vainly curious pry'd in ſearch of more.

MATTER *of* FACT: *Or the* PLEASURES *of* YOUTH. *A NIGHT-PIECE.*

HAPPY hours, all hours excelling,
When, from jealous parents free,
All attend at *Chloe*'s dwelling,
Sweet engaging company!
There no peeviſh age moleſting,
We purſue our youthful joys,
Muſick, dancing, harmleſs jetting,
Such delight as rarely cloys.

If for dance we are preparing,
Then 'tis "partner, why ſo ſad?
Let's be briſk, and caſt off caring;
Tune away the *highland lad!*"
Now methinks I ſee't performing:
How the limbs from pavement bound!
Vital ſpirits ſweetly warming,
Ecchо yielding back the ſound.

All conſenting, ſports we vary;
Dear variety is beſt:
Some tell fortunes—who's to marry;
Still returning jeſt for jeſt:
Then with ale as brown as berry,
Or a glaſs of gen'rous wine,
Toaſting, ſinging, making merry—
—Gods! what bliſs! almoſt divine!

Shades of night at length retreating,
Sol appearing o'er the hills,
We (each other kindly greeting)
Part, tho' ſore againſt our wills.
But, as ſuch is mortals folly,
That long ſolitude gives pain,
We (to baniſh melancholy)
Fix a time, and meet again.

Joſ. G——n S——d.

The following Encomium was ſpoken extempore, in a very auguſt Aſſembly.

THE grateful ages paſt a God declar'd,
Who wiſely counſel'd, or who wiſely war'd:
Hence *Greece* her *Mars* and *Pallas* deify'd;
Made him the heroe's, her the patriot's guide.
On both accounts *Argyle* may juſtly claim
A god-like honour, and immortal name;
For he alike in *field* and *ſenate* ſhines,
Great in his deeds, and wiſe in his deſigns;
We can't tell which doth moſt adorn our iſle,
His ſword or tongue, which rogues alike revile.

Verſes occaſioned by the Report, that the Spaniards *are to have the Liberty to ſearch the* Britiſh Ships, *if found within two Leagues of their Coaſts in* America.

HOW wou'd our neighbours ſneer at this ſtrange ſcene!
What, Spaniards *ſearch the maſters of the main!*
When *that day comes*, no more let *Britain* boaſt
Her antient courage and her naval hoſt:
Let her two hundred ſhips in harbour rot,
And all her ſea atchievements be forgot;
Pretend henceforth to ſovereignty no more,
But ſeek protection from ſome foreign pow'r.
Thus ſhould the nation act, who, tho' ſhe might
With eaſe compel the foe, yet fears to fight,
And, 'ſtead of 'venging wrongs, gives up her right.

We have receiv'd the Rape of the Lawn, *the Verſes from Mrs.* Maſters, *and ſeveral other Pieces, which are deferr'd for want of Room.*

N. B. *The* Ode to Fame *in the* Gent. Mag. *of* Feb. *laſt, is ſtolen from the* LOND. MAG. *for* Jan. 1737, *p.* 41.

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

THURSDAY, *March* 1.

WAS held a General Court of the *S. S.* Company, conſiſting of the greateſt Number of Proprietors that have appear'd at any General Court for many Years paſt; and after reading the Tranſactions between the Court of Directors, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, Mr. *Keene*, and Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, a Motion was made,

"That the General Court do approve of the Anſwer made the 9th of *Feb.* laſt by the Court of Directors to Sir *Thomas Geraldino*; and that they be order'd to pay no Part of the 68,000*l.* but on the Conditions therein contain'd, or the further Order of the General Court."

And the ſaid Motion being conſider'd with great Temper, was agreed to by the whole General Court. (See p. 86.)

FRIDAY, 2.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks for your gracious Condeſcenſion, in laying the Convention between your Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, dated the fourteenth Day of *January* laſt, *N. S.* together with the ſeparate Articles, before this Houſe.

We think it our indiſpenſable Duty, on this Occaſion, to expreſs our juſt Senſe of your Royal Care of the true Intereſts of your People; and to acknowledge your Majeſty's great Prudence, in bringing the Demands of your Subjects for their paſt Loſſes, which have been ſo long depending, to a final Adjuſtment by the ſaid Convention; and procuring an expreſs Stipulation for a ſpeedy Payment; and in laying a Foundation for accompliſhing the great and deſirable Ends, of obtaining future Security, and preſerving the Peace between the two Nations.

We beg Leave alſo to declare to your Majeſty, our Confidence and Reliance on your Royal Wiſdom, and ſteady Attention to the Honour of your Crown, and the Welfare of theſe Kingdoms, that in the Treaty to be concluded in purſuance of this Convention, proper Proviſions will be made for Redreſs of the Grievances ſo juſtly complained of; and particularly, that the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce in the *American* Seas, to which your Majeſty's Subjects are entitled by the Law of Nations, and by Virtue of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, will be ſo effectually ſecured, that they may enjoy, unmoleſted, their undoubted Right of navigating, and carrying on Trade and Commerce from one Part of your Majeſty's Dominions to any other Part thereof, without being liable to be ſtopp'd, viſited, or ſearched on the open Seas, or to any other Violation or Infraction of the ſaid Treaties; the mutual Obſervance thereof, and a juſt Regard to the Privileges belonging to each other, being the only Means of maintaining a good Correſpondence and laſting Friendſhip between the two Nations.

Permit us at the ſame Time, in the moſt dutiful Manner, to expreſs to your Majeſty, our firm Dependence, that in the Treaty to be concluded in Purſuance of the ſaid Convention, the utmoſt Regard will be had to the Rights belonging to your Majeſty's Crown and Subjects, in adjuſting and ſettling the Limits of your Majeſty's Dominions in *America*; and to give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that in caſe your Majeſty's juſt Expectations ſhall not be anſwered, this Houſe will heartily and zealouſly concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be neceſſary to vindicate your Majeſty's Honour, and to preſerve to your Subjects the full Enjoyment of all thoſe Rights, to which they are entitled by Treaty, and the Law of Nations.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this dutiful Addreſs, and for the grateful Senſe you expreſs of my Care of the true Intereſts of my People. You may depend upon it, That I have the Honour of my Crown, and the Welfare of my Kingdoms entirely at Heart; and that nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part, to ſecure to my Subjects the full Enjoyment of their Navigation, and Commerce, and their other juſt Rights.

TUESDAY, 6.

Printed Liſts of the Common-Council of this City, and their ſeveral Trades, were deliver'd at the Houſe of Lords and Commons, with the following Lines printed on the Front of the Paper: "So every Carpenter and Work-Maſter, that laboureth Night and Day: And they that cut and grave Seals, and are diligent to make great Variety, and give themſelves to counterfeit Imagery, and watch to finiſh a Work—All theſe truſt to their Hands; And every one is wiſe in his Work. Without

out theſe cannot a City be inhabited: And they ſhall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down. They ſhall not be ſought for in publick Council." *Eccluſ.* xxxviii. Verſes 27, 31, 32, 33. (See p. 140.)

THURSDAY, 8.

Mr. *Watſon*, the Printer of the Lords Proteſt on the Convention, was taken, by Order of the Houſe of Lords, into the Cuſtody of the Black Rod: And the Monday following he was committed to *Newgate*.

MONDAY, 12.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs, relating to the Convention, &c. was as follows.

Gentlemen,

I give you my Thanks for this dutiful Addreſs and the Confidence you repoſe in me. You may be aſſured I will be wanting in nothing that may be neceſſary to maintain the juſt Rights of my Subjects, and the Honour of my Crown and Kingdoms.

WEDNESDAY, 14.

John Adamſon, *John Marſland*, *James James*, alias *Jemmy the Drummer*, *Thomas Eaſter*, *Samuel Piper*, *William Udall*, *James Lawlor*, alias *Lawley*, *James Leonard*, *Henry Johnſon*, *Peregrine Audley*, and *Aſhby Johnſon* were executed at *Tyburn*. (See p. 48, 100.)

About Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales* was ſafely delivered of a Prince at *Norfolk-Houſe* in St. *James*'s-*Square*.

THURSDAY, 15.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, to give the Royal Aſſent to the Bill for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, &c.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, waited on his Majeſty at St. *James*'s, to congratulate his Majeſty on the Birth of the Prince, and Mr. Baron *Thomſon* made their Compliments as followeth, *viz.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* moſt humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the ſafe Delivery of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, and the Birth of another Prince.

They rejoice, Sir, at every fortunate Event in your Royal Family, which gives them an Opportunity of paying their Duty to your Majeſty, and expreſſing their grateful Senſe of the many Bleſſings they enjoy under your Majeſty's mild and gracious Government, directed in all Inſtances by the Laws of the Land.

As your Majeſty's true Concern for the publick Welfare and Proſperity induced your Majeſty to approve of the happy Marriage which yields this moſt deſirable Increaſe of your Royal Family, theſe your Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects, beg Leave to tender their humble Acknowledgments to your Majeſty, upon this additional Proſpect of the Continuance of their Felicity, of the Preſervation of their religious and civil Rights, and of their remaining a free and happy People.

They preſume to take this Occaſion to repeat their Aſſurances to your Majeſty of their moſt dutiful and affectionate Regard to your Royal Perſon, and their Zeal for the Support of your Government, and of their ſincere and ſteady Attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in your Royal Family.

To which his Majeſty return'd this moſt gracious Anſwer.

I thank you for this Loyal Addreſs, and for the Satisfaction you expreſs upon the Increaſe of my Family.

They all had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand.

FRIDAY, 16.

Both Houſes congratulated his Majeſty and the Prince of *Wales*, on the Birth of a Prince. His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Commons, was as follows: *Gentlemen, I return you my Thanks for your farther Inſtance of Affection to me.* And the Prince's was this: *Gentlemen, I return you my Thanks for this Mark of your Duty to the King, and Regard to me.*

Soon after addreſſing his Majeſty in relation to the Convention, about 40 Members of the Houſe of Commons ſet out for their Seats in the Country.

THURSDAY, 22.

The humble Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, on the Birth of the new Prince.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, in Common-Council aſſembled, beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the happy Delivery of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, and the Birth of another Prince.

The Glory of your Majeſty's Reign conſiſts in the Happineſs and Liberty of your Subjects, which alone can render this Nation great and powerful; and that ineſtimable Bleſſing entirely depending on your Majeſty, and on the firm Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in your Royal Houſe, every Addition to the Number of your illuſtrious Race, muſt conſtantly furniſh Occaſion of Joy to your People, and of their ſincere Congratulation to your Majeſty.

To which his Majeſty gave the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

I thank you for this Mark of your Duty to me; and for the Satisfaction you expreſs at the Increaſe of my Family.

They all had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand.

At the Aſſizes at *Ayleſbury*, 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death. — At *Rocheſter*, ſix Men

Men, among whom was one for the Murder of a poor old Woman, ſuppoſing her to be a Witch; and one Woman for Horſe-ſtealing. — At *Reading*, ſix Perſons were condemn'd, and at *Oxford* two. — At *Winchester*, 2 Men, and a Woman for the Murder of her Baſtard Child. — At *Northampton* 2 Men, one of them for the Murder of his Child. At the Aſſizes for *Dorſetſhire*, 2 Men, one of them for Parricide, for killing his Father and Mother, on the latter's reproving him for not being at Church. — Among thoſe who receiv'd Sentence of Death at *Sarum*, were 3 who were concern'd in the late Riot at *Melkſham*, and 9 others for the ſaid Riot were fin'd 40*s.* each, to be impriſon'd 12 Months, and to find Security for their good Behaviour for 3 Years. — At *Kingſton* Aſſizes 13 Men and one Woman were condemn'd. — At *Derby*, one Man for the Murder of a Baſtard Child by drowning it. — At *Eaſt Grinſtead* in *Suſſex*, one Man for Houſe-breaking. — At *Chelmsford* 6 Men. — By Accounts from *York*, *John Palmer*, alias *Richard Turpin*, was tried there, and convicted upon two ſeveral Indictments for Horſe-ſtealing. 'Twas ſaid he was prov'd by two Witneſſes from *Eſſex* to be the notorious *Richard Turpin*, and he himſelf own'd his Name ſo to be, but ſaid he was another Perſon of the ſame Name. However, ſince he was ſuſpected to be *Turpin*, the whole Country flock'd to ſee him, and 'tis ſaid the Gaoler has made 100*l.* by ſelling Liquors to him and his Viſitors. Two other Men were capitally convicted.

TUESDAY, 27.

During the Rehearſal of the New Tragedy of *Edward and Eleonora*, at *Covent-Garden* Theatre, an Order came from the Lord-Chamberlain, forbidding the Repreſentation of the ſaid Play.

WEDNESDAY, 28.

Mr. *Naſh*'s Affair was thus concluded: The *Eaſt-India* Company to pay him 28,000*l.* and he to allow 500*l.* towards Law Expences, and to give a Bond of 10,000*l.* not to trade to *Eaſt-India*, either in the *Britiſh* or Foreign Service, for 7 Years.

THURSDAY, 29.

Orders are iſſued for impreſſing a Number of Seamen to man the Guard-Ships. And we hear, that a Squadron of twelve Sail are to cruize in the Channel.

'Tis aſſured that a Remittance of 95,000*l.* has been made from *Spain* to Don *Geraldino*, to enable him to perform his Catholick Majeſty's Engagement on that Head with the Crown of *Great Britain*.

A great Quantity of Stores and Proviſions are ſent to the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

THOMAS *Strode*, Eſq; of *Hatton-Garden*, to Mrs. *Brodrepp*, a Widow Lady, Daughter to the late Archbiſhop *Wake*.

William Withers, Eſq; to Mrs. *Porteen*.

James Montgomery, Eſq; to Miſs *Sawbridge*.

——— *Cooley*, Eſq; of *Hertfordſhire*, to Miſs *Jane Tench*, Daughter, and ſole Heireſs of the late Sir *Fiſher Tench*.

Rev. Mr. *Lewin*, to Miſs *Williams*, Niece to the Bp. of *Rocheſter*.

Thomas Garrard, Eſq; Common-Serjeant of the City of *London*, to Miſs *Gay*.

Chriſtopher Appleby, Eſq; to Mrs. *Prat*.

Rev. Mr. *Chapman* of *Bath*, to Miſs. *Trot*.

Mr. *Oliver Evans*, Comptroller to the *E. India* Warehouſes, to Mrs. *Kilmaine*.

Chriſtopher Wyvill, Eſq; Comptroller of the Exciſe Caſh, to Miſs *Aſty* of *Northaw*, an Heireſs of 500*l. per Annum*.

Mr. *Bowater* of *Coventry*, to Miſs *Molly Bailey*.

Lord *Cardroſs*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Buchan*, to Miſs *Anne Stewart*.

The Lady of *Robert Carey*, Eſq; ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

MRS. *Bradford*, Relict of Dr. *Bradford*, late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, — *John Elbridge*, Eſq; Comptroller of the Cuſtoms at *Briſtol*. — At *Eltham* in *Kent*, Sir *John Shaw*, Bart. — Mrs. *Mary Filmer*, eldeſt Daughter of Sir *Edward Filmer*, Bart. — ——— — *Brydges*, Eſq; Father to the Lady of the Right Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; Speaker of the Hon. Houſe of Commons. — Miſs *Rachel Morgan*, eldeſt Daughter of the late Sir *William Morgan*, of *Tradegar*, Knight of the Bath. — Capt. *William Logan*, formerly Governor of *New Jerſey*. — *John Eyres*, Eſq; of *Berry's-Hall* in *Norfolk*, a Roman Catholick Gentleman, of 4000*l. per Annum*. — Right Hon. *Charles*, Earl of *Selkirk*, one of the 16 Peers of *Scotland*, and Lord of the Bedchamber to his Majeſty. — The Lady of *Charles Pelham*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Beverley* in *Yorkſhire*. — *William Errington*, Eſq; High Sheriff for the County of *Northumberland*. — Right Hon. *Marmaduke Coghill*, Eſq; Chancellor of the Exchequer in *Ireland*. — Rev. Dr. *Humphreys*, Vicar of *Ware* and of *Thundridge* near *Ware*. — At *Kenſington*, *Chriſtopher Batt*, Eſq; — Dr. *George Wharton*, an eminent Phyſician, and Treaſurer to the College of Phyſicians. Serjeant *Stevens*, who had retir'd from attending the Courts at *Weſtminſter-Hall* for ſome Time. — The Lady *Fowler*, Wife to Sir *William Fowler*, Bart. — In the 88th Year of his Age, Mr. *Bowman*, belonging to *Drury-Lane* Theatre, who perform'd ſeveral Times before K. *Charles* II. 'Tis obſerv'd of him, that he was the oldeſt Player, the oldeſt Singer, and the oldeſt Ringer in *England*. — The Lady *Juliana Bruce*, Wife to *Charles* Lord *Bruce*, (only Son of the Earl of *Ayleſbury*) and Siſter to the Earl of *Burlington*. — Mr. *Whiting*, Surgeon to St. *Thomas's-Hoſpital*. — *Roger Tuckfield*, Eſq; Member in the preſent Parliament for *Aſhburton* in *Devonſhire*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Saliſbury*, to the Living of *Kempſton*, *Bucks*.—Mr. *Mingay*, to the Rectory of *Ickeſhall St. John* in *Suffolk*. — Mr. *Henry Holdſworth*, to the Vicarage of *Townſhall*, *Devon*. — Mr. *Sam. Eyre*, Son of the late Lord Chief Juſtice, to the Rectory of *Broughton* in *Hampſhire*.—Mr. *Rich. Palmer*, to the Vicarage of *Brading* in the *Iſle of Wight*.—Mr. *Will. Wilkinſon*, to the Vicarage of *Bromfield* in *Cumberland*.—Mr. *Gardner*, to the Rectory of *All-Saints* in *Briſtol*.—Mr. *Tho. Wood*, to the Vicarage of *Cadbury*, *Devon*.—Mr. *William Dawes*, Lecturer of St. *James*, *Garlickhith*, to the Living of *Shallford* in *Eſſex*.—Dr. *Liſle* made Maſter of *Wadham-College*, *Oxford*, in the room of Dr. *Thiſtlethwaite*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

WILLIAM *Bell*, jun. Eſq; made Receiver General of the Cuſtoms in the Port of *Glouceſter*.—*Edward Montagu*, Eſq; Son of the late Brig. Gen. made Major of the Reg. of Foot, commanded by the Hon. Col. *Cornwallis*.—*Duncan Urquhart*, Eſq; made Capt. of a Comp. in the ſecond Reg. of Foot Guards.—*Walter Titley*, Eſq; appointed Envoy extraordinary to the Court of *Denmark*.—Mr. *Nathaniel Stevens* made Deputy Comptroller of the Cuſtoms in the Port of *Briſtol*.—*John Blacket*, Eſq; made Sheriff of *Northumberland*, in the Room of *William Errington*, Eſq; deceas'd.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

WILLIAM *Murgatroyd*, of *Derby*, Dealer.—*Tho. Vacher*, of *Graveſend*, Victualler.—*Iſaac Abrahams*, of *Duke's Place*, Coffee-man.—*Simon Maſon*, of St. *Andrew*, *Holborn*, Apothecary.—*John Elden*, of *Norwich*, Worſted-weaver.—*Stephen Jendwin*, of *Spittlefields*, Weaver.—*John Murgatroyd*, of *Hallifax*, in the County of *York*, Dealer in Woollen Goods.—*John* and *Robert Wallis*, of the Pariſh of St. *George*, *Middleſex*, Merchants and Partners.—*Tho. Collins*, of *Oxford*, Vintner.—*Joſiah Jefferys*, of St. *Leonard Shoreditch*, Hatter.—*Samuel Jay*, late of *Kinnerſley*, *Herefordſhire*, Glover.—*Philip Spencer*, late of *Red-Lion-Street*, *Clerkenwell*, Saleſman.—*William Reed*, of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, Merchant.—*James Hodges*, of *Trump-Street*, *London*, Box-maker.—*Daniel Fowler*, of *Newgate-Street*, Worſtedman.—*Miles Dalton*, of *Lothbury*, Broker.—*James Thomſon* and *Thomas Wyat*, late of *Witham*, in *Eſſex*, Carriers and Partners.—*Thomas Foxall*, late of *Cleobury-Mortimer*, *Salop*, Butcher.—*Olive Payne*, of *Round-Court* in the *Strand*, Bookſeller.—*Luke Smith*, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Broker.—*Samuel Keynton*, of *Stocks-Market*, Warehouſe-man.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	100 ½ a ⅝	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 8*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.*	none
—*Annu.*	112 ⅞	*Lon. ditto*	12 ½
Bank	none	3 *per C. An.*	105
—*Circ.*	2*l.* 10*s.*	*Eng. Copper*	none
Mil. Bank	124	*Salt Tallies*	½ a 2*l.*
India	168 ½ a ¾	*Emp. Loan*	110a109¾
—*Bonds*	6*l.* 11*s.* a 10	*Equiv.*	111

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 5	*Bilboa*	39 ⅛
D. Sight	35 2 ½	*Legborn*	49 ⅝
Rotter.	35 7	*Genoa*	52 ⅜
Hamb.	34 3 2 a 4½	*Venice*	50 ¾
P. Sight	31 5/16	*Lisb.*	5*s* 5*d* ½ a ⅝
Bourdx.	31	*Oport.*	5*s* 5*d* ⅜
Cadiz	39 ¾	*Antw.*	36 2
Madrid	39 ⅝	*Dublin*	9 a 8 ⅞

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	27 28	*Oats*	11 14 6
Rye	12 17	*Tares*	20 22
Barley	13 17	*Peaſe*	21 29
H. Beans	20 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	16 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Feb.* 20. to *March* 27.

Chriſtned	Males 820	Females 827	1647
Buried	Males 1318	Females 1302	2620
Died under 2 Years old			987
Between 2 and 5			248
5	10		66
10	20		90
20	30		164
30	40		240
40	50		260
50	60		209
60	70		149
70	80		139
80	90		62
90 and upwards			6
			2620

Hay 34 to 40*s.* a Load.

FROM

FROM *Conſtantinople* we hear, that the Prime Vizier, fearing leſt the *Turkiſh* Army ſhould not be numerous enough next Campaign to make Head againſt all their Enemies, has given Orders to the Governors of their Provinces in *Europe* to preſs Men into the Service. As this Order is directly contrary to one of the expreſs Rules of their Alcoran, his Enemies took this Opportunity of accuſing him for trangreſſing the Law of Mahomet; but the Grand Signior being convinced that theſe Orders are advantageous to his Arms, and neceſſary at the preſent Conjuncture, has approved the Conduct of his Vizier, and ſilenced his Accuſers. This may make their Armies more numerous, but if they do not take Care to remove the Scruples their Soldiers may have upon this Account, it may make them more cowardly. And in that Caſe, their Numbers will be of no great Advantage; for when an Army is poſſeſſed with a Panick, eſpecially ſuch a one as ariſes from Religion, their Numbers contribute only to increaſe their Confuſion.

'Tis ſaid the *Ottoman* Troops are, in this next Campaign, to make uſe, for the firſt Time, of ſcrewed Bayonets, which may likewiſe prove of no great Advantage to them; becauſe of their having diſmiſſed Count *Bonneval* from ſerving in their Armies, who was the only Man of Diſtinction among them, that could inſtruct their Troops in the proper Uſe of the ſcrew'd Bayonet. The unfortunate Count is now at the Place of his Exile, and we are told, he owes his Life to the *Kiſler-Aga*, who obtained a Reprieve for him from the Grand Seignior, after he was ſentenc'd to die, and afterwards got the Sentence of Death changed into that of Baniſhment. From what has happened to him, which we foretold in our MAGAZINE for NOVEMBER laſt, p. 581, one may ſee how dangerous it is for a Subject to bcome popular, in ſuch an arbitrary Monarchy.

Major *Marconitz*, one of the moſt famous Imperial Partiſans in *Hungary*, returned lately to *Belgrade* with a great Booty he had taken in one of his Excurſions into the *Turkiſh* Territories; but ſoon after his Return, he was put under Arreſt, by an Order of General *Newperg*, upon an Accuſation of having committed violent Outrages upon ſeveral of the *Emperor*'s Liege Subjects, whom, his Accuſers ſaid, he treated as Rebels, hacking and hewing them to Pieces, and carrying off their Cattle and other Effects. This Accuſation was upon a ſolemn Trial found to be ſo falſe and groundleſs, that he has not only been acquitted with Honour, but the *Emperor*, as a Teſtimony of his good Services and Innocence, has made him a Preſent of a gold Chain.

As *France* and the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Palatine* ſaw no Poſſibility of obtaining from the maritime Powers, the Guaranty of the proviſional Poſſeſſion of the Dutchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*, in Favour of the Prince of *Sultzbach*, they have drawn up and ſigned a Convention amongſt themſelves, whereby they ſtipulate the ſaid Guaranty for the Term of two Years; and alſo, that, in caſe of the Death of the Elector *Palatine*, during the Minority of the Prince of *Sultzbach*, the Elector of *Bavaria* ſhall be Guardian to him, in the room of Duke *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria*, lately deceaſed. However, they ſtill keep in good Terms with the King of *Pruſſia*, in Hopes of being able at laſt to prevail upon him to follow the Example of the Elector of *Saxony*, by agreeing to accept of a Sum of Money, in Lieu of his Pretenſions to theſe two Dutchies.

The long Diſpute in *Holland* about the Promotion of general Officers, is now like to be ſoon brought to a Concluſion; the Prince of *Orange*, having, 'tis ſaid, agreed to accept of being made Lieutenant General of the Foot, with a Clauſe to be inſerted in the Reſolution, that at the next Promotion his Highneſs ſhall be appointed General in Chief. Upon this Condition, the States of *Frieſland*, in their laſt Aſſembly, have waved inſiſting upon his Highneſs's being immediately made General in Chief, and have conſented to the Promotion; and, 'tis thought, the States of *Groningen* will follow their Example, which is all that is wanting in this Affair.

The Diſpute between the Regency of *Hanover* and the Court of *Denmark*, about the little Diſtrict of *Steinburſt*, which we gave an Account of in our MAGAZINE for DECEMBER laſt, is made up in an amicable Manner, every Thing but the poor Men who loſt their Lives upon that Occaſion, being reſtored, *in Statu quo*. The *Hanover* News Writers ſay, that the Subſidy Treaty between *Great Britain* and *Denmark*, which is now concluded, was certainly the chief Means of haſtening the Accommodation of this Affair: But in this we cannot agree with them; for it is not to be thought, that the Subſidy from *Great Britain* was augmented upon this Account; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Subſidy Treaty could by any other Means contribute to haſten the Accommodation of the Affair of *Steinburſt*.

We have an Account from *Sweden*, that a ſecret Committee of the general Diet of that Kingdom, now aſſembled at *Stockholm*, had been appointed to enquire into the Behaviour of ſome of the Senators; and that upon their Report, five of the Senators were expelled the Senate; after which a Motion was made by the ſecret Committee, for allowing each of the expelled Senators a Penſion; but Penſions not being in ſuch Requeſt in that Kingdom as in ſome others, the expelled Senators diſdained to accept of Penſions at the Expence of their Honour, and inſiſted upon having their Conduct enquired into by the Diet; for, if they were guilty, they ſaid, they neither deſired nor expected any Favour.

The

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. THE modern *Engliſhman*. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, price 1s.

2. Characters. An Epiſtle, *&c.* Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

3. Epidemical Madneſs. Printed for *J. Brindley*, price 1s.

4. The Green-Cloth. Printed for *F. Noble*, price 1s.

5. The eighth and ninth Epiſtles of the firſt Book of *Horace* imitated. By *G. Ogle*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 6*d.*

6. The Miſcellaneous Works in Proſe and Verſe of Mrs. *Eliz.* and Mr. *Tho. Rowe:* In 2 Vols, 8vo. Printed for *R. Hett* and *R. Dodſley*, price 9s.

7. Truth. By Mr. *Ayre*. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 6*d.*

8. The Bachelor of *Salamanca*. Vol. II. and laſt. Printed for Meſſ. *Betteſworth*, *C. Davis*, and *G. Hawkins*, 12mo, price 3s.

9. The firſt Satire of *Perſius*. By Mr. *Dudley*. Printed for *J. Catterns*, price 6*d.*

* 10. The illuſtrious *French* Lovers. By Mrs. *Aubin*. 2d Edit. 12mo, price 5s.

11. The irreſiſtible Fair. By *J. Dodd*, price 6*d.*

12. Manners decypher'd. By Mr. *Meredith*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

13. *Roger* and *Joan*. Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d.*

14. On Prophecy. By *W. Browſword*, A. M. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 1s.

HISTORY *and* TRAVELS.

* 15. A new Hiſtory of *England* by Queſtion and Anſwer. Extracted from the moſt celebrated *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, particularly, M. *Rapin de Thoyras*. By the Author of the new *Roman* Hiſtory. The fourth Edit. corrected and very much improved, 12mo, price 2s. 6*d.* Sold by *T. Aſtley*.

16. The Hiſtory of *Northamptonſhire*. By the late *J. Bridges*, Eſq; Numb. I. Printed for *S. Gibbons*, price 1s.

17. Chronological Tables of the World. By *Adam Blandy*, M. A. Sold by Meſſ. *Rivington*, *Knapton*, and *Aſtley*, price 6s.

18. The Travels and Adventures of *Edw. Brown*, Eſq; formerly a Merchant in *London*. Printed for Meſſ. *Betteſworth*, *Hitch*, *Hinchliffe*, and *S. Auſten*, 8vo, price 5s.

19. A new Deſcription of the Iſland of *Corſica*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1s.

20. Letters and Diſpatches of the Earl of *Strafforde*. By *W. Knowler*, L. L. D. Sold by *T. Elliot*. In 2 Vols. Folio. price 2 Guineas in Sheets the ſmall; and 4 Guineas the large Paper.

MISCELLANEOUS.

21. The Moral Philoſopher. Vol. II. Being a farther Vindication of Moral Truth and Reaſon. Occaſion'd by two Books lately publiſh'd; one intitled, *The Divine Authority of the Old and New Teſtament aſſerted*. With a particular Vindication of *Moſes* and the Prophets, Our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles, againſt the unjuſt Aſſertions, and falſe Reaſonings of a Book, intitled, the *Moral Philoſopher*. By the Rev. Mr. *Leland*. The other intitled, *Euſebius:* Or, *The True Chriſtian's Defence*, &c. By the Rev. Mr. *Chapman*. By *Philalethes*. Sold by the Booksellers, 8vo. pr. 5s.

* 22. Dr. *Keil*'s Aſtronomical Lectures. A new Edition. Printed for *H. Lintot*, 8vo, pr. 6s.

23. The Philoſopher's Stone. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

* 24. An Eſſay on the Queſtion, whence come the Stork and the Turtle, *&c.* Printed for *E. Symon*, price 4*d.*

25. *Dionyſius Longinus* on the Sublime. By *W. Smith*, A. M. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, 8vo, price 4s.

26. Meaſuring made eaſy. By *I. Overley*. Sold by *T. Read*, price 2s.

27. A View of the Neceſſitarian, or beſt Scheme, freed from the Objections of *M. Crouſaz* againſt Mr. *Pope*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

28. Remarks on Mr. *Euler*'s Treatiſe of Motion, *&c.* By *B. Robins*, F. R. S. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, price 2s.

29. The young Clerk's Magazine. Printed for Meſſ. *Betteſworth*, *Hitch*, and *Hodges*, 12mo, price 1s. 6*d.*

30. The Caſe between the Clothiers and Weavers. Printed for *T. Cooper*, Price 1s.

31. Obſervations on an Eſſay to aſcertain the Value of Leaſes. Printed for *C. Bathurſt*, price 1s.

32. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons of all Ranks and of both Sexes. N° V. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 1s.

POLITICAL.

33. Common Senſe; or, the *Engliſhman*'s Journal. Vol. II. Printed for *G. Hawkins*, 12mo, price 3s.

34. A Series of Wiſdom and Policy. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

35. A Review of all that hath paſs'd between the Courts of *Great Britaen* and *Spain*. Printed for *H. Goreham*, price 1s.

36. Obſervations on the preſent Convention. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

37. Farther Conſiderations on the preſent State of Affairs. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1s.

38. An Expoſtulation with the Clergy, *&c.* in Relation to the Teſt-Act. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 4*d.*

39. The Grand Queſtion, whether War or no War. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d.*

40. A Reply to Popular Prejudices. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

41. The Old Whig; or, the Conſiſtent Proteſtant. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *A. Ward*, *A. Millar*, *R. Hett*, and *J. Gray*, price 12s.

42. An Addreſs to the Merchants of *Great Britain*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

43. The Veſtry laid open. Printed for *J. Millan*, price 1s.

[*The reſt in our next.*]

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 116.

The next that ſpoke in this Debate, was the Right Honourable Piſiſtratus, *who ſpoke in Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

FROM what the Honourable Gentleman has himſelf confeſſed, and from the hypothetical Manner in which he has been pleaſed to expreſs himſelf, it appears, that with reſpect to the Conſtitution or Form of our Government before the Conqueſt, there is nothing can with any Certainty be determined; therefore, I think it unneceſſary for me to examine into what he has ſaid about it; for to refer us to the *Saxon* Times for the original Form of our Government, is to deſire us to ſeek for it where it is impoſſible to find it; and it is ſtill more unreaſonable, to refer us to the Form of Government generally eſtabliſhed among the antient *Germans*, not only becauſe of its being ſtill more obſcure and uncertain, but becauſe, that Form of Government, which was proper for governing a Clan or ſmall Nation in *Germany*, would be found very improper and impracticable in a large and populous Kingdom.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I think we muſt look for the original Form of our Government, in ſome Period ſince the Conqueſt; and I do not think we can chuſe a more proper, or a more glorious Period for that Purpoſe, than the Reign of our great King *Edward* I. It was in his Reign, that our preſent Form of Government, was chiefly, if not originally, eſtabliſhed. From that Time to the preſent, we have authentick Records for our Direction; but all before, is nothing but Obſcurity and Confuſion. The *Great Charter*, the Statute of *Merton*, and the Statute of *Marlbridge*, may ſhew us, that even before his Time we were a free People; but as to the Form of our Government, it is in vain for us to look for it in either of theſe Laws, or in any of the Hiſtories or Records of thoſe Times, which are now to be met with. In determining the preſent Queſtion therefore, we ought to go no further back, than to the Reign

of *Edward* I. It is there we ought to fix the original Form of our preſent Government; and upon Examination we ſhall find, that all the Alterations ſince introduced, were either neceſſary for preventing Faction and Sedition, or that they were ſuch, as tended to improve and ſecure our Liberties.

Let us therefore, Sir, examine into the Form of our Conſtitution as it ſtood in his Reign, in order to ſee who had the Nomination of all the Magiſtrates and Officers, neceſſary for the Support of our Government; and from thence, I believe, it will appear, that the Crown had then, in moſt Reſpects, rather a greater Power, than it has at preſent. As to the Members of our two Houſes of Parliament, the Crown either had, or frequently aſſumed, a much greater Power, than it has at preſent; for with reſpect to the Houſe of Lords, all thoſe who were Dukes, Earls, or Barons, by Tenure or Inveſtiture, had, perhaps, a Right to their Seats in the Houſe of Peers, according to the Titles with which they were inveſted; but then the King had a Power of calling, whomſoever he pleaſed, to a Seat in that Houſe, by Writ of Summons; and ſuch as were called by this Sort of Writ to one Parliament, had no Right to a Seat in that Houſe, in any future Parliament, unleſs the King was pleaſed to call him by new Writs; ſo that with reſpect to this laſt Sort of Peers, the King had an abſolute Power to call them, or to neglect calling them; and in any Parliament to which they were not called by ſpecial Writ, they had no Right to a Seat in that Parliament as Peers of the Realm. This I could confirm by many Examples from our Records and Antiquities, but the Fact is ſo well known, that I think it unneceſſary to trouble you with a Recital of ſuch Examples.

Then, Sir, with reſpect to the Houſe of Commons, which was in this Reign firſt eſtabliſhed, both King *Edward* I. and ſeveral of his Succeſſors, had a Power not only to give any Borough, they pleaſed, a Right to ſend Members to Parliament, but alſo to grant an Exemption to any Borough, they pleaſed, from the Burden, as it was then thought, of being obliged to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament; for in thoſe Days, when any Borough had a Mind to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, or to be free from that Burden, they preſented their Petition to the King, and not to the Houſe of Commons; and upon that Petition the King took upon him to judge, not only of their Right or Ability, but alſo of the Neceſſity or Expediency of granting what they aſked, as appears from the Caſe of St. *Alban*'s, in the Reign of *Edward* II. for the Sheriff having made no Return of Burgeſſes to ſerve for that Borough in one of the Parliaments of that Reign, they preſented a Petition to the King, ſetting forth, that they were Inhabitants of an antient free Borough, and had ſent Burgeſſes to the Parliaments of the King's Progenitors, and therefore praying that they might have Leave to ſend Burgeſſes to that Parliament: To which Petion, the King's Council anſwered, Let the Rolls in Chancery be ſearched; and let the Petitioners have Juſtice in this Matter, *if there be Neceſſity.*

Nay, Sir, even with regard to our Knights of Shires, tho' the King had not the ſole Power of creating a new County, or of excluding any County from their Right of ſending Members to Parliament, yet till the Reign of *Henry* VI. the Sheriff, and conſequently the King (who after the Reign of *Edward* II. had the Nomination of moſt of our Sheriffs) had almoſt an unlimited Power of determining who had a Right to vote at the Election of Knights of

the Shire; and therefore it may be ſaid, that till *Henry* VIth's Time, our Kings had in ſome Meaſure the chuſing of all thoſe, who were the Repreſentatives of our Counties in Parliament. With reſpect therefore to the Members of both our Houſes of Parliament, or the legiſlative Part of our Government, it muſt be allowed, that by the original Form of our Conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſhed in the Reign of King *Edward* I. the Power of the Crown was much more extenſive than it is at preſent; and with reſpect to the Diſtribution of Juſtice, or the juriſdictive Power of our Government, the Caſe will likewiſe, upon a ſtrict Examination, appear to be the ſame.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Lords of capital Manors, or great Barons of the Kingdom, both had, and exerciſed a greater juriſdictive Power over the Tenants of their Baronies or Manors, than they now have, or can exerciſe; and that Power, I ſhall likewiſe grant, was no Way dependent upon the Crown; but this Power was in many Caſes reſtrained, and all their Sentences or Decrees were ſubject to the Review of the King's Judges, who were all not only appointed by the King, but removeable at his Pleaſure; ſo that even within our Baronies or capital Manors, the King was the chief Judge of all Crimes and Controverſies whatever; and it was happy for the Tenants it was ſo; for notwithſtanding the Privilege they had of applying to the King's Courts, when they thought they were injured by their Lords, the Power of the great Barons over their Tenants was ſo great, that the Tenants were always ready to engage in the Quarrel of their Lords, even againſt the Crown itſelf, which ſubjected the Country to perpetual Feuds and Civil Wars, till *Henry* VII. contrived a Method for putting an End to the Power of the Barons, by putting it in the Power of their Succeſſors to alienate their Eſtates; and that Law, which was paſſed in the Reign of *Charles* II. for turning all Tenures into free and common Socage, has compleated what was begun in the Reign of *Henry* VII. ſo that no Tenant has now any ſlaviſh Dependence upon his Lord, nor will engage in any Quarrel of his Lord's, unleſs he thinks it the Cauſe of his Country. Therefore, whatever Increaſe of Power the Crown may have acquired by diminiſhing the Power of the Barons, it is rather a Benefit, than a Diſadvantage to the Nation. But as moſt of our chief Judges are now for Life: As the King cannot now remove them at Pleaſure, it muſt be granted, that with reſpect to the juriſdictive Part of our Government, the Power of the Crown is not now ſo great as it was in the Reign of *Edward* I. and all his Succceſſors down to the late happy Revolution.

As to the military Part of our Government, 'tis true, Sir, our Barons or Lords of Manors had the leading of thoſe, who, by their Tenures were obliged to follow them to the Wars; but thoſe Leaders could not legally draw out their Tenants without Orders from the King, or ſome General Officer appointed by him for that Purpoſe; and when they were in the Field, they were as much obliged to obey thoſe Orders they received from the King, or his Generals, as the Colonels, or other inferior Officers of our Army are at preſent. We had not, indeed, in thoſe Days, a regular ſtanding Army always kept up at the publick Charge: There was no Occaſion for ſuch an Expence; becauſe all our Noblemen and Gentlemen were bred up to War from their Youth: Every landed Gentleman or Lord of a Manor took care, and was even by the Laws obliged to take care, that all his Tenants ſhould

be bred to Diſcipline and provided with Arms; and every one underſtood how to lead and command his own Followers, either in the Field, or in the Day of Battle. Yet even in thoſe Days, when our Armies were ſent abroad, or continued long in the Field, they were maintained at the publick Charge; and the King had the appointing and diſtributing of the Pay that was given them by the Publick. But now, when the Art of War is become a Sort of Science, and few of our Noblemen or Gentlemen underſtand, or will be at the Pains to underſtand any Thing of it, we are obliged to keep up a regular ſtanding Army; and as no Man of that Army has a Right by Law to command another, nor any of them obliged to maintain himſelf, for ſo much as one Day, at his own Charge, it muſt neceſſarily be left to the King to appoint who ſhall be the Officers of that Army, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and to appoint what Pay ſhall be given by the Publick to each Officer and Soldier. Therefore, with reſpect to the military Part of our Government, if the Power of the Crown be now more extenſive than it was in the Reign of *Edward* I. it is owing to a Neceſſity, which has been introduced by a Change in the Circumſtances and Manners of our People.

With regard to what we now call our Militia, Sir, it was not in the Reign of *Edward* I. eſtabliſhed upon ſo regular a Footing, as it is at preſent; but whatever Footing it was then upon, it ſeems highly probable, that the appointing of thoſe who were to have the Command over the Militia in each County, was wholly lodged in the Crown; for we have no Account in Hiſtory, of the Militia's having been ſubject to any other Power, either in the Reign of *Edward* I. or in any Reign ſince that Time. It is a Power or Prerogative of the Crown, which was never diſputed, but by that Parliament which put an End to the Conſtitution of their Country, as well as to the Life of their King; and therefore, as ſoon as our Conſtitution was reſtored, the Parliament itſelf declared, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that the ſupreme Government of the Militia, had always been the King's undoubted Right.

Laſtly, Sir, I muſt obſerve, that tho' our King has not a Power to impoſe or levy any Tax without Conſent of Parliament, yet after a Tax is impoſed by Authority of Parliament, the collecting or levying of that Tax, according to the Rules preſcribed by Parliament, has always been left to the King, and ſuch as he ſhould appoint for that Purpoſe. The Cuſtomers and Collectors at all our Ports, were always appointed by the King, for levying the Duties granted by Parliament upon the Exportation of Wool, and upon the Exportation or Importation of all other Goods; and the Collectors of our Tenths or Fifteenths, which in former Times were granted by Parliament, inſtead of what we now call the Land-Tax, were always appointed by the King, in the ſame Manner as the Collectors of our Land-Taxes now are. Therefore we muſt grant, that the Power of levying all publick Taxes and Impoſitions has always been lodged in the Crown, and conſequently the Power of appointing or naming all Officers neceſſary for that Purpoſe; and this is not only agreeable to our antient Conſtitution, but is in itſelf neceſſary; for if the Power of nominating the Officers employed in levying any Tax, were lodged in the People who were to pay that Tax, the principal Qualification for entitling a Man to any ſuch Nomination, would be an Expectation of his being remiſs in his Duty; and

the Officers themſelves would endeavour to favour thoſe who had been the chief Promoters of their Election; ſo that no Tax could be raiſed with that Rigour and Impartiality, which is neceſſary upon ſuch Occaſions.

Thus, Sir, I have ſhewn, that with reſpect to the Nomination of all Magiſtrates and Officers concerned in the executive Part of our Government, our Kings had, by the original Form of our Conſtitution, as great a Power as they have at preſent; and with reſpect to the Nomination of thoſe who were concerned in the legiſlative Part of our Government, there was a much greater Power lodged in the Crown, in the Time of *Edward* I. and ſeveral of his Succeſſors, than our King can now pretend to, or by any Means acquire. The Sheriffs, 'tis true, were, in *Edward* I's Time, choſen by the reſpective Counties, except in thoſe Counties where the Office belong'd to ſome noble Family in Fee; but this was found ſo troubleſome, and the Elections of Sheriffs occaſioned ſo much Combuſtion and Confuſion in each County where they were eligible by the Freeholders, that the Method of appointing Sheriffs was altered in the very next Reign by Act of Parliament; and it was enacted, that in all Time coming, the Sheriffs ſhould be aſſigned or appointed by the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Barons of the Exchequer and Juſtices, which gave Riſe to the Method now practiſed. And the Tithing, Hundred, and County Courts, as well as the Courts Baron, were found ſo ineffectual for preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom, that in the following Reign, I mean that of *Edward* III. the Method of appointing Juſtices of Peace in each County, by Commiſſion from the King, was introduced, and eſtabliſhed by ſeveral Acts of Parliament. From all which I muſt conclude, that from the Time of *Edward* II. no Magiſtrate or Officer, civil or military, was choſen by the People, except the Coroners, the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, and the Magiſtrates and Officers concerned in the Government of our Cities and Boroughs; and as to all theſe, they continue eligible by the People to this Day.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that while the People are generally actuated by a true publick Spirit, the Method of popular Election is by far the beſt Method for appointing all Magiſtrates and Officers concerned in the executive, as well as thoſe concerned in the legiſlative Part of the Government; but this can hardly be expected in a large and populous Kingdom. In a ſmall City or Territory, the Good of every Individual is ſo immediately and ſo apparently connected with the Good of the Publick, that every Man for his own Preſervation conſults the Good of the Publick, as well as his own, in every Thing he does; but in large Kingdoms, the Good of the Publick is often ſo intricate, or ſo remote from the immediate Good of private Perſons, that moſt Men are either not capable to paſs any Judgment at all, or they are apt to prefer the latter to the former; for which Reaſon we find, that in all populous Cities or large Kingdoms, popular Elections generally run not in Favour of thoſe who are the moſt worthy, but in Favour of thoſe who are the moſt unworthy, by being the moſt factious; or they run in Favour of thoſe who are beſt able to gain the Favour of the Majority of their Electors by ſome Sort of Corruption; becauſe every Man can ſee the Good he does to himſelf by accepting of a Bribe, or by voting for the Candidate who contributes moſt to his private Advantage; but in large Kingdoms, few Men can foreſee the Misfortunes they may bring

bring upon themſelves, or their Poſterity, by chuſing a weak or wicked Magiſtrate or Officer.

It is for this Reaſon, Sir, that in all the Commonwealths we read of in Hiſtory, after they became very populous, or had greatly extended their Territories, their popular Elections firſt became factious and ſeditious, and at laſt venal and corrupt; which, of courſe, and by a Sort of fatal Neceſſity, obliged them to alter their Form of Government, or made them the Prey of ſome foreign Invader; and from hence we may ſee the Beauty of our happy Conſtitution; for as moſt of thoſe concerned in the executive Part of our Government are appointed by the King, or by thoſe to whom he has delegated his Power, it prevents our Government's being factious or ſeditious; and as all our Magiſtrates and Officers are ſubject to the Controul of Parliament, and liable to have their Conduct ſtrictly and impartially enquired into, it prevents their making a bad Uſe of that Power, which has been veſted in them by the King. We cannot therefore but applaud the Wiſdom and Penetration of thoſe, who eſtabliſhed our Government upon the Footing on which it now ſtands. We have long enjoyed great Happineſs, and have greatly increaſed in Riches and Power, by means of that Form of Government which they eſtabliſhed; and I muſt think it would be extremely imprudent in us, to overturn or alter that Form of Government, for the Sake of having Recourſe to a Form of Government which we have but very dark Accounts of, and which, if we had a full and clear Acconnt of it, might upon Trial be found very improper for governing this Nation in its preſent Circumſtances, which every one muſt allow to be very different from what they were in the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

The Right Hon. Pericles *ſpoke next in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

Sir,

THE Hon. Gentleman was much in the Right to paſs over the antient *German* and *Saxon* Forms of Government, as obſcure and unfathomable; becauſe he was certain, that even from the lame Accounts of them which have been tranſmitted to us, it appears, that the ſupreme Power in every Society, was ultimately lodged in the People; and that tho' there were certain Families among them, that had a Sort of Dignity, Reſpect, or Preference, lodged in the Repreſentatives of thoſe Families by Right of Inheritance, yet the Power of governing was, from the higheſt Poſt to the loweſt, conferred by a free Choice of the People. This was certainly the Form of Government, that in antient Times prevailed among the little Nations or Clans in *Germany*; this was the Form of Government, that was introduced and eſtabliſhed in *Britain* by the *Saxons*; and this Form of Government chiefly prevailed, till it was entirely overturned by *William the Conqueror*. Before his Time, ſome little Variations had been introduced: The Regal Power, eſpecially with reſpect to the chief Command over our Armies, had been enlarged; and the Power of Ealderman or Earl of ſome of our Counties, was perhaps become hereditary in ſome Families; but in moſt Counties, the Earl and Sheriff were probably elective; and it is certain the Heretogh, Hold, or Duke of each County was ſo; becauſe, among *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Laws, there is one, which deſcribes the Duty of an Heretogh, and the Manner of his Election, at a full Folkmote of the County. And in

Time

Time of War, when the King had not a Mind to command the Army in Perſon, he appointed a chief Hold or Generaliſſimo, who was therefore called the Kyning or King's Hold, and who, it may be ſuppoſed, was never appointed by the King, without the Conſent or Approbation of the Witenagemote.

It is therefore certain, I think, Sir, that by the *Saxon* Form of Government, the People in each County had the Chuſing of all the under Magiſtrates and Officers concerned in the Exerciſe of Government; and with reſpect to the chief Magiſtrates and Officers, they were, 'tis true, appointed by the King, but they were appointed with the Conſent or Approbation of the People, aſſembled in their Witenagemote.

But this Form of Government, *William the Conqueror* was obliged to undermine as much as poſſible; becauſe, as he was reſolved to have the whole Power of the Nation lodged in himſelf and his *Norman* Lords, together with a Few of the *Saxon* or *Engliſh* Lords, who were his Friends, therefore he was obliged to take the Power of appointing every Sort of Magiſtrate, that had any conſiderable Power, out of the Hands of the People; for if he had left that Power in their Hands, he eaſily foreſaw, that a *Norman* Candidate would have had but a ſmall Share at any Election. For this Reaſon, moſt of thoſe Magiſtracies or Offices, that were before elective, were by him granted in Fee to ſome of his great *Norman* Lords; and for the ſame Reaſon, he erected a great Number of Baronies, detached them entirely from any Dependence upon the County Courts, and granted them in Fee to ſome of his *Norman* or *Engliſh* Friends. By this Means, the Nation came to be divided into a great Number of little hereditary Principalities, as they may properly enough be called; and King *William* took Care, that few or none but the Lords of theſe Principalities ſhould appear at the Witenagemote or Parliament, as it was then called. There was ſtill an Appearance of a Witenagemote or national Aſſembly, but the People had little or no Share in that Aſſembly: There were ſtill Tithing Courts, and County Courts, and the People continued to chuſe their Tithing Men, and moſt of their Sheriffs; but theſe Courts had no Power, and therefore the Courts, as well as the Officers that preſided in them, ſoon became contemptible.

From hence, Sir, we may ſee a good Reaſon, why all thoſe who have a Mind to argue againſt the Power of the People, are ſo much againſt making an Enquiry into that Form of Government, which prevailed in this Country before the Conqueſt: We may ſee why they are ſo apt to repreſent it as wrapt up in impenetrable Obſcurity; but, ſuppoſing it were ſo, ſurely the Original of our preſent Form of Government, can, under no Sort of Pretence, be referred to the Reign of King *Edward* I. We were certainly a People, united together, and governed by ſome certain Form of Government, long before that Reign; nor does any Hiſtory ſay, that *Edward* I. introduced a quite new Form of Government amongſt us. On the contrary, I believe, there was no Regulation, entirely new in its Kind, introduced in his Reign, except that of the Lords and Commons, as they then firſt began to be diſtinguiſhed, ſitting to deliberate and vote in different Rooms or Apartments. I am far from thinking that the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Parliament, was the firſt to which our Counties or Cities ſent Repreſentatives; for if this had been a Cuſtom then for the firſt Time introduced, I think it abſolutely certain, that the Regents who were choſen upon the Death of

Henry

Henry III. to govern the Kingdom till his Son *Edward* I. returned from the Holy Land, would not have followed a Cuſtom introduced by one who was a mortal Enemy both to Father and Son; and yet Hiſtory informs us, that the Parliament ſummoned by thoſe Regents, was compoſed not only of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal or great Barons, but alſo of Knights of Shires, and Repreſentatives of Cities and Boroughs. For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt agree with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt in this Debate, that even *William the Conqueror* and his Succeſſors allowed, or required ſome of our Citites and Boroughs to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament; and that even before the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Time, the ſmall Barons of each County uſed to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, inſtead of giving their Perſonal Attendance. Therefore, as our Government was neither firſt eſtabliſhed, nor its Form greatly varied, in *Edward* I's Time, I muſt think it ſomething ſurprizing to refer us to that Reign for the Original of our preſent Form of Government.

In order to fix the Original of our preſent happy Conſtitution, we muſt, Sir, have Recourſe either to that Form of Government which was firſt introduced by the *Saxons*, or to that which was eſtabliſhed by *Alfred the Great*, and reſtored by *Edward the Confeſſor*; or laſtly, we muſt have Recourſe to that which was introduc'd and eſtabliſhed by *William the Conqueror*. I believe no Man will deſire us to ſeek for a free popular Sort of Government, in that which was eſtabliſhed by *William the Conqueror*: On the contrary, I believe, every Man who reads our Hiſtory with Attention, will conclude, that he not only did, but by his Circumſtances was obliged to deſtroy every Thing that was popular, in that Form of Government, which he found eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, and to ſet up in its Room a Sort of Ariſtocracy, in which the King was Chief, and every Member was in ſome Meaſure abſolute within his own Precinct or Province. Therefore, we muſt ſay, either that the People have as yet no Power, and conſequently no Liberty, or that they have recovered it, by returning, as much as they could, to that Form of Government which was eſtabliſhed by the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the Reſtoration of which, was the continual Cry of the People for ſeveral Reigns after the Conqueſt; and if the latter be our Caſe, as it apparently is, we muſt have Recourſe to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the antient *Germans* and *Saxons*, in order to find the Original of our preſent Form of Government.

Having thus, Sir, ſhewn that the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, labours under a very great Miſtake, when he aſcribes to the Reign of *Edward* I. the Original of our preſent Form of Government, I ſhall next beg Leave to examine what he was pleaſed to ſay againſt popular Elections. I ſhall readily grant, that in large Kingdoms or populous Societies, a true and upright publick Spirit may not perhaps be ſo prevalent, nor is the publick Intereſt ſo eaſily underſtood, as in ſmall Societies; but there is a Method to prevent any bad Conſequences from this Difficulty, or from this Want of publick Spirit, and that is, to prevent by good Laws, and a well-regulated Form of Government, its being in any Man's Power to get much by betraying the Publick, and to prevent any Man's having a Right to vote in an Affair, which he may not thoroughly underſtand. For Example, if this Country were again divided into Tithings, and the Authority and Dignity of the Tithing Courts reſtored, every Freeholder of

the

the Tithing would, I believe, be as able to determine, who would make a good Tithing-Man or Judge within that Tithing, as any Lord Chancellor can be, with reſpect to a Juſtice of Peace within a remote Diſtrict, where, perhaps, he knows nothing of the Man he is to appoint; and if Care were taken to prevent any Tithing-Man's being able to make extraordinary Perquiſites, or unjuſt Profits, by Means of his Office, no Man would find it worth his While, to endeavour to carry his Election by Corruption: Nay, every Elector would think his own private Intereſt ſo immediately concerned, in having a good and upright Magiſtrate ſet over him, that it would require a large Sum of Money to make him prefer a worthleſs to a deſerving Candidate. In this Caſe therefore, every Man would thoroughly underſtand the Affair in which he was to give his Vote, and no Man could expect to get much by ſacrificing the Publick to his own private Intereſt. With reſpect to our Sheriffs, if they were again made eligible by the County, and the Authority and Dignity of our County Courts reſtored, the Caſe would be the ſame; as it would likewiſe be, with reſpect to all the other inferior Magiſtrates and Officers, neceſſary for the Support or Exerciſe of our Government. In all ſuch Caſes, the private Intereſt of the Electors would be ſo immediately and ſo apparently concerned, and the Profits to be made by the Poſt or Office would be ſo ſmall, that Corruption or Bribery could never take Place; for no Man will ever attempt to bribe, unleſs he expects to be a Gainer by it; nor will any Man accept of a Bribe, unleſs the Corruptor outbids both the Regard he has for his Honour, and the Damage he thinks he may do himſelf, by voting for a worthleſs Candidate.

For this Reaſon, Sir, in every Society, great Care ſhould be taken, to prevent its being in the Power of any Magiſtrate or Officer to make great Profits, by any Poſt or Office, to which he can be elected by the People; becauſe, when great Profits are to be made, ſome Men will attempt to get themſelves choſen by Corruption; and, if this Vice once enters into any Society, it will daily increaſe; for thoſe who get into Offices by ſuch Means, will certainly endeavour to raiſe and improve the Perquiſites of their Office, which will of Courſe inhance the Temptation for obtaining it by the ſame Practices, at the next Election; and at the ſame Time, the Number of thoſe, who are ready to ſell their Votes for Money, will be increaſed by Cuſtom and Example, which muſt neceſſarily lower the Price of every venal Elector. This will of Courſe render Corruption practicable, with regard to Offices that are not ſo profitable, and Bribery will at laſt come to be the only Means of obtaining Succeſs at every popular Election. Mankind are not, in their own Nature, more corrupt in one Age or Country than in another: It is Cuſtom or Example only that makes the Difference, and it is the Riches of the Candidates, or the Profits that are to be made by being a ſucceſsful Candidate, that introduces the Cuſtom or Example; therefore, when the People of a Society become corrupt, the Blame ought not to be thrown upon the People, but upon ſome Defect in their Laws or Form of Government; for if proper Care had been taken to prevent any Man's becoming immoderately rich, or making extravagant Profits and Advantages, by Means of any Poſt or Office in the Government, no Man would have been able, no Man would ever have thought of introducing ſuch a pernicious Cuſtom or Example.

Thus, Sir, it will appear, that,

ſuppoſe all the inferior Offices in the Kingdom were to be conferred by a free Election of the People, within their reſpective Counties or Precincts, it would be eaſy to prevent Corruption, by giving no greater Sallary or Perquiſites to any Officer, than what was barely a ſufficient Reward for his Trouble in executing the Office; and as no very great Honour or Power could be acquired by being choſen into any of theſe Offices, it would prevent the Rich from uſing indirect Means for obtaining them. Such a Regulation therefore, could never give Riſe to Corruption, nor could it be attended with any bad Conſequences; for as to Faction or Sedition, the Election of an inferior Magiſtrate can never be attended with either, eſpecially when the Number of Electors is ſo ſmall, that the Election may be carried on with Regularity and Tranquillity. Popular Elections of ſupreme Magiſtrates, or of Officers of a high Degree, may, indeed, ſometimes occaſion Factions or Seditions, becauſe the Number of Electors is ſo great, that the Election can never be carried on without Confuſion; and as the Prize contended for is great, the Contention becomes warm, which often occaſions Violence of one Side or other. But this was wiſely guarded againſt by our *Saxon* Conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſhed by our Great King *Alfred*; for by that Conſtitution, our chief Magiſtrates, and chief Generals were to be appointed by the King with the Conſent of the Witenagemote; and as the Perſons who had a Right to vote in our Witenagemotes, were but few in Number, the obtaining of their Conſent could never be attended with any Confuſion; nor could it be attended with Animoſity, becauſe, if the King's Choice was oppoſed with any Warmth, he could eaſily put an End to it, by naming another, or by taking the Office upon himſelf.

Faction and Sedition are, I know, Sir, the Bugbears uſually made uſe of, for frightening the People into an arbitrary Form of Government; but theſe Bugbears can be no Way terrible to any Man, who thoroughly conſiders the Nature of our Conſtitution, as it appears to have been eſtabliſhed in the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*. The Election of a Tithing-Man could occaſion no Faction or Sedition in the County, becauſe, if there was any Diſpute among the Members of the Tithing, it was determined by the Earl or Sheriff of the County, in his County Court; and the Election of an Earl, of a Sheriff, or of a Heretogh of a County, could occaſion no Faction or Sedition in the Kingdom, becauſe, if there was any Diſpute among the Members of the County, it was determined by the King's Judges, or by the Witenagemote. Thus every Diſpute that happened in the Kingdom, could be effectually, and in a peaceable Manner, put an End to, by a ſuperior Power; and if any Diſpute happened in the Witenagemote, it was put an End to, by the Majority of thoſe who had a Right to vote in that Aſſembly, eſpecially, if their Opinion was ſupported and approved by the Majority of the People; for as the People were in thoſe Days all bred to, and provided with Arms, the Approbation of the Majority of them became neceſſarily a *ſine qua non* in all publick Reſolutions or Determinations.

I hope, Sir, it will appear from what I have ſaid, that the Appointing of all inferior Magiſtrates and Officers, by the free Choice of the People, could be attended with no Inconvenience, nor with any dangerous Conſequence; and therefore I ſhall now proceed, to ſhew ſome of the Advantages it would be attended with, and ſome of the Diſadvantages and Dangers that muſt accrue

from

from having all, or moſt of our Magiſtrates and Officers, both high and low, appointed, mediately or immediately, by the Crown. In the firſt Place, I muſt obſerve, that if all our inferior Magiſtrates and Officers were to be appointed by the People, in their ſeveral Counties or Diſtricts, it would prevent the Publick's being loaded with a great Number of uſeleſs Officers, or immoderate and dangerous Sallaries or Perquiſites; for as the People know that all ſuch Magiſtrates and Officers muſt be ſupported by them, and by them only, they would take Care not to load themſelves with any uſeleſs Officer, or with any immoderate Sallary or Perquiſites; whereas, while all inferior Magiſtrates and Officers are appointed by the Crown, or rather by the Miniſters of the Crown, we are expoſed to the Danger of having the People loaded every Day more and more, with uſeleſs Officers, and immoderate Sallaries or Perquiſites; becauſe every new Office, and every Addition to the Sallary or Perquiſites of an old, adds to the Power of a Miniſter, by affording him an Opportunity of providing for more of his Friends, or of providing better for them; and as no Part of the Sallary or Perquiſites comes out of his Pocket, we cannot ſuppoſe he will be, in this Reſpect, extremely cautious.

I ſhall next obſerve, Sir, that as all the inferior Magiſtrates and Officers choſen by the People, would be ſubject to the Inſpection and Controul of the ſuperior Magiſtrates and Officers appointed by the Crown, and as there could not probably, in this Caſe, be any particular Relation or ſecret Correſpondence, between a ſuperior Officer and any inferior Officer under his Inſpection and Controul, they would be a Sort of Check upon one another, which would make both of them diligent, exact, and faithful in the Diſcharge of their Duty. If the inferior Officer ſhould be guilty of any Negligence, Oppreſſion, or Extortion, the ſuperior would diſcover it, and would proſecute or puniſh him, for the Neglect or Crime he had been guilty of; and on the other hand, no ſuperior Officer could be guilty of any Neglect or Injuſtice in the Execution of his Office, but what muſt come to the Knowledge of ſome of the Officers under him; and as none of theſe Officers could have a Dependence upon him, they would diſcover what had come to their Knowledge, and thereby enable the Parliament to enquire into the Conduct of that ſuperior Officer, and to puniſh him for the Neglect or Injuſtice he had been guilty of. Whereas, while the inferior Officers are all appointed, and generally for a valuable Conſideration, by the ſuperior, it is his Intereſt to connive at their Extortions, becauſe, the more that is made of any Poſt in his Diſpoſal, the higher Price he may expect for it upon the next Vacancy; and as all the inferior Officers have a Dependence upon the ſuperior, none of them will diſcover the illegal Practices he may be guilty of; which will always render it difficult to prevent the Oppreſſions and Inſults of Office, or to bring any high Criminal to Juſtice.

But, Sir, the greateſt Diſadvantage, the moſt formidable Danger, that attends the Crown's having the ſole Power of appointing almoſt all the Magiſtrates and Officers concerned in the executive Part of our Government, is, that it may, ſome Time or other, render altogether ineffectual, that Inſpection or Controul, which the Parliament has, by our Conſtitution, over all thoſe who are, under the King, concerned in the executive Part of our Government. The Poſts and Offices pretended to be neceſſary for the Ends of Government, may be multiplied

to ſuch a Degree, and may by Cuſtom and Connivance become ſo beneficial, that this Power may at laſt enable the Miniſters of the Crown, to make themſelves Maſters of the legiſlative, as well as executive Part of our Government. By appointing Judges and Magiſtrates proper for their Purpoſe, and by granting Poſts and Offices to none, but ſuch as may be willing to become their Tools, they may procure ſuch an Influence over Elections in all Parts of the Kingdom, and ſuch an Influence in both Houſes of Parliament, as will ſecure to them a Majority in each Houſe upon all Occaſions; and if this ſhould ever come to be the Caſe, I hope no Man will ſay, that our Government would be a free Government, or our People a free People.

I have ſaid, Sir, that every Form of Government ſhould be ſo regulated, as to prevent its being in the Power of any Man to get much by betraying the publick Intereſt; but, conſidering the late vaſt Increaſe of Poſts and Offices, all at the ſole Diſpoſal of the Crown, and the great Power the Crown has, or may acquire, over moſt of the Judges and Magiſtrates in the Kingdom, if ever the Crown ſhould turn its Power towards influencing Votes at Elections, or in Parliament, I will be bold to ſay, it would be very much the private Intereſt of every Man in the Kingdom to betray the Publick, both in Parliament, and at every Election for Parliament-Men. For a Man to give his Vote in Parliament, or at Elections, according to the Orders he may receive from any Miniſter of the Crown, without enquiring whether it be right or not, or perhaps contrary to his private Judgment, I believe, will be allowed to be a Betraying of the Publick: Nay, for a Parliament-Man to neglect or refuſe giving his Vote againſt what he thinks wrong, or for an Elector to neglect or refuſe giving his Vote for a Candidate, whom he knows to be a Man of real Merit, and againſt one whom he knows to be a Scoundrel, for the Sake of any ſelfiſh View whatever, muſt be allowed to be a Betraying of the Publick. Now, I ſay, conſidering the many Poſts and Offices the Crown has now to beſtow, and the many Inſults and Oppreſſions it may ſubject a Man to, even in his private Affairs, it would be the Intereſt of every Man in the Kingdom, to vote implicitly according to Miniſterial Orders, or at leaſt not to vote againſt ſuch Orders, either in Parliament, or at Elections, if ever the Crown ſhould make uſe of the Power it now has, for influencing Mens Votes upon ſuch Occaſions; and that the Miniſters of the Crown will not, in ſome future Reign, make ſuch a wicked Uſe of this Power, I believe no Man will take upon himſelf to anſwer: On the contrary, we may aſſure ourſelves, that the firſt Miniſter who finds himſelf hated by the People, will certainly take this Method to ſcreen himſelf from their Vengeance; and I am afraid the Virtue of Mankind, when brought in Competition with their private Intereſt, will prove but a weak Fence for our Liberties. It is a Trial no free Nation ought to allow itſelf to be put to, and therefore, in all free Governments, great Care ought to be taken, to prevent its being in a Man's Power to get much by betraying the Publick, and to prevent any Man's being expoſed to ſuffer in his private Affairs, by adhering to the Principles of Honour and Virtue. Reputation or Character, which, in moſt Caſes, is the great Fence for Virtue, may in this Caſe be turned againſt it; for Corruption, by becoming general, will become faſhionable. The Rank and Number of the Criminals will at laſt ſanctify the Crime; and as in Countries where arbitrary Government

ment

ment is eſtabliſhed by Law, a Man gains Eſteem by being an *adroit* Sycophant, ſo in a Country where a worſe Sort of arbitrary Government is eſtabliſhed by Corruption, a Man may gain Eſteem by being a cunning and abandoned Proſtitute.

This is a Danger, Sir, which the *Saxon* Conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſhed in the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, was entirely free from: It is a Danger which our Conſtitution, in the State to which it was reſtored in the Reign of *Edward* I. was entirely free from; becauſe, in his Reign, there were but few Poſts or Offices in the Diſpoſal of the Crown; for our great Barons had in their Hands, by hereditary Right, a great Part of the executive Power of the Government within their reſpective Baronies; even in many of our Counties, a great Part of the executive Power was lodged by Right of Inheritance in ſome of the great Barons, and ſome of the greateſt Poſts in the Kingdom belonged to our great Families by hereditary Right. Thus it continued for many Reigns after *Edward* I. Nay, it is but of late Years that the Power of the Crown can, in this Reſpect, be ſaid to have become formidable; and if ever it ſhould, in this Reſpect, appear to be of any dangerous Conſequence to our Liberties, the beſt Thing we could do would be, to follow *Machiavel*'s Maxim: To return as near as we could to that which the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt, has, I think, clearly ſhewed to be our original Conſtitution: I mean, that which was eſtabliſhed by King *Alfred*, and reſtored by *Edward the Confeſſor*.

If ever this, Sir, ſhould be thought neceſſary, we have now an Advantage which we never had till of late Years. Whilſt the great and antient Families of the Kingdom were all of them poſſeſſed, by hereditary Right, of greater Powers than were conſiſtent with the *Saxon* Conſtitution, it was not to be expected, that they would join with the reſt of the People, in reſtoring that Conſtitution; but, now our great Families are all ſtript of moſt of thoſe hereditary Powers: They can loſe nothing by our returning to our original Conſtitution, but muſt neceſſarily get a great deal; therefore, it is to be preſumed, they will all concur with the reſt of the People, in returning, as near as poſſible, to that Form of Government which was eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom by our Great, Good and Wiſe King *Alfred*, and reſtored by *Edward the Confeſſor*. In this Meaſure, the Crown likewiſe will certainly join, if ever it ſhould be thought neceſſary to make the Attempt; for, no wiſe King can refuſe to approve of what was eſtabliſhed by King *Alfred*; the greateſt ought to glory in treading in his Footſteps: As the Parliament is the King's great and chief Council; as it is from the Parliament only he can expect ſincere Advice; and, as it is by Means of a free Parliament only, that he can prevent thoſe to whom he delegates his Power, from making a bad Uſe of what he entruſts them with, therefore, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that a wiſe King will readily join in any Meaſure, that appears neceſſary for preventing its being in the Power of his Miniſters and Servants, to have an undue Influence upon his Parliaments.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Power of the Crown is now, in ſome Reſpects, more confined, or rather better underſtood, than it was in the Reign of *Edward* I. but yet, ſurely, no Man will pretend, that the Power of the Crown is not now in the Main much greater than it was in that Reign. The King has not now the Power to remove our chief Judges, when they refuſe to obey Orders; but he may, in order to in-

influence their Behaviour, grant them a private Penſion, or he may give ſome lucrative Poſt to ſome of their Relations; and, the Crown is now in a better Condition to do ſo than it ever was heretofore. This, we know, will not be done in the preſent Reign; this, we know, our preſent Judges would diſdain to admit of; but, we know how fond Miniſters have been, in former Reigns, of having the Opinion of the Judges in their Favour, and we know how fond moſt Lawyers are of a Fee; therefore, notwithſtanding the late Regulation with reſpect to our Judges, I do not think we are at all certain, that they will never, for the future, be liable to any Court Influence. But whatever Diminution of Power the Crown may have ſuffered in this Reſpect, it is much more than compenſated, by that vaſt Increaſe of Power it has acquired over the military Force of the Kingdom; for, no Man will pretend, that King *Edward* I. had ſuch a Power over the military Force of the Kingdom, as the King has now, over our regular Army, or even over our Militia: The King then named the chief Generals of our Armies; but every Baron led and commanded his own Men, and appointed thoſe Officers that commanded under him. To this let me add, that as all Power is great or ſmall in Proportion to the Power that is to oppoſe it, the Royal Power with reſpect to the military, is now to be deemed much greater than it was, becauſe the Power of our Barons is, in this Reſpect, dwindled away to nothing. The People in general are but a Rope of Sand, unleſs there be ſome great Man, or a few great Men, that have Power and Authority enough to unite them together; and, as no great Man can now depend upon having the Power or Authority to get any Number of Men to unite together under his Banner, therefore, if the Laws ſhould ever prove ineffectual for defending the Liberties of the People againſt the Uſurpations of the Crown, I am afraid our Liberties would find but a weak Defence in the Sword.

For this Reaſon, Sir, whatever Advantages the Nation may have reaped by diminiſhing the Power of our Barons, I am apt to think we have now got into the contrary Extreme. While they had the Command of the Militia within their reſpective Baronies, if the Crown attempted to encroach upon our Liberties, they not only defended them in Parliament, but when that failed, they were always ready with a ſufficient military Force, and often did defend them in the Field; and, if any Baron made a bad Uſe of the Power he had, by endeavouring to oppreſs the People within his Barony, they had the Laws of their Country, and the King's Judges, to have recourſe to, where they were always ſure to find Relief: Thus the People were always ſure of being guarded againſt Oppreſſion, either by the Law or the Sword; but as there is now no military Force in the Kingdom, except that which is abſolutely under the Power of the Crown, the People have nothing but the Law to truſt to, and the Law will always prove but a weak Defence to thoſe who have nothing elſe to truſt to.

As for the Power, Sir, which King *Edward* I. had, or exerciſed, with reſpect to thoſe who were in his Time the Members of our two Houſes of Parliament, I am far from thinking it was ſo conſiderable as the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt, has been pleaſed to repreſent; but if he exerciſed any extraordinary Powers, with reſpect to thoſe who had a Right to be Members of Parliament, (for it was in his Reign that the two Houſes firſt began to

be diſtinct) the Exerciſe of ſuch Powers was not founded in Law, nor upon our antient Conſtitution, but upon thoſe Alterations and Innovations that had been introduc'd by *William the Conqueror* and his Succeſſors. As our antient Conſtitution had been entirely overturned by the Conqueſt, and from that Time never reſettled upon any certain Plan, neither the Prerogatives of the Crown, nor the Privileges of the People, were well known or ſufficiently underſtood in *Edward* I's Reign, and therefore it is no Wonder to find Powers exerciſed by the Crown in his Time, which were neither conſiſtent with our antient Conſtitution, nor with the Rights and Privileges of a free People. This alone is ſufficient for ſhewing us, that we ought not to look for our original Conſtitution in his Reign, nor in that of any of his *Norman* Predeceſſors; therefore we muſt have Recourſe to the *Saxon* Times; and tho' we have but lame Accounts of thoſe Times, yet we have ſufficient to ſhew us, that moſt of our Magiſtrates and Officers, eſpecially thoſe of a low Degree, were choſen by the People.

There were ſeveral other Gentlemen ſpoke in this Debate; but as theſe three exhauſted the Argument, I think it unneceſſary to give any more of their Speeches.

This Journal to be continued in our next.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Find by ſome Advertiſements lately publiſhed in the News Papers, that Mr. *Urban* has been pleaſed to publiſh ſome Criticiſms upon the Accounts I have ſent you of the Debates in the Political Club. For this Reaſon I muſt deſire you will acquaint the Publick, that I never read any Thing he publiſhes; nor ever hear of any Thing he publiſhes, in the whole Circle of my Acquaintance; which makes me conclude, that his Monthly Bundle of *Galimatias*, is neither purchaſed nor read by any Man of common Senſe in the Kingdom: Therefore, I ſhall not give myſelf the Trouble to read, and much leſs to anſwer any Criticiſms he may, in order to fill up, find neceſſary to publiſh; for if they are read by any Man of common Underſtanding, which I can hardly believe poſſible, he will eaſily diſcover the Falſhood or Abſurdity of the Criticiſm; and as Fools generally favour one another, I know it is impoſſible to perſuade them that their Brother is in a Miſtake.

Remainder of the CRAFTSMAN *of* March 24. *Begun in our laſt*, page 144.

THE *third Squadron* was ſent to the *Weſt Indies*, and fully anſwer'd the Purpoſes, for which it was intended; for the *ſame Author* tells us, " * that it not only protected the *Trade* of his Majeſty's Subjects, in *thoſe Parts*, from the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; but alſo the *Galleons*, with their Stores of Money, the Strength of the *new Alliance*, and the Life of *all the Projects* concerted in it, were kept back; and *thoſe Attempts* diſappointed, which would have been made, and perhaps ſucceeded, had *ſuch Riches* come to their Aid." But it very ſoon appear'd, as the *Country Party* foreſaw and foretold, that *this Squadron* had no other Effect than putting us to a great Expence of *Money*, *Ships*, *brave Officers*, and a Multitude of our *beſt Seamen*, who rotted in an unwholeſome Climate, without being ſuffered to do themſelves any Honour, or their Country any Service. On the contrary, *this inactive*, or *perſuaſive Expedition*, was look'd

* *Enquiry*, *p.* 96.

look'd on as an *Act of Hoſtility* by the *Spaniards*; and accordingly they laid a vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*, which put us to a much farther Expence, without any Aſſiſtance from our *new Allies*, or any Reprizals made by our *own Fleet*, under Sir C. *W.* who might have eaſily taken their *Flotilla*, had it not been for (1) *long Nights*, and *dark foggy Weather*.

I muſt take Notice of another Argument in Defence of the *Hanover* Treaty, with Regard to all *Europe*, as well as *Great Britain*; for our *ſagacious Author*, or his *Directors*, who have certainly very good Noſes, ſmelt out another *ſecret Article* in the *Vienna Treaty*, (2) by which it was ſtipulated as an *eſſential Point*, that the *two Arch-Dutcheſſes*, Daughters to the *preſent Emperor*, ſhould be marry'd with the *two Infants of* Spain; upon which he obſerves, "*that ſuch an Alliance* muſt conſtitute a Power in *one Family* beyond all that we have known, *formidable* and *irreſiſtible*." This was not only thought to be groundleſs at firſt, and appear'd ſo afterwards; but, if it had been true, all *impartial Perſons* did not judge it to be of ſuch a *formidable and irreſiſtible Nature*. However, the *eldeſt Arch-Dutcheſs* is already marry'd to a *Prince*, who is not likely to aim at *univerſal Monarchy*; and *Don Carlos*, the preſent King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who was ſuppos'd to be deſign'd for her, is likewiſe marry'd to *another Princeſs*. But ſuppoſing, I ſay, that there was any Foundation for theſe *pretended Marriages* between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Spain*; can it be ſaid, with any Colour of Reaſon, that *ſuch Marriages* would have been attended with worſe Conſequences to *Europe* in general, or to *Great Britain* in particular, than the late Inter-marriages between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*? But to proceed.

The Siege of *Gibraltar* was carried on, for ſeveral Months, as I ſaid before, without any Aſſiſtance from our *new Allies*, and at a very great Expence to the *Nation*. But, at laſt, (3) *Preliminaries* were ſign'd, for a *general Pacification*; tho' it was immediately foreſeen, by the *Country-Party*, that the dark and ambiguous Manner of wording them would give Occaſion to many Cavils and Diſputes; particularly about the (4) *Spaniards* Claim to *Gibraltar*: Whereas the *Miniſterial Writers* inſiſted, that (5) *this Article of the Preliminaries* was ſo far from preſerving the Claim of *Gibraltar* to the *Spaniards*, that it abſolutely *extinguiſhed* it. But here, again, the *Country Party* were ſoon found to be in the Right; for the *Preliminaries* were no ſooner ſigned, than new Diſputes began to be ſtarted, about the Meaning of them, and (6) *ſuch Interpretations to be put upon the Words* of theſe Articles, *as utterly deſtroyed the real Deſign of them*.

After a great deal more Negotiation, for 8 or 9 Months, *another Convention* was ſigned at the *Pardo*, *March* 6, 1728, explanatory of the *Preliminaries*; in which it was once more ſolemnly agreed, (7) "that all the reſpective Pretenſions, *on each Side*, ſhould be produced, debated, and decided in the Congreſs." In Purſuance of *this Convention*, Plenipotentiaries were appointed, on both Sides, and aſſembled in Form at *Soiſſons*. But what did they do? Why, they took their Seats, complimented *one another*, ſpent ſeveral Months in *Diverſions*, and at laſt broke up, without adjuſting any *one material Point in Diſpute*.

A Thing indeed, called a *provi-*

(1) *Obſervations on the Conduct of* Great Britain, *&c. printed in the Year* 1729, *p.* 33. (2) *Enquiry, p.* 86. (3) See *the General Collection of Treaties, Vol.* 4. *p.* 174. (4) Craftſman, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 64, 118. (5) *Defence of the Enquiry, p.* 26. (6) *Ibid, p.* 11. (7) *General Collection of Treaties, Vol.* 4, *p.* 182.

ſional

ſional Treaty, was drawn up, during this Aſſembly; but as it was not approved, either at (1) *home*, or *abroad*, it was never made a *definitive Treaty*. So far from this, *our Miniſter* found it neceſſary to equip *another powerful Fleet*, which rendevouz'd at *Spithead*, under the Command of Sir *Charles Wager*, and made ſuch a gallant Appearance, that the *Spaniards* were ſoon frightened into Compliance, and at laſt were forced to ſign the ever memorable Treaty of *Seville*; which one of the *Court Writers* aſſured us (2) *was beyond the Reach of the moſt artful Malice*; and another *Right Rev. Apologiſt* told us, (3) *that it contain'd all we could expect, or deſire, in a Treaty*; tho' the Acceſſion of the moſt *material Power* was ſtill wanting, in order to put it into Execution; for as the principal Article, in *this Treaty*, was the Introduction of 6000 *Spaniſh Forces* into the ſtrong Places of *Tuſcany*, inſtead of as many *neutral Troops*, according to the *Quadruple Alliance*, it was natural to conclude, as all the *Country Party* did, that the *Emperor* would oppoſe *this Variation*, as it was gently term'd, both in Point of *Honour* and *Intereſt*; for he was not ſo much as complimented with an Invitation to accede to *this new Treaty*; and it was fully prov'd in ſeveral Pamphlets and Papers, on the *Country Side*, (4) that it very much affected his Intereſt in *Italy*, by introducing a *powerful Rival* there, with a large Body of their *own Troops*, inſtead of *Neutrals*; which might eaſily give them an Opportunity of introducing more, and driving the *Emperor* out of *Italy*.

But the *Miniſterial Writers* inſiſted, on the contrary, "(5) that the *Variation*, made by the *preſent Treaty*, of *Spaniſh* inſtead of *Swiſs Gariſons*, could not juſtify, in Reaſon and good Senſe, his *Imperial Majeſty*'s not conſenting to it, unleſs he could ſhew that he might be prejudic'd by *that Alteration*."

But the *Event* fully juſtify'd the Apprehenſions of the *Country Party*, and prov'd the Reaſoning of the *Court Writers* to be entirely groundleſs; for the *Emperor* not only reſented *this Tranſaction* as an Affront to his *Honour*, but repreſented his Caſe, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, to the Diet at *Ratiſbon*, and afterwards ſent a large Army into *Italy*, with Orders to oppoſe the Execution of the *Treaty*.

When we found the *Emperor* in earneſt, and reſolv'd to ſtand upon his Defence, we had Recourſe to *Negotiation* again; and the *Spaniards* not only continued the Blockade of *Gibraltar*, and the *Depredations on our Merchants*, but did not ſo much as nominate *Commiſſaries*, for adjuſting their *former Loſſes*, till the Engagements, in Favour of *Don Carlos*, were effectually put in Execution.

But about the Beginning of the Year 1731, a private Negotiation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Great Britain* began to get Air; and, in a few Months afterwards, a *private Treaty* was actually concluded between them, without the Participation of *France*, or *Spain*; tho' the Introduction of *Spaniſh Gariſons* into *Italy*, with the *Emperor*'s Conſent, was one of the principal Stipulations in *this new Treaty*; which we purchas'd of the *Emperor*, at the Hazard of guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and yet the Court of *Spain* could not be brought into it, without extreme Difficulty.

However, at laſt, Sir *Charles*

(1) *Obſervations on the Conduct of* Great Britain, &c. *p.* 37.——Craftſman, *Vol.* 4, *p.* 239. (2) *Obſ. on the Treaty concluded at* Seville, &c. (3) *Conſiderations*, &c. (4) Craftſman, *Vol.* 5, *p.* 266, 293. Coll. of Treaties, *p.* 57. Craftſman, *Vol.* 5. *p.* 285, &c. &c. (5) Obſervations, *p.* 10.

Wager was again diſpatched to the Coaſts of *Spain*, with a large Squadron, in order to wait upon Don *Carlos* and the *Spaniſh* Troops to his new Dominions. The *Admiral Ship* was fitted out, in a moſt ſplendid Manner, for the Reception of his *Serene Highneſs*; but he was graciouſly pleaſed to excuſe *our Admiral* that Trouble, chuſing to go by himſelf thro' *France*, and was contented to let Sir *C. Wager*, in Conjunction with his *own Admiral*, convoy the *Spaniſh Troops* into *Italy*.

Upon the Execution of *this wiſe Treaty*, we were obliged with another miniſterial Pamphlet, intitled, (1) *The natural Probability of a laſting Peace in* Europe; upon which I took the Liberty to aſk the following Queſtions, (2) "May not the *Italian Dominions* furniſh a Bone of Contention between *Germany* and *Spain*, in Times to come, as *Flanders* hath already done, between *France* and the *States General?* May not *theſe Pretenſions* prove the Means of *uniting France* and *Spain*, and involve *Great Britain* in a War, to ſupport her Engagements?" (Vol. I. p. 221.)

To theſe Queſtions it was replied, by the *Court Party*, and treated as a ridiculous Suppoſition, "(3) that *France* and *Spain* ſhould join in Arms againſt the *Pragmatick Sanction*. The Intereſts of *France* and *Spain (ſays he)* are ſo far incompatible, in this Affair, that the *Pope* and *Turk* might as well be expected to join in a War, for the utter Subverſion of the *Proteſtant Religion*." (V. I. p. 224.) To this it was added, by Way of Interrogation; "If the Crown of *Spain* had any Claims, any Demands upon the *Emperor* in *Italy*, can it be thought that this would unite the *French* and *Spaniards* together? Would the Court of *France* think it worth their Trouble, even to take away Power from the *Houſe of Auſtria*, if it were merely to add to the *Spaniſh Power?* Or are not the *French* and *Spaniards* naturally as jealous of *each other*, as *either of them* can be of the *Houſe of Auſtria?* And can it then be thought that *they* will ever *unite*, when their *Intereſts* always muſt be different?"

Notwithſtanding all theſe Arguments and Prophecies, on the *Court Side*, a War ſoon broke out in *Italy*, and upon the *Rhine*, againſt his *Imperial Majeſty*; in which we gave him no Aſſiſtance, according to *Treaties*, as he alledged; and therefore was obliged to make the beſt Peace he could with *France*, to his own very great Prejudice.

Accordingly, a *Plan of Peace* was concerted between the *Emperor* and *France*; which was immediately extolled, by the (4) *Miniſterial Writers*, as a moſt excellent Treaty, and the whole Honour of it given to *their Patron*, in a moſt fulſome Manner, tho' it was notorious that *our Plan of Accommodation* was rejected, with a Sort of Contempt, both by *France* and the *Emperor*.

Theſe Gentlemen had likewiſe the Modeſty to aſſert, that the Duchies of *Lorain* and *Bar* were but *trifling and inconſiderable Acquiſitions to* France; but it was ſhewn, on the *other Side*, that it is one of the moſt important Acceſſions, that *France* ever did, or could ever obtain; "(5) that it will produce, at leaſt, above *half a Million* a Year, and ſupport 30,000 *Men*; that it may be eaſily made an impenetrable Barrier to *France*, on that Side; and, at the ſame Time, be a *Key* in her Hands, to open or ſhut the Door into *Italy*, as Occaſion requires."

It was likewiſe objected againſt the *Plan of Peace*, by the *Country Writers*, "(6) that giving Don *Carlos*

(1) *Printed in the Year* 1732. (2) Craftſman, July 29, 1732. (3) Free Briton, Aug. 3, 1732. (4) Gazetteer, Jan. 15, 16. 1736. (5) *Some Obſervations on the* preſent Plan of Peace, *&c. p.* 25. Craftſman, *vol.* 14. *p.* 299, 316, 338. (6) *Obſervations, p.* 29. Craftſman, *vol.* 14. *p.* 300, *&c.*

by the *Stato del Preſidii*, or the Ports on the Coaſts of *Tuſcany*, ſeemed to have a very bad Aſpect; for as *theſe Ports* lie at a great Diſtance from his new-allotted Dominions of *Naples* and *Sicily*, it is hard to gueſs with what View this could be done; *unleſs* France *deſigned them as a Neſt-Egg for future Contentions, by giving the* Spaniards *an Inlet, at any Time, into* Lombardy; *or as* Dragon's Teeth, *which may hereafter riſe up in armed Men.*"

I muſt now leave the Reader to judge, whether the *Court*, or the *Country Party*, were moſt right in their Judgment and Conjectures upon all theſe Negotiations; whether the Politicks and Meaſures, on *one Side*, have not effectually united *France* and *Spain* againſt us; reduced the *Emperor* to a moſt deplorable Condition; and, in ſhort, occaſioned the preſent, unhappy Situation of Affairs in *Europe*.

As for the late *Convention* between *us* and *Spain*, it hath been ſo fully explained already, both within Doors and without, that I ſhall not trouble the Reader with any farther Remarks upon it, at preſent; but only wiſh that the *Event* may not equally juſtify the *Minority*, in their Apprehenſions of it.

Common Senſe, March 31. N° 113.

The CASE *between Lord* STRUTT *and 'Squire* BULL.

SIR,

IN Obedience to your Deſire, I have ſent you a full Account of the Diſputes between Lord *Strutt*, and 'Squire *Bull*, which are now the only Subject of Converſation in our Country.

Theſe two Gentlemen, whoſe Eſtates are neighbouring, tho' in different Counties, are both Proprietors of ſome Lands which lie at a Diſtance from the reſt of their Eſtates; the Paſſage to which lies croſs a large Common, which, Time out of Mind, has been free to both. My Lord, who is a proud, cunning Man, and was ever a mortal Enemy to the Family of the *Bulls*, ſome Time ſince took it into his Head to order his Servants, that whenever they found any Carriages belonging to Mr. *Bull*'s Tenants croſſing the Common, they ſhould ſeize them and bring them home to his Houſe, under a Pretence of their having been to fetch Corn, or cut Timber out of his Lordſhip's Grounds. Theſe Orders were punctually obey'd, and whenever any of 'Squire *Bull*'s Tenants drove their Waggons on that Side of the Common next the Encloſures belonging to my Lord (which the Badneſs of the Ways often oblig'd them to do) his Lordſhip's Servants were ſure to attack them, even with Fire-Arms, and not only plunder the Loading, but abuſe the Men in the moſt barbarous Manner, and carry away the Waggons and Teams, under a Pretence of having committed a Treſpaſs: But what renders my Lord *Strutt*'s Behaviour the more extraordinary is, that 'Squire *Bull* has long been acknowledg'd, and known by all the Country round, to be Lord of the Manor of this Common.

This Practice was long carried on, thro' the Connivance of a Steward, to whom the 'Squire has long truſted the Management of all his Affairs, and who, by the bye, is thought round us to have neither Honeſty or Abilities ſufficient to qualify him for the Office.

At length 'Squire *Bull*'s Tenants determin'd to lay their Grievances before their Landlord, in a Body, which they did; and at the ſame Time aſſur'd him, that unleſs they had ſome Redreſs they muſt throw up their Farms. What at this Time had a very bad Aſpect, and rais'd great Jealouſies of the Steward, was

that he endeavour'd as much as poſſible to prevent the Tenants delivering this Remonſtrance to his Maſter; but, notwithſtanding his Oppoſition, it was delivered, and the 'Squire promiſed them Relief.

Upon this, 'Squire *Bull*, by the Advice of his Friends, reſolv'd to go to *Law* with Lord *Strutt*, and ſpare no Expence in Defence of his Rights: In Conſequence of which Reſolution, he borrow'd large Sums of Money, feed Council, and made all neceſſary Preparations for Trial.

All this Time, my Lord *Strutt* never made one Step, or expended one Farthing towards his Defence; but, inſtead of that, continued his Inſults on the 'Squire's Tenants as uſual. This ſurpriz'd the Neighbours, till at length they diſcovered that the 'Squire's Steward was in League with my Lord, and had privately acquainted him that he need not be under any Apprehenſions concerning the Suit his Maſter had commenc'd, for he would take Care it ſhould never be brought to Trial.

'Squire *Bull*'s Steward was determin'd, at all Events, to prevent bringing the Cauſe to an Iſſue, and accordingly told his Maſter and ſome of his Friends (who were very much enrag'd at the unwarrantable Proceedings of my Lord *Strutt*) that he himſelf would undertake to accommodate all Matters with his Lordſhip, both to the Honour of his Maſter and the Tenants Satisfaction. Upon this, the Proceedings at Law were ſtopt, and ſome conſiderable Time paſs'd in endeavouring to reconcile the Differences; but during all this Time, my Lord behav'd in the moſt haughty inſolent Manner, abſolutely refuſing to make any Conceſſions, and, tho' a Propoſal of Amity was carrying on, ſtill continued his Violences.

This Behaviour, you may be certain, made Mr. *Bull*'s Steward very uneaſy, not for his Reputation, for he deſpiſed that, but his Place, perhaps, lay at Stake, and depended on his Succeſs. At length, finding my Lord immoveable, he had Recourſe to a Stratagem, which was, to prevail on his Lordſhip to ſign a Paper that had the Form and Appearance of an Agreement, tho' in Fact, no one Article in it could poſſibly be of any Service either to his Maſter or the Tenants.

The Articles on which 'Squire *Bull*'s Tenants chiefly inſiſted were,

1*ſt*. Reparation for the Damages they had ſuſtained.

2*dly*. Security for a free Paſſage over the Common, for the future.

All the Satisfaction 'Squire *Bull*'s Steward was able to obtain in theſe Points, amounted but to this:

In the firſt Place, Lord *Strutt* agreed to pay about a third Part of the Tenants Demands; but, at the ſame Time, inſiſted the 'Squire ſhould deliver up one of his Tenants who was under his Protection, and who, Lord *Strutt* pretended, tho' without any Foundation, was indebted to him in a Sum almoſt equal to that which he was to pay the reſt of the Tenants for their Damages.

As to the ſecond Article, which certainly was the moſt material, Lord *Strutt* refuſed to comply with it any further, than agreeing to refer it to the future Conſideration of two pedling Attorneys.

This Agreement, ridiculous as it may appear, the Steward was hardy enough to prevail on 'Squire *Bull* to ſign; nay, had ſo much Impudence as to boaſt what eminent Service he had done his Maſter's Eſtate by it. But when 'Squire *Bull* communicated this Affair to his Friends, who generally come about *Chriſtmas* Time in large Bodies to viſit him, they were alarmed, and hoped the 'Squire would by no Means be ſatisfied with ſo ſcandalous an Agreement.

The Tenants finding they were to receive ſo trifling a Satisfaction for their Loſſes, and no Security for an unmoleſted Paſſage over the Common for the future, applied to 'Squire *Bull*'s Friends to aſſiſt them with their Intereſt in the Recovery of their Rights and Liberties.

The whole Country is now in an Uproar, and all are waiting impatiently to ſee the Fate of the Steward.

It is thought, his Maſter will not only diſcharge him from his Service, but will, by ſome Means, make him refund Part of that Wealth he has amaſſed together by his cruel Exactions on the poor Tenants.

——*ſhire, Feb.* 26, 1738-9. *Yours, &c.*

§. *The* CASE *of* WILL. FOREMAST.

Honeſt Mr. Common Senſe,

I TAKE you to be a Sailor's Friend, becauſe you often ſtand by us, like a true Heart, in a Storm; and, if you will be ſo kind to ſet my Grievance down in Print, ſhould I ever come Yard Arm and Yard Arm with *Jack Spaniard*, you ſhall have a *Don*'s Noſe (which would be a great Rarity now-a-Days) to hang up in your Cloſet, or he ſhall have my Ears to ſend for a Preſent to the Court End of the Town.

You muſt know, my Meſs-Mate *Sampſon* and I took a Trip the other Day down to *Weſtminſter*, thinking to find you: We kept a good Look-out all the Way, at length we came to a great Hall, as long as a firſt Rate from Stem to Stern, at the End of which there was a Gangway, which we mounted up, and then there was a Place like a Quarter Deck; here we walked, fore and aft, as long as a Ship with a fair Wind might run three or four Knots; there we ſpied ſeveral Fellows in laced Jackets, with Bags that would hold a Peck of Burgow tied to the End of their Perriwigs, which might have about eight Hairs, over Heads that had nothing in them: We aſked ſeveral of them for you, but the Devil a one of them was acquainted with *Common Senſe*. So *Sampſon* went to a Man that ſold all Manner of Books, and aſked him, what Ship all theſe fair-weather Sparks belonged to? Huſh, ſays the Bookman, ſpeak ſoftly; and then he whiſpered, and told him, they were all Place-Men. With that we began to ſmoak him, and knew they were Sir What—d'ye—call—um's Fools. As *Sam.* and I ſcorn to keep ſuch Company, we went about Ship, ſtood upon t'other Tack, and ſo made Sail to *Wapping* again, from whence I make bold to write you theſe few Lines concerning my Condition, which is much the ſame with that of a thouſand brave Seamen now a ſtarving on Account of bad Uſage from you know whom.

I belonged to the good Ship, call'd, *The Suſſex India-Man*, which was left ſinking at Sea, and after many Hardſhips, during almoſt a two Years Voyage, and without any Proſpect of Wages for my Labour, at laſt arrived in the Channel, with that only Comfort left, of ſeeing *Old England* and my poor diſtreſſed Family once more; but, to my Sorrow, was no ſooner come into the *Downs*, than hurry aboard of a Man of War, deſtitute of Cloaths and all Manner of Neceſſaries, where I had ſtill ſome View of keeping my little ones from ſtarving, by the Credit I might have among my Neighbours, as being in a King's Ship; and they as well as I no ſmall Expectations, from my having an Opportunity of being up with *Jack* for his *Spaniſh* Tricks, in plundering and abuſing our Brother Sailors. Yet this Hope like-

likewiſe failed me; for, by a Thing with a bad Name (a Convention I think they call it) after I had only been three Months aboard, I was turned adrift, and that in the Dead of Winter, as were ſome Thouſands of us: But had we had our Will, we would have made a better and more honourable Convention than your Don *Ben* ——, or any fair-weather Fellow that ever came out of *Lynn*.

Now, Mr. *Common Senſe*, you muſt know, as no Voyage then offer'd, Trade being at a Stand, I was ſo reduced I had not a *brown Biſket* to eat, ſo am oblig'd to take Paſſage for a foreign Country; where I hope to meet with better Luck than I have done theſe ten Years by paſt in the Service of my own; for, in that Time, I have been twice taken by the *Spaniards*, four Times preſs'd on Board Men of War, and pay'd off in a few Months after; ſo that my King's Money did not pay for Wear and Tear; and, to belay all, loſt two Years Time and Wages in the *Suſſex*. Yet Accidents of the laſt Kind give me no Trouble; but, not only to be ill us'd, but inſulted by the *Spaniards*, is what nothing but a Landman can bear.

The Merchants have ſumm'd up and petition'd for their Loſſes, which, no doubt, are conſiderable; the *S. Sea Company* is deſir'd to give Account of their Loſſes; and I have heard, that ſome of your true-hearted Great Folks have talk'd, tho' it ſeems to no Purpoſe, about the Loſs of the Nation's Honour, which muſt be great indeed; but ſtill there's a Loſs I'm afraid remains that the King of *Spain* will hardly be able to make Reparation for, ſhould he make over his Flota to you; you will not therefore be ſurpriz'd, when I tell you, our Uſage of late has been ſo bad, both at home and abroad, that we have quite loſt our Spirits; the Inſults put upon us by moſt of our Neighbours, the little or no Satisfaction we have upon Complaint made, and the ſmall Encouragement we have in our own Service, has made us poor Sailors little better, I am afraid, than as many *Spaniards*.

What Recompence can the King of *Spain* make us for the Loſs of that which has ſo often made old *Lewis* and him ſhake in their State-Rooms? What Reparation can he make our Government, for the Loſs of many good Hearts of Gold, who will always be afraid of acting againſt the common Enemy ſo chearfully as they uſed to do before Conventions and Treaties were ſo much in Faſhion? And, laſtly, if 50,000 Seamen are worth taking Notice of, for all of us are Sufferers, what Reparation can be made us for the Treatment we have received, ſince we began to treat with the *Spaniard* in twenty-one? Are we not the only Subjects his Majeſty has that can be called Slaves? Can we truly ſay we have either Liberty or Property? You ſee us one Day pulled and hauled from our little Habitations, and hurried aboard a King's Ship, next Day diſcharged and begging; and, becauſe we are ſtout and hale, not pitied or entitled to any Relief. What then is left for us? Only, good Mr. *Common Senſe*, to tell the Parliament now ſitting, to do better for us than they have done theſe two Parliaments by paſt, or elſe make us S—— by Law, which is the only Thing wanting, it ſeems, to compleat the Miſeries and Grievances of your Well-wiſhers, among which Number I am,

Blue-Anchor, *near the* Hermitage, Wapping. *Yours*, W. FORE-MAST.

Craftſman, March 31. N° 664.

REMARKS *on the* GRAND QUESTION, *&c.*

Dear Caleb,

THERE is an old Saying, *that tho' we muſt not jeſt with my* Lord

Lord Mayor, *yet we may with his* Fool; which, at preſent, I apply thus: Tho' the *Convention* may be now grown of too ſacred a Nature to be freely examin'd, its *Fools* may be ſafely laught at, and ridicul'd. The *Convention*, (let it have been ever ſo honeſtly deſign'd, ever ſo wiſely conducted, or ever ſo glorioufly accompliſh'd) hath, amongſt its *Advocates*, ſome of the moſt *ſilly, impudent, ignorant, lying Varlets*, that ever dabbled in Ink, and blotted Paper. It is a Shame that ſo *good a Thing* ſhould be ſo abominably miſus'd by their abſurd Comments. *Thoſe*, who had the Honour of begetting *this Child*, ought to have provided *better Nurſes*, and not left it to the Care of *ſuch wretched Hands*.

After this Preface, I cannot be thought an Enemy to the *Convention*; or if, finding ſome of *theſe Caterpillars* crawling up the *Sunny-ſide* of it, (for a *Sunny-ſide* it certainly hath) I ſhould p——ſs them off, and ſtamp them under my Feet.

In theſe Animadverſions, I ſhall chiefly keep my Eye upon,

1. *The* Grand Queſtion, *whether* War, *or no* War, *&c.*

2. *Popular Prejudices againſt the* Convention, *&c. examin'd and anſwer'd*, &c.

3. *The* Convention *vindicated*, &c.

Many have been the Conjectures about the *Authors of theſe Pieces*. Some aſcribe them to the Writers of the *Gazetteer*. The *Pamphlets*, indeed, are dull enough for their Production; and they are low enough to be ſuſpected of ſuch ſcandalous Drudgery. But *who* could ſet them to Work? Can it be ſuppos'd that any Body, who had Wiſdom ſufficient to be concern'd in the *Convention*, ſhould be weak enough to leave the Defence of it to ſuch *ſtigmatiz'd Blunderers?* Others impute the Patronage, at leaſt, of *one of them*, to a *very conſiderable Foreigner*. This Conjecture, no Doubt, carries an Appearance of Probability; for it is evident that whoever wrote them, or hath been the Occaſion of ſpreading them, is a Stranger to the Language, the Conſtitution, the Intereſt, and the Strength of *England*; or elſe he diſſembles his Knowledge. But moſt People are of Opinion that they are the genuine Offspring of a very *noted Projector* and his *Aſſociates*, who have long dealt in ſuch *anniverſary Expedients*, and *Vindications* of them.—I ſhall begin with a few Remarks on the *Grand Queſtioniſt*.

Speaking of the Reſolutions of *laſt Seſſion*, *p.* 6; "the Queſtion then is, *ſays he*, was this *right* or not? And here ſure I may be allow'd to ſay it was *right Advice*, becauſe it was the *Advice of Parliament*." I cannot agree with him in this general Doctrine, concerning the *Infallibility of Parliaments*, and could produce ſeveral Inſtances from our Hiſtory to the contrary. But that the *Advice of Parliament*, laſt Year, was *right*, I never heard made a Queſtion till now. The next Time he pretends to ſcribble about *this Advice*, let him ſay, in plain Terms, that it being *wiſe* and *right* ſo to do, the *Parliament* came into *ſuch and ſuch Reſolutions*. Then let him prove that, in forming the *Convention*, thoſe Reſolutions were ſtrictly obſerv'd; by which he will do Juſtice to the *Reſolutions*, and Credit to the *Convention*.

He obliges us, *p.* 8, with a wonderful Secret, *viz.* "that fighting *pitch'd Battles in the Field*, or engaging in a *great Fight at Sea*, are very different Things from Battles fought over a *Diſh of Tea*, or a *Glaſs of Wine*; as all know, who are the leaſt acquainted with Hiſtory." What a ſhrewd Obſerver muſt *this Author* be? But if we are never to have any *real Battles*, either by *Sea* or *Land*, I think it very hard to reſtrain

ſtrain a *warlike People* (for ſuch we once were) from keeping up their Spirits a little, by drubbing *their Enemies* over their Cups. Theſe *Tongue-Battles*, I am ſure, will do the Nation as much Service, and at a much leſs Expence, than all the Mock-Engagements of *Hyde-Park* and *Hounſlow-Heath*.

He then tells us, *p.* 8. that the preſent Sate of Affairs in *Europe*, and that of our *natural Allies*, makes a War more than ordinarily diſadvantageous to us. For the *Emperor* hath his Hands full; and if he had not, he is too poor to aſſiſt us. So are the *States of Holland*, who are Sufferers by the *Spaniards* as well as we, but dare not think of *Hoſtilities*; and as for the *Northern Crowns*, they are gain'd over by large annual Subſidies to *France*, who is ſo cloſely united with *Spain*, that if we go to War with *one*, we muſt with *both*.

But here I beg Leave to put a few Interrogatories to the *Grand Queſtioniſt* himſelf.

1. *Who* was it, that concerted the *Hanover Alliance*, in Oppoſition to the Treaty of *Vienna* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, to the manifeſt Advantage of *France*, as every Body at firſt foreſaw, except a *few Buzzards and Beetles in Politicks?*

2. *Who* was it, not many Years ago, that contributed with *France* in Subſidies to the *Northern Powers?*

3. *Who* hath made up Differences between *France* and *Spain*, and enter'd into Engagements with *both* againſt the *Emperor?*

4. *Who* ſtood neuter, when the *Emperor* was attack'd by *France* and *Spain*, in Purſuance of *theſe Meaſures*, tho' contrary to *other Engagements?*

5. *Who* was it, all this Time, that kept up a very expenſive *Land-Force* at home, without making any Uſe of it?

6. What are the Advantages, that *England* hath made, by avoiding a *War?* How much of the *national Debt* hath been paid off, during our *pacifick Meaſures*; and what *Taxes* have been leſſen'd?

This ingenious Author having intimidated us with the Power of *France*, and her Alliance with *Spain*, afterwards makes *Spain* alone beat us to Pieces. The Force of his Arguments is as follows.

1. *There is not a* Bridge *over the Ocean.*

2. Horſes *can't ford the Bay of* Biſcay.

3. *The* Spaniſh Forts *are in their own Poſſeſſion.*

From whence he concludes, that we cannot think of carrying on a *Land War* againſt *Spain*; but, *p.* 15, he aſks whether *Spain* may not attempt a *Land War* upon *us?* The *Author*, being a very ſagacious Perſon, hath made as great Diſcoveries in *Geography* as in *Hiſtory*, and found out that *Spain* is much farther from *England*, than *England* is from *Spain*; or elſe the Difficulty on *both Sides*, to invade each other, would be equal, ſuppoſing their *naval Power* to be equal.

But at laſt it comes out, that all our Danger conſiſts in the *Pretender*'s Intereſt here. This ſhews to what Streights *theſe Authors* are driven; and that they are not aſhamed of any poor Plea to ſerve their paltry Purpoſes for the preſent. Does it not carry the higheſt Reflexion upon the *Government* itſelf, to ſuppoſe that we dare not defend our *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions*, for Fear of a *Popiſh Invaſion?*

In *p.* 15, he repreſents *Spain* invading us with *Squadrons*, *Fleets*, *Tranſports*, *Armies*, and what not? But in the very next Page, he makes the *whole Spaniſh Fleet* run into Harbour for Security, and brings out a Parcel of *Privateers*, not only *Spaniſh Privateers*, but *Privateers* of all Nations, under *Spaniſh* Colours. So

that

that *Spain*, which was just before invading us by *Land*, is now become formidable at *Sea*, by being *weak* and *inconsiderable*; whilst our *Wealth*, *Strength* and *Commerce* will only give the *Spaniards* more frequent Opportunities of distressing and conquering us. But, methinks, one might find out a Way to prevent these Inconveniencies. Suppose, for Instance, we should throw our *Trade* into the Hands of *France* and *Spain*. Then how might we work them about? They should have *Merchant-men*, and we would have *Privateers*. I warrant you, we should soon make them sick of *Trade* and *Riches*, and we should have nothing to fear —— *Cantabit vacuus*, &c.

From hence he carries the War into *America*; but, he hath taken Care to send a *light clean Frigat* to give Notice of the Approach of *our Fleet*; so all the *Plate* is taken out of their Ships, and when we arrive, there is nothing for us to do but burn the *Hulks*; nay, we cannot possibly do even that, because they may be drawn up into *Ports* out of our Reach.

If we think of stopping their Return to *Europe*, we cannot possibly keep them in *Port*, without watching them; "and have we forgot, *says he*, the Outcries and Clamours, on Account of the Squadron lying at the *Bastimentos*, in 1726, as if our *Men* and *Ships* were ruined by it?" The Amount of this Argument, I think, is as follows; that because Admiral *Hosier* was obliged to remain inactive, in a sickly Season, and an unwholesome Station, our *Ships* and *Men* suffered much, and the *Spaniards* nothing: From whence *our Author* concludes, that if *another Fleet* should be sent into the *West-Indies*, to fight the *Spaniards*, wherever they meet them, *that Fleet* too must likewise suffer by *Sickness*, without distressing the *Enemy*. But we are asked, *Where a Squadron may be stationed with better Success?* To which it was answered long ago, in the Bay of *Matanzas*, in the Island of *Cuba*, where they might have staid more conveniently than at the *Bastimentos*, and had a much better Chance of intercepting both the *Flota* and *Galleons*.

At last, *our Author* brings the *Spanish Plate-Fleet* out of their *Ports*; but still we are not to take them; because the *English Sailors* having no Regard to the Property of the *French*, *Dutch*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Merchants, they would plunder the Chests, and embezzle the Money. I confess myself almost puzzled with this Argument; for I cannot take upon myself to answer that honest *John Tar*, after he hath fought for a *Ship*, would not think himself intitled to pillage her a little; and, perhaps, make some other Reprizals upon the *Spaniards*, for all their ill Usage. As to the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Italians*, what have we to do with *them*, in a just War against *Spain*? This will be an eternal Argument for submitting to *any Depredations* and *Indignities*, without doing ourselves Justice.

P. 24, He comes to *his Treaty*, which he manages full as artfully as he did the *War*. "How, *says he*, is *War* to have an End? Why certainly by a *Treaty of Peace*. A *Treaty* then, of one Kind or other, some Time or other, must be made." Will not this Argument serve as well to justify the Treaty of *Utrecht*, of *Hanover*, or any *other Treaty*? Nay, I think it full as good an Argument for the *Author* directly to *hang himself*, as it is for the *present Convention*, by only changing the Words *War* for *Life*, and *Treaty* for *Death*; and I make no doubt that more People will concur with *me* than with *him*. It will run thus,

How is Life *to have an End?*
Why, certainly by Death.
Death *then, of one Kind or other, some Time or other, must be our Lot.*
The present Convention *is best.*
A present Halter *is best.*

The Reason and Conclusion are the same.

Could it be suppos'd that the *Convention* was not a Thing greatly for the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom, and that *our Author* was of Consequence enough to have had a Finger in it, I should imagine that he *squeak'd* a little, in the following Sentence. "Be the Measures *right*, or *wrong*, they are not the Measures of a *single Minister*." —— Tho' this is known but to a few, at present; yet Time, which brings all Things to Light, may at length discover the Truth of this likewise. Whoever hath had the negotiating of it, ought in my Opinion to have the Glory of it.——I am always for putting the *Pack* on the *right Ass*.

Common Sense, April 7. N° 114

Occasion'd by a LETTER *in the* GAZETTEER.

THIS *Paper*, some Time since, took Notice of the Insult offer'd to the most trading City of the World, by that Faction, which dispers'd *gratis* (tho' not at their own private Expence) a false and scandalous *List* of its *Common Council*, into all Parts of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. (See p. 136, 140.)

The wise Projectors of this Scheme have been so enraged at us, that, I believe, if *Bedlam* and *Newgate* had both broke loose, you could not hear more Scurrility and Nonsense than appear in the *Gazetteer* of *March* 24.

I would gladly know what Point they proposed to gain by exasperating so great a Body of People, as the whole City of *London*. Methinks there is something so wild and frantick in it, that it has the Face of *Malice prepense* against all Mankind; and I defy the Wisest

among them to give any Reaſon for this Meaſure, except it was done to gratify the Spite of one Man, who, in all the Affairs he has yet meddled with, never took one wiſe Step. If ever any Thing had appeared in him reſembling Prudence, we might apply to him the old Saying, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere, dementat prius*; — for undone he is; Ruin hangs over him; all the World ſees it, all the World ſays it. It is true, that Mankind are apt to talk as they wiſh; but now Reaſon and Probability are on their Side. Foreigners, who are unconcerned Spectators of our Diſputes, ſay the ſame Thing; all Travellers newly arrived from abroad, tell us, it is the general Talk in all the great Cities of *Europe*; that they expected every Poſt would bring News of the Overturning of this Man and his Mercenaries: By which it is plainly the Opinion of the whole World, that, according to the Nature of human Affairs, it is over with him.

But to return to our *Gazetteer:* By the ſputtering Virulence of the Stile, I ſcruple not to pronounce it the Handy-work of that political Merry-Andrew, or Jack-pudding Balance Maſter, whoſe Talents the World is already pretty well acquainted with. I know it by another Circumſtance; which is, that he has, in private Companies, ſaid the ſame Things, almoſt in the ſame decent Language.

I will freely own, that it is above my Capacity to anſwer it: A Man might as well pretend to anſwer the Barking of a mad Dog. However, I will talk to the Gentleman a little upon it, in Hopes it may make him know himſelf.

You exclaim loudly, Sir, that we ſhould reprimand the *Daily Poſt*, for ſtealing a Juſtification of the City of *London* from this Paper before it was publiſhed. But ſuppoſe we ſhould own, that we had a Mind to let the Citizens know, that their Defence, which appeared in the *Daily Poſt*, was the Work of *Common Senſe*, does that excuſe thee from the Scandals thou haſt thrown upon them? Suppoſe I ſhould likewiſe confeſs, that we had a Mind to receive the Profits ourſelves ariſing from the Sale of our Works, rather than that others, by Theft and Piracy, ſhould have the Benefit of them; will this wipe off the Abuſes which thou haſt thrown upon ſo many honeſt Men? But it is an old Trick of thine, and of a certain Relation of thine, when your Falſhoods are detected, to endeavour, by perſonal Scurrility, to divert the Diſpute another Way. But it ſhall not ſerve your Turn upon this Occaſion; for we promiſe you that the City ſhall not want proper *Memorandums* of thy good Will.

As to your Reflexion, that the Author of *Common Senſe* writes only to get Bread, *&c.* Was it put into decent Language, it amounts to no more than this; that, without doing any Thing mean or ſcandalous, he has ſome Talents by which he is able to ſupport himſelf like a Gentleman; and he will anſwer this Reproach as Dr. *South* did one of the like Nature. — It might have pleaſed God to have given thee Common Senſe, and if he had, thou mighteſt have been able to have maintain'd thyſelf without ſtealing too: But being the *Thing* thou art, if Fortune had been as unkind to thee as Nature, thou couldſt have done nothing elſe but ſteal. The Perſon with whom thou takeſt theſe Liberties ever had ſuch a ſtrong Averſion to ſtealing, that he could never prevail upon himſelf ſo much as to make the leaſt Court to Thieves, even in the higheſt Stations; and one Reaſon (was there no other) will always reſtrain him from ſtealing, that is, becauſe he would not, in any Circumſtance, be like thee.

Indeed, my Friend, thou art very unlucky in thy Expreſſion. Stealing is a Word which never ought to drop from thy Mouth. Haſt thou forgot, that the Head of thy Family was once committed for his Propenſity to that Failing? Look at home, and when thou doſt count over thy Guineas, give thyſelf a Moment's Time to reflect how they were got: Was not the much greater Part ſtollen from the Publick, and the Reſidue the Emoluments of Taylors Bills, and Taylors Cabbidge?

I know, that when the Character of a Po'troon is fix'd upon a Man, it is a Kind of Safeguard, or Privilege for being ſaucy without any Conſequence; and I know that, among the other brilliant Parts of thy Character, this heroick Quality, which thou would'ſt introduce as the Politicks of the State, has often ſerved thee as a Shield; where, for the ſame Behaviour, others would be obliged to anſwer with their Swords in their Hands, it muſt be own'd thou haſt been only kick'd out of Company.

If thou aſk me, do I know to whom I am ſpeaking? I anſwer; I am ſpeaking to one whom no Man ever did, or could poſſibly love or eſteem; I am ſpeaking to one diſtinguiſhed by low Habits, and Brutality of Manners; to one, whom every Quality of his Mind, every Geſture of his Body, contributes to render contemptible.

Thou haſt made it neceſſary, that ſomething of this Nature ſhould be told thee, that thou might'ſt underſtand that we know thee.

It may not be improper to inform thee now, that we will not hereafter be diverted from Points of more Conſequence to the Publick than making thee ridiculous; tho' we do not want Matter, nor perhaps a Turn for it. Had perſonal Satire been our Buſineſs, we could have entertain'd the World a whole Year with nothing elſe but Anecdotes of thy Family. Conſider thy ownſelf; conſider thy next Relation, and then confeſs, that you

have been treated even with Tenderneſs. His domeſtick Infamy has not been ſo much as touch'd upon in a certain Inſtance, which made his very Tools bluſh for him, who it was thought had long loſt the Senſe of Bluſhing. You all know what I mean, and therefore aſk no *Eclairciſement*; but bear one Thing in Mind, that whenever you attack any Adverſary with perſonal Abuſe, you make War at a great Diſadvantage; becauſe there is no Scandal you can falſely throw at others, but may with Truth be return'd upon your own Family.

Your threatning to cruſh others, cannot frighten when the publick Vengeance is ready to cruſh thyſelf. It is plain, that one of your Family is frighten'd out of his Wits, by the Guard of *Ruffians* which he has hired for his Perſon. Sure, you don't fancy that this is a Secret, when every Body has ſeen him ſurrounded by them in publick. If the Bravoes ſhould commit a Murder, will that avail him? No, he may diſband his *Ruffians:* The Reſentment which appears againſt him is not a ſudden Start of popular Fury: It is a conſiderate and ſober Conviction, confirm'd by Time and Experience, that either he or the P——— muſt be undone; and therefore a legal and regular Proceeding is what is hoped for, and expected by ten Millions of People.

The *Craftſman* and *Commmon Senſe* write in Defence of the Honour, the Trade and the Liberties of *England:* The honeſteſt and moſt ſenſible Men of the Kingdom think their *Works* deſerve Encouragement, and the whole Nation approves them. If you can anſwer them, do it: If you can't, why don't you ſilence them? There is nothing eaſier: It is but doing ſomething for the Publick Good: If they write againſt you after that, no Body will read them, and they are undone. I venture to give thee this Advice, becauſe I am ſure thou wilt not take it.

A little Time will (in all Probability) remove that Protection from thee which makes thee give thyſelf theſe inſolent Airs, and an Impeachment, or a Bill of Pains and Penalties, to which thou haſt a very good Right, or even a Committee of Enquiry, may take from thee that Wealth, which ſwells thy Pride, and may apply it, from whence it was taken; and then, my Friend, thy Fears will make thee civil. In the mean Time, if we ſhould have the Honour of hearing from thee in the ſame blackguard Stile, as the calling Rogue, or Raſcal, or Son of a Whore, which cannot properly be anſwered in Print, we ſhall take ſome other Method of letting thee know a Piece of our Mind;—and ſo *Adieu.*

Univerſal Spectator, April 7. N° 548.

Some odd CHARACTERS *expos'd.*

THERE are ſome Men who either have, or affect to have ſuch an Averſion to every abſurd, or conceited Character, that they make themſelves almoſt as ridiculous, by their exceſſive Delicacy, as they repreſent thoſe very Humoriſts to be, whom they ſo induſtriouſly avoid. Invite them to a Party of Pleaſure abroad, or an Evening's Entertainment at home, they enquire as ſcrupulouſly into your Company, as a bigotted Catholick would into your Bill of Fare in Lent; and, if any one of theſe impertinent Ingredients ſhould be found in it, however unexceptionable the reſt, they would no more be prevailed on to viſit you, than if you had the Plague. If by Accident they ſtumble into ſtrange Company, they ſit as uneaſily as a Miſer among Thieves; and, as ſoon as ever Decency will give Leave, hurry off with the greateſt Precipitation imaginable. Hence, when entertained by thoſe they love beſt and eſteem moſt, when in a Manner overflowing with Chearfulneſs and good Humour, at the very firſt Appearance of a new Face, all is dampt at once; they become, inſtantly, dumb as the antient Oracles, and not only look on the Stranger as an Intruder, but an Enemy.

There is another Species of Men, the direct Oppoſite of this; who conſider Life as an irregular Farce, and make it their Buſineſs to laugh at every Actor that appears, and every Scene that paſſes: To theſe, Folly, Affectation, and Abſurdity of all Sorts, are the whole Salt of Society. Coxcombs of all Sorts are but ſo many Buffoons and Merry-Andrews to make them Sport, and their extravagant Actions but ſo many extempore Interludes, which, as riſing from pure Nature, afford, ſay they, more exquiſite Pleaſure, than the moſt maſterly Imitations of the greateſt Genius. I once knew a Gentleman who was perfectly infatuated with Purſuits of this Nature; inſomuch that he did not content himſelf with lying in wait for Fools, but made it his whole Buſineſs to hunt them out; being more pleas'd with ſtarting freſh Game and running them down, as he call'd it, to oblige his Friends, than with all the other Enjoyments that flatter the Ambition, Luxury, or Vanity of Mankind.

But there is another much more dangerous Character of this Sort, as 'tis either blended with Malice, or adminiſters Satire ſo exquiſitely diſſembled, that you miſtake it for Advice; and, by making a Compliment to the Judgment of your pretended Friend, ſink, unawares, into the moſt fatal Abſurdities: This belongs to him who gravely affects to diſcover Talents in you, that you never flattered yourſelf with before; who aſſerts you are too modeſt, that no Body better deſerves, or can ſo eaſily procure Preferment; that your Friends wonder you do not apply, and rather condemn you, as one above being obliged, than applaud you for not being troubleſome. If the Bait takes, he clenches all, by point-

ing out what to aſk, and who will be proud of being your Patron; takes care to put you on a wrong Scent in both; refers you to that very Creature who will treat you worſt, and perſuades you to ſolicite the only Thing you are moſt unfit for; and, when you are become ridiculous to his Heart's Content, not only joins the Laugh, but begins it all over the Town.

There are, however, laudable Uſes to be made of this ironical Vein; for Example, when it is employ'd with an honeſt Intention to cure the Foibles of a Friend, without aſſuming the Character of a formal Adviſer; or when 'tis extorted by Way of Self-Defence; that is, when Impertinence becomes troubleſome, and you have no Way to make yourſelf Amends, but by turning it into Entertainment. This was the Caſe of a Friend of mine, who once invited me to dine with him at his Lodgings. He was a Bachelor, not an old one, tolerably handſome, and in eaſy Circumſtances: His Landlady, a gay Widow, tho' upwards of forty, and her Niece, a Coquet of full half that Age, were our Company at Table; where we had not been ſet many Minutes, before I diſcover'd a manifeſt Rivalſhip between the two Ladies for my Friend's Heart; the amorous Dowager overwhelming him with Civilities and Compliments, while her Niece, touch'd to the Quick that he did not repulſe her too forward Advances, pertly upbraided him with Want of Taſte, and appeal'd to me if Love and Gallantry were not prepoſterous on the wrong Side of fifty. At this provoking Affront the Aunt redden'd; I was at a Loſs which Side to take, and Miſs put on Airs of Triumph, as if ſhe was ſure of her Cauſe; when my Friend, with an infinite deal of Humour, took Occaſion to ſay ſo many handſome Things of his Landlady, and with ſuch a Face of Sincerity, as not only re-aſſur'd her, but enabled her to turn the Tables ſo effectually upon her Niece, that ſhe roſe from Dinner abruptly, quitted the Room without taking Leave, and ſhut the Door after her with ſuch Violence, as ſhook the Houſe. Elate with this Victory, the good Dowager grew ſo ridiculouſly vain, that ſhe entertain'd us by the Hour with the whole Character and Adventures of her Niece; diſplay'd all her Faults, Levities, and Miſcarriages to the beſt Advantage, and totally forgot the Relation to expoſe the Rival: *In ſhort, Gentlemen*, ſays ſhe, very ſeriouſly, by Way of finiſhing Stroke, *for all ſhe is ſo pert, ſhe never had a Lover in her Life, who did not deſert her the very Inſtant they had an Opportunity of making their Addreſſes to me: 'Tis true, her Fortune is dependent, and mine, ſuch as it is, my own: But I have been aſſur'd over and over again, that was no Part of the Conſideration.* Here the good Lady toaſted my Friend's Health in a Bumper; and he, on the other Hand, carried on the Scene with ſo much Addreſs, and play'd her off with ſuch a Profuſion of artful Flatteries, that I began to fear ſhe would forget there was a third Perſon in Company, and indulge her Raptures at ſome little Expence of Decorum. But my Apprehenſions were ſoon remov'd; for my Freind (not being aware of the Situation of a large Looking-Glaſs, which was placed ſo unluckily, as to give her a full Sight of his Face, when her own ſeem'd to be turn'd a different Way) juſt at this Moment tipt the Wink on me, with ſo arch a Look, as explain'd the whole Farce at once; on which the Lady fell into a Confuſion not to be expreſs'd, fiddled a Moment or two with her Lappets and Apron-Strings, then flung out of the Room as her Niece had done before her; and, immediately, ſent in a Servant to deſire my Friend to provide himſelf with Lodgings and Fools elſewhere.

Craftſman, April 7. N° 665.

After a beautiful Quotation from Tacitus, *of the miſerable State of* Rome, *when the Senate, the Magiſtrates, the Soldiery, and all Ranks and Orders of Men were corrupted, Mr.* D'Anvers *gives us ſeveral Paſſages from Dr.* D'Avenant.

THE *Liberties* of a Country (ſays the Dr.) are ſeldom invaded all at once. The *Steps of Power* are leiſurely and ſlow. *Miniſters*, who have it in their Thoughts to change the *Nature of a Government*, go to work by Degrees. At firſt, they make uſe of the *moſt popular Hands* they can poſſibly procure, ordering it in ſuch a Manner, that the *People* may not perceive who it is, that puts their Fetters on. But *theſe popular Men* are turned out, at the firſt convenient Seaſon, that *all may be of a Piece*. Their next Buſineſs is, to corrupt ſuch Perſons as have the *cleareſt Fame*, whom they diſcard, when ſufficiently tainted; and this they do, that the *People* may think *all Mankind alike*, which naturally drives them to follow thoſe only, who are *in Power*, and who can do them good. Afterwards, they get from the Nation all the *Money* they can, the *collecting* of which erects *new Employments*, and creates them a Number of *Dependents*; who, in *one certain Place*, are their chief Strength, and beſt Support. By the Diſtribution of theſe Sums, they likewiſe make *more Friends*; but being never out of Fear of *accounting for all at laſt*, their principal Aim is to procure *their Maſter* ſuch a *ſtanding Revenue* as may make him ſubſiſt, without the *People*'s Help. If they find this impoſſible, or difficult, then by *Accuſations*, by *exorbitant Proceedings*, without any Precedent, and by harraſſing *private Perſons*, either in their *Fame* or *Fortune*, they endea-

endeavour to make all the different Ranks of the *People* out of Love with their *antient Conſtitution*. But when they have done all this, they will not yet think themſelves quite out of Danger. * *Senatus & Populus nunquam obſcura Nomina, etſi aliquando obumbrentur.* They will ſtill lie under Apprehenſions of being reached at laſt, by the *Guardians of Liberty*. Therefore, to damp all Thoughts of *Freedom*, to influence the *better Sort*, and to awe the *Vulgar*, their laſt Work is to procure a *ſtanding Army*.

Dr. *D'Avenant* ſpeaks this only, upon the Suppoſition of ſome *future corrupt Times*, and I apply it accordingly; for no Body can ſuppoſe me to mean the *preſent*. In the ſame Manner, and with the ſame honeſt View, he reaſons in another Place, on the Suppoſition that the Principles of *each Party* are ſuch as he ſtates them.

If *old Whigs* (ſays he) ſhould hunt after *Places*, as much as ever the *Tories* did; and if, like *them*, upon Preferment, they ſhould become quite *new Men*, in Voting, Thinking, and Speaking; in a Moment making a ſudden Turn from the whole Courſe of their *former Lives*; if *old Whigs*, as the *Tories* did, ſhould ever take *Bribes* and *Penſions* to betray their Truſt; if they ſhould do any Thing to break into the *Habeas Corpus Act*, which is the chief Guardian of our *Liberties*; if they ſhould oppoſe any good Act for the *frequent Sitting of Parliaments*, which Want in our Conſtitution produced all our *former Miſeries*: If, as the *Tories* did, they ſhould ſend *their Emiſſaries* about, to influence or corrupt *Elections*; if *old Whigs*, to whom *Meum* and *Tuum* was once ſo ſacred, ſhould come to ruin a Society of *trading Men*, and at one Blow deſtroy many hundred Families; if *old Whigs* ſhould perſuade any *future Prince* to cloſet *Members*, as was done in the *preceding Reigns*; if, by their Power, they ſhould get Men turned out of *Employments*, for purſuing the Dictates of their *Conſcience* and *Underſtanding*; if, like the *Miniſters* heretofore complained of, they ſhould have a Band of *Penſioners*, ready to give up *any Right*, to grant *any Sum*, and to excuſe, nay even to vote *their Pay-maſter* Thanks *for any Mal-adminiſtration*; if the *old Whigs* ſhould reſtore to Men the *ſame diſhoneſt Intereſt* they had heretofore; if they ſhould conſume us in their *miniſterial*, and ſell us in their *legiſlative Capacity*; if they ſhould deſire to have Things govern'd rather by *Tricks* and *little Arts*, than according to the Direction of the *Laws*, or the Bent of the *People*; if *they*, who, upon the virtuous Principle of keeping *England* a *free Country*, in former Times, oppos'd *all Exciſes*, ſhould be brought to create ſo many *new Offices* and *Officers*, as may influence *Elections* round the Kingdom; if *they*, who heretofore thought the beſt Way to preſerve their *civil Rights* was to keep the *Purſe*, and have always ſomething to *give*, ſhould be for ſettling *ſuch an immenſe Revenue on the Crown*, as may make *Parliaments* unneceſſary; if *they*, who were ſo careful, in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. not to burden the Nation with *Taxes*, ſhould give away the *People*'s Wealth, as if *England* were a *Mine of Treaſure*, never to be exhauſted: If in this Manner the *old Whigs* ſhould quite change their Minds, and go thus retrograde from all their *former Speeches, Actions*, and *Counſels*;—and if all that hath been here mention'd, ſhould happen, then would the *Conſtitution of this Country* be utterly ſubverted.

Again he ſays, When *Corruption* hath ſeiz'd upon the *Repreſentatives of the People*, it is like a *chronical Diſeaſe*, hardly to be rooted out. When *ſervile Compliance* and *Flattery* come to predominate, Things proceed from bad to worſe, till at laſt the Government is quite diſſolv'd, *Abſolute Monarchies* are in Danger of great Convulſions, when *one Man*, their *Prince*, happens to be weak or wicked. But *Commonwealths*, or *mixt Conſtitutions* are ſafe, till the chief Part of the *leading Men* are debauch'd in Principles. However, *Monarchy* hath this Advantage, that the *one Man*, their *Prince*, is mortal; and, if *bad*, may be ſucceeded by a *better*. But a *People*, thoroughly corrupted, never return to their right Reaſon; and we ſee, that the Depravity of Manners, which began in *Rome*, preſently after the *ſecond Punick War*, amongſt the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, became every Year worſe and worſe; till at laſt *Cæſar* deſtroy'd the Commonwealth; and, after his Time, under the ſucceeding Emperors, *every Senate* grew more abject and complying than the other; till, in Proceſs of Time, the *old Roman Spirit* was utterly extinguiſh'd, and then *that Empire*, by Degrees, became a Prey to barbarous Nations.

If *all the Parts of a State* do not, with their utmoſt Power, promote the *publick Good*; if the *Prince* hath other Aims than the Welfare of his Country; if ſuch as repreſent the *People* do not preſerve their Courage and Integrity; if the *Nation's Treaſure* is waſted; if *Miniſters* are allowed to undermine the *Conſtitution* with Impunity; if *Judges* are ſuffer'd to pervert Juſtice, and wreſt the *Law*, then (ſays he) is a *mixt Government* the *greateſt Tyranny* in the World. It is a *Tyranny* eſtabliſhed by a Law. It is authoriz'd by *Conſent*; and ſuch a People are bound by *Fetters of their own making*. A *Tyranny*, that governs by the *Sword*, hath few Friends but *Men of the Sword*; but a *legal Tyranny*, where the People are only call'd to confirm Iniquity with *their own Voices*, hath on its Side the *Rich*, the *Fearful*, the *Lazy*; thoſe, who know the *Law*, and get by it; *ambitious Churchmen*, and all thoſe, whoſe Livelihood depends upon the quiet Poſture of Affairs; and the Perſons here de-

* *Tacit. L. 2.*

deſcrib'd compoſe the influencing Part of moſt Nations; ſo that *ſuch a Tyranny* is hardly to be ſhaken off——Men may be ſaid to be enſlav'd by *Law*, or *their own Conſent*, under *corrupt Republicks*, ſuch as was the *Roman Commonwealth*, from the Time of *Cinna* till the Attempts of *Cæſar*; and, under *degenerate mixt Governments*, ſuch as *Rome* was, whilſt the *Emperors* made a Shew of ruling by *Law*, but with an *awe'd* and *corrupted Senate*; to which Form of Government *England* was almoſt reduc'd, till K. *William*, of ever glorious and immortal Memory, came over to put *our Liberties* upon a firm and ſtable Foundation.

The TRIALS *of the ſeveral* WEAVERS *and others, concerned in the late tumultuous* RIOT *at* MELKSHAM: *At the Aſſizes at* SALISBURY, March 15, 16. *before Mr. Juſtice* Denton.

Taken from the SALISBURY *Journal.*

RICHARD *Rowd*, indicted for being aſſembled in Company with a great many others at *Melkſham*, in the County of *Wilts*, in an unlawful and riotous Manner, and feloniouſly aiding and aſſiſting in pulling down and demoliſhing a Houſe of *Henry Coltburſt*, of *Melkſham*, aforeſaid:——To which he pleaded not Guilty.

Philip Cromwell ſworn Evidence.

Counſel. Philip Cromwell, Do you know the Priſoner at the Bar?

Cromwell. Yes, pleaſe your Honour.

Coun. Does he uſually work at the Woollen Manufacture?

Crom. No, he is by Trade a Brickmaker, and not concerned in the Woollen Trade.

Coun. Did you ſee the Priſoner among the Rioters on the 28th Day of *November?*

Crom. No, my Lord, I did not ſee him on the 28th, but on the 29th of *November* in Mr. *Coltburſt*'s new Houſe.

Coun. In what Part of the Houſe did you ſee him, and what was he doing there?

Crom. He was up in a Garret punching off the Tiles, on which they fell down to the Ground.

Coun. Was the Houſe all untiled?

Crom. No, pleaſe your Honour, I ſtood at the Backſide of the Houſe, and obſerved a Hole in the Roof of the Houſe, big enough for ten or twenty Perſons to look in at, and ſaw this *Rowd* punching off the Tiles with a Club which he had in his Hand, with which I ſaw him punch off 20 or 30 Tiles, I ſaw him do nothing elſe.

Judge. What do you mean by Mr. *Coltburſt*'s new Houſe?

Crom. Not the Houſe he lived in, but another Houſe, a Houſe built with Free-Stone.

Coun. What was there more done to that Houſe?

Crom. The greateſt Part was pulled down, and Windows broke, the very Stone punched down, and the Windows all beat to Pieces, and the Frames flung out into the Streets.

William Cope ſworn.

Coun. William Cope, Was you at *Melkſham* the ſecond Day of the Riot?

Cope. Yes, my Lord, I was there drinking at the *George* Inn.

Coun. Did you ſee the Priſoner in Company with the Rioters?

Cope. Yes.

Coun. What did you ſee him do there?

Cope. I did not ſee him do any Thing, but ſaw him on that Day with the Riotets.

Coun. What Trade does he practiſe?

Cope. I believe he follows Brick-making in the proper Seaſon, at other Times he works at Huſbandry.

Mary Harding ſworn.

Coun. Mary Harding, Was you at *Melkſham* on the 28th Day of *November?*

Harding. Yes, my Lord, I live there.

Coun. Was you there *Wedneſday Nov.* 29, and did you ſee the Rioters there?

Hard. Yes, I ſaw a great Number of them.

Coun. How many might there be of them?

Hard. I can't ſay poſitively, I think there was near 200 of them that I ſaw.

Coun. Did you ſee the Priſoner at the Bar with them?

Hard. Yes, I did.

Coun. What did you ſee him do there?

Hard. I ſaw him help to tear the Cloth, and throw it into the Highway; I ſaw the Mob throwing the working Tools out of the Shop at the ſame Time.

Coun. What more was done?

Hard. They broke the Windows and untiled the Shear Shop.

Coun. The Priſoner was among them you ſay?

Hard. Yes, the Priſoner was among them, and I ſaw him tear the Cloth.

Amelia Harford ſworn.

Coun. Amelia Harford, Was you at *Melkſham* on the 28th Day of *Nov.* laſt?

Harford. Yes, my Lord.

Coun. Did you ſee the Rioters there?

Har. Yes, I ſaw them there to a vaſt Number.

Coun. Did you ſee the Priſoner at the Bar there?

Har. Yes, I did.

Coun. Did you ſee him on the 29th of *November?*

Har. Yes, I did.

Coun. And what did he do that Day?

Har. I obſerved nothing he did, I ſaw him in Company with the reſt of the Rioters.

James Cannings ſworn.

Coun. James Cannings, Was you at *Melkſham* the 29th of *Nov.* and did you obſerve what was done there then?

Can. I was then at *Melkſham*, and ſaw the Mob

Mob there; I was then in Mr. *Awdry*'s Houſe to take Care of the Mob, and between 9 and 10 of the Clock *Richard Rowd* and his Brother came and demanded Money, with Bullying and Oaths, and broke ſome of the Glaſs of the Windows; when I went thence they followed me, and mobbed me; I ſaid, *Richard Rowd*, you was the Man demanded my Money, and he ſaid, you are a damn'd Liar, 'twas not me, it was my Brother.

Coun. Did he ſeem to behave riotouſly, and to do Damage there?

Can. I ſaw him do no more than I have mentioned, and this is all I know of him.

Judge. Have you any Thing to ſay for yourſelf?

Priſoner. My Lord, I have been often taken by Perſons, and by ſome of the Evidences againſt me, for my Brother, an Inſtance of which was my Brother's owing a certain Perſon four Shillings, which was demanded of me.

Judge. Have you any Witneſs?

Priſoner. No, my Lord, I am but a poor Fellow and had not Money to bear the Charges, otherwiſe I would have ſubpœna'd them; I believe there are ſome in Court can witneſs I was at a diſtant Place the ſame Day they ſwear I was at *Melkſham*.

Judge. Call them.

Priſoner. Call *Sarah Waters*.

Sarah Waters ſworn.

Coun. Sarah Waters, What do you know as to the Priſoner at the Bar?

Waters. This Man was in *John Rowd*'s Houſe the 29th Day of *November*, from 9 in the Morning until 6 in the Afternoon.

Coun. Where is this *John Rowd*'s Houſe?

Waters. At *Trowbridge*, four Miles from *Melkſham*.

Coun. Who do you live with?

Waters. John Wyat.

Coun. What are you to *John Wyat?*

Waters. A Servant.

Coun. Where does *John Wyat* live?

Waters. At *Trowbridge.*

Coun. What is the Nature of your Service to him?

Waters. I ſpin, take Wages every *Saturday* Night.

Coun. What Day of the Week is that you mention? I ſhould be glad to know what Day of the Week it was.

Waters. I can't tell.

Coun. Recollect yourſelf, if you can.

Waters. I can't.

Coun. Pray tell us how you know the Day of the Month, and by what Token?

Waters. Becauſe the Riot was on that Day.

Coun. How do you know the Riot was there then?

Waters. Becauſe I heard it ſaid ſo.

Coun. Did not you hear them ſay it was on the 28th, as well as the 29th?

Waters. Yes.

Coun. How did you come not to hear he was there the 28th, as well as the 29th of *November?* you ſay there was the Riot both Days, What is your Reaſon for ſaying he was there more one Day than another? Give a Reaſon, Child, ſpeak out, ſpeak the Truth.

Waters. He was both the 28th and 29th too.

Coun. You ſaid 29th before, Was not you there on the 28th?

Waters. No.

Coun. Did you ſee him on the 28th?

Waters. No, Sir.

Coun. Then how came you to think he was on the 28th as well as the 29th?

Waters. I thought I heard them ſay he was.

Coun. One Word more. You ſay you live with Mr. *Wyat*, pray how far is Mr. *Wyat*'s Houſe from this *Rowd*'s?

Waters. About two Grounds.

Coun. If you live with Mr. *Wyat*, how comes it to paſs you was out of Mr. *Wyat*'s Houſe?

Waters. I have been there a Week together.

Coun. I thought you had worked in *Wyat*'s Houſe; pray tell me how you came to be at *Rowd*'s Houſe all that Day?

Waters. I have been there a Week together.

Coun. What Buſineſs called you there then?

Waters. It was to tend *John Rowd*'s Child, which was bad in an Ague.

Coun. Is not this *Rowd* married?

Waters. Yes.

Coun. Could not ſhe look after the Child herſelf?

Waters. She had other Employment then.

Coun. Did ſhe pay you any Thing?

Waters. Yes, ſhe gave me ſome Victuals and Drink.

Coun. What Time of the Day did you go thither firſt?

Waters. I went at 6 o'Clock.

Coun. How long did you ſtay there?

Waters. Until Night.

Coun. What Time did the Priſoner come there?

Waters. He came in at 9 and ſtaid until 6 in the Afternoon; he came to ſee his Brother.

Coun. Was his Brother at home all that Time?

Waters. Yes.

Coun. What is his Brother's Buſineſs?

Waters. I can't ſay, I don't know Mens Buſineſs.

Coun. You ſay you can't recollect the Day of the Week.

Waters. No, Sir.

Coun. Pray tell me what Day of the Month this is?

Waters. I can't, Sir.

Coun.

Coun. Pray tell us what Month this is?

Waters. It is *March.*

Coun. How ſhould you be able to recollect the Day of the Month, when you don't know the Day of the Month you are giving Evidence on, give us a Reaſon?

Waters. I can't tell, indeed, Sir.

Coun. How came you to be a Witneſs here for the Priſoner, who ſent for you?

Waters. I came up with his Siſter-in-law to help bring the Child up.

Coun. 'Twas neceſſary, I ſuppoſe, for the Health of the Child, the Child ſhould be brought to *Saliſbury.* You did not think of being a Witneſs before you came hither; who deſir'd you to be a Witneſs?

Waters. The Priſoner at the Bar.

Coun. How long ago was it, and where was it he deſir'd you to be a Witneſs for him?

Waters. He ſent Word to me to be a Witneſs by a Letter to his Siſter-in-law.

Joan Rowd called, but abſent.

David Certain ſworn.

Coun. David Certain, What have you to ſay as to this Affair?

Certain. I was at *Melkſham* the 29th of *November* laſt, and ſaw *Francis Rowd* there, the Brother of the Priſoner at the Bar; he was there about 2 or 3 of the Clock, or ſome Time before Night.

William Bryant ſworn.

Coun. William Bryant, What have you to ſay as to the Priſoner at the Bar?

Bryant. I know *Francis Rowd,* the Brother of the Priſoner at the Bar, and ſaw him at *Melkſham* the 29th of *November* ſome time in the Afternoon.

Then the Judge ſummed up the Evidence to the Jury; upon which they went out, and brought in their Verdict Guilty. *Death.*

[*To be continued.*]

Common Senſe, April 14. N° 115.

I VALUE myſelf not a little upon having been the firſt Perſon who undertook to juſtify our excellent M——r with Reſpect to the preſent preliminary Convention; and I may, without Vanity, add, that I am the only one, on that Side the Queſtion, to whom the World hath given the leaſt Attention.

Upon ſecond Thoughts, I will except a Pamphlet, entitled, *A Series of Wiſdom and Policy,* which I recommend, becauſe the Author's Sentiments happen to ſquare with my own.

It is true, the great Man hath, upon this, as well as upon all other Occaſions, ſounded forth his own Praiſes himſelf, for which he hath my Approbation; if a Man doth not ſhew the World, that he hath a Value for himſelf, how can he expect that the World ſhould have a Value for him? If it be laudable for a Man to give himſelf Food and Raiment when he wants them, by the ſame Rule he ought to give himſelf Praiſe when he wants it.

All his Meaſures have been ſtigmatiz'd with the genteel Epithets of corrupt, ignorant, and blundering; which is owing to the Prejudice of the World, that will not read thoſe incomparable Papers and Pamphlets given *gratis,* and written by himſelf, his next Relation, and five and fifty other ingenious Gentlemen, forty of whom are now learning to ſpell.

I therefore humbly move, that Mr. *Collier* or *Hopkins* ſhall write Notes upon every Paper and Pamphlet that is given away *gratis*; the Publick muſt pay it. I have heard Pope ſay, and with great Reſentment, if nobody will write, or ſpeak, or — for him, without being paid, why ſhould he expect that any Body ſhould read for him without being paid?

In the mean Time, I will take up the Cudgels in his Defence, and having firſt laid it down as a Maxim, that Peace is better than War, without an Exception in any Caſe whatſoever, I will, upon this Foundation, raiſe a Battery, from whence I hope to demoliſh all the Arguments of the Male-Contents.

It hath been objected, that what betwixt the Negotiations of one Gentleman abroad, and the Meaſures of another at home, the Nation is neither beloved nor feared; and that one of them hath declared, in the Preſence of 500 Perſons, that we have neither Friends, nor Allies, nor Money to go to War; by which, ſay the Malecontents, they ſtand condemned by their own Confeſſion.

So far from being condemned, I think they deſerve the higheſt Praiſe; for, if they have managed ſo well that we have neither Friends, nor Allies, nor Money, to go to War, we may depend upon a ſolid and laſting Peace.

It hath been ſaid, that we ought not to go to War, becauſe the Event of War is uncertain: And when War is begun, no Body knows when it will end. Theſe are wiſe Sayings, worthy of the wiſe Men who deliver them, and may be applied to ſome other pretended Grievances as well as War, particularly the Decay of Trade. I hope therefore, our Merchants will take notice, that the Event of Trade is full as uncertain as the Event of War: That when Ships are ſent to Sea, no Body can tell when they will return, or whether they will ever return, or not; for which wiſe Reaſon let them forbear ſending Ships to Sea.—It is newly diſcovered to be a vulgar Error, that Merchants are uſeful to a Commonwealth; I hope, therefore, that all Men will ſay, with the Friends of the excellent Perſon of whom we are writing, that the greateſt Bleſſing to a trading Nation is to loſe its Trade.

If

If our Sugar Colonies ſhould be ſuffered to run to Decay, it may be juſtified by the like good Senſe: I will allow, that while they are in a flouriſhing Condition, the Inhabitants are worth fleecing, and therefore they might be of Uſe in one Reſpect. If a Gentleman, who had been a true Drudge to a M———, had ruined himſelf by Whores or by Dice, to give him an Iſland to plunder, in order to make himſelf whole again, is very right. The Colonies might be of the ſame Uſe as *Hounſlow-Heath* to the Gentlemen of Induſtry, after an ill Run at Hazard; but whenever the Governors ſhall ſhear ſo cloſe, that the Flock will be no more worth ſhearing, let the *French* or *Spaniards* take the Colonies if they will.

As to the Colony of *Georgia*, the Malecontents aſk, If our Right to it was doubtful, why was it ſettled and maintained at ſo vaſt Expence to the Nation? If it is not doubtful, is it not infamous to ſuffer it to be diſputed?

To this it may be anſwered, that a new Colony might be neceſſary at that Time. Soon after the *South-Sea* Project, it was not ſafe to walk the Streets, for fear of having one's Neck broke by the Fall of ſome unhappy Sufferer who was throwing himſelf from the Top of a Houſe, which was occaſioned for want of a new Colony, to remove there at the publick Charge. Now the *Charitable Corporation*, *York Buildings*, and ſome other Projects very advantageous to certain Friends of our great Man, might make a new Colony neceſſary, in order to carry the Sufferers out of the Sight of thoſe that had inveſted themſelves with their Money. If it ſhould be neceſſary to give it up, *Carolina* is near, let them repair thither.

The reducing the Claims of the Merchants, hath been another Subject of Complaint, which, in my Opinion, the Malecontents have anſwered themſelves; for they have inſinuated, that it was to be paid from hence. If ſo, the lower it was reduced the better.

They have been charged with ſhewing no Regard to the Inclinations of the People, whereas wiſe Miniſters will humour their very Prejudices.

The Charge is groundleſs, the Peoples Prejudices have been indulged in many Inſtances. They were prejudiced againſt a ſtanding Army; it is therefore called a Land Force. Commiſſaries is a Word they cannot endure; it is changed into Plenipotentiaries. They have been ſick of Treaties; wherefore this is called a Convention.—What would they have more?

As to the Scarcity of Money complained of, which is imputed to the Burdens on Trade, and the Meaſures of many Years paſt, if it be true, I look upon it as the greateſt Bleſſing of all; for Money is the Root of all Evil; wherever that is, Care and Trouble attend it. If it be going, we may ſay, it was our Care, and what Loſs is it to be rid of Care? When Tax-Men ſhall viſit us hereafter, we may laugh at them as the Philoſopher did at the Thieves who broke into his Houſe at Night; as they were peeping into every Hole and Corner with their dark Lanthorn, he laughed out. They aſking him what he laugh'd at? he anſwered, without the leaſt Concern, to ſee you look for Money here at Night, when I can find none in the Day.

When this Plague, called Money, ſhall leave the Land, Contentions will ceaſe, and Avarice, the moſt ſordid of all Vices, will be no more: The Merchant will ceaſe to wander round the World for Gain, the rugged Mariner ſhall plow the Sea no more, the Farmer will pay no Rent, and the Landlord muſt live as well as he can.

Inſtead of Curſes and Reproaches, let us offer Incenſe to our moſt excellent M——r; the Changes he hath brought to paſs are wonderful, for behold the golden Age is returning once again; Diſcord hath fled that Place, where never, till this happy Time, were Men of the ſame Opinion: No Jarring, no Debate is heard within thoſe happy Walls: Peace, Unity, and Concord have driven Contention thence, and there is but one Mind in many Men.

There are one Set of Men, who, perhaps, may look a little diſcontented at this happy Scene; theſe are the *Inſtrumenta Miniſtri*, *Anglicè*, Miniſterial Tools; for, when all Oppoſition ſhall ceaſe, the Mercenaries muſt fall greatly in their Price, and we may ſay of them as a Man of Wit ſaid of another ſuch Gang in an Iſland not far Weſt of us,

When the rogues their country fleece,
May they ſhare their pence a-piece.

Craftſman, April 14. N° 666.

OBSERVATIONS *on a late remarkable* OCCURRENCE.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

IT hath been already ſhewn, more than once, that the Objections of *thoſe Gentlemen*, who have oppos'd the *M———r*, ever ſince the Concluſion of the *Hanover Treaty*, have been too fatally verified, by the Courſe of *Events*, which were foreſeen at the very Time, without the *Gift of Prophecy*. (See p. 171.) Even *thoſe*, who deluded *others*, now own the Effect of it, and endeavour from thence to juſtify their *preſent Meaſures*, by pleading that we are reduced to ſuch a Condition, that we are left without *any Ally*, and therefore unable to go to *War*; tho' *every one of theſe Meaſures* hath conſtantly and regularly received the higheſt Approbation in

a *certain Place.*—*Safe, honourable, juſt, neceſſary, wiſe* and *prudent*, have been the common and ſtale Epithets, upon theſe Occaſions. Endleſs have been the ingenious Turns and Methods of giving *Self-applauſe*, upon every one of them. But the *Pamphlets* and *Papers*, written againſt them, and the *Speeches in P———t*, are become ſo many Records of the Zeal and Abilities of *thoſe*, who oppos'd them; as thoſe, on the *other Side*, are only Proofs of *annual*, or *temporary Expedients.*—Diſputes, of this Nature, might have gone on, in the ſame Train, whilſt there remained any Hopes that the *Difference of Opinion* ariſes only from not being equally convinced of the *ſame Points*. But if it can be even ſuppos'd that a Propoſition ſhould, at any Time hereafter, be ſo ſelf-evident, that almoſt *every Individual* was of the ſame Opinion, and thoſe very Opinions, when *collected together*, ſhould be directly contrary to their *own ſeparate ones*; what muſt be the Concluſion, and what would be moſt proper to do, in ſuch a Caſe, if it ſhould ever happen?—It is ſo obvious, that I need not explain it.

Can it therefore be imagined that thoſe, who *abſent themſelves*, are not able to juſtify their Conduct, in making (what they may think) their laſt Effort, with all Duty and Submiſſion, to ſave *their Country*; or ſhew their Reaſons why they deſpair of doing it any farther Service? It cannot ſure'y be thought they have nothing to ſay in their Defence; for almoſt every Body, at preſent, feels and partly underſtands what *thoſe Reaſons* are. But the daily Attacks upon them, in the Manner they are made by *thoſe*, who know that they dare not reply, at preſent, with that Freedom, which they ought to have, and will undoubtedly take at a proper Seaſon, is ſo mean and baſe a Practice, that it can proceed only from the *Author of* all *our Misfortunes*; for to *force* Men to ſpeak, what *he* would puniſh them for ſpeaking, is in itſelf a Sort of Juſtification of them, even whilſt they hold their Tongues, or but modeſtly defend themſelves. But *repeated Provocations* make *Self-defence* juſtifiable, by *our Laws*, in Matters of much leſs Importance to the Whole than our *Liberty*, and our very Being as a *Nation*.

I ſhall not preſume to ſay what might be juſtly ſaid upon *this Subject*; but ſhall only give my Countrymen a few Remarks, which naturally ariſe from what hath been publiſhed in the *Gazetteers*, and a pretty little Book, intitled, *An Enquiry into the Fitneſs of attending* Parliament, &c. The Author of the *laſt* pretends to have voted againſt the *Convention*; but afterwards reaſons ſo finely in Defence of it, that he confutes himſelf, and throws off the Maſk.

"The Provocations, *ſays he*, run high upon *one Side*, when it is aſſerted that *Truth* and *Juſtice* are fled; that their *laſt Votaries* quit the *corrupted, nauſeous Place*, where all is venal; *Faction* prevails; and *honeſt Men* ſhould be aſhamed to ſhew their Faces; no Hopes, no Proſpect to *ſerve their Country*; no Views of doing Right to an *injured Nation*; *legal* and *parliamentary Endeavours* are ineffectual; very *different Methods* muſt be attempted; the *People* muſt now ſave themſelves."

And, in another Place, he ſays; "Gentlemen cannot excuſe to their *Conſtituents* a notorious Breach of Truſt, in *deſerting their Duty*, without declaring to *theſe Conſtituents*, and to the *whole World*, that in their Opinion the *Freedom of a certain Aſſembly* is at an End; the *Conſtitution* deſtroyed; *Order* and *Government* ſubverted; and *Faction* only prevails; and if *theſe great Evils* are to be remedied, the Cure muſt be effected by other Methods than *free Debate* and *publick Voting*."

Theſe are what the *Author* ſuppoſes to be the Reaſons for the *Seceſſion*, as he calls it, tho' he does not ſeem to underſtnad the original Meaning of the Word; for a *Seceſſion*, in antient *Rome*, ſignified a * *Sedition*, a *Mutiny*, or a *Revolt of the People*, upon any general Diſcontent, to the *Mons Sacer*, where they aſſembled and continued *in Arms*, till their *Grievances* were redreſs'd, or ſome Way was found out to pacify them. Can this be compared in any Degree, to the quiet Retirement of a *few Gentlemen* from a *Place*, where they found by Experience they had no Chance of ſerving *their Country*, according to their private Notions of its *true Intereſt*? Beſides, the Arguments of *theſe Writers* recoil upon themſelves; ſince they have inſiſted, for ſeveral Years, that all our Misfortunes ought to be imputed to the *Oppoſition*; and yet they now complain of the *Oppoſers* as *Deſerters* and *Betrayers of their Truſt*, becauſe they will *oppoſe no longer*.

The *Enquirer* does not pretend to diſpute the *Fact*, upon which he writes, but allows the *State of the Queſtion*; which makes it neceſſary for him to ſhew what *other Method* could have been taken, in *ſuch a Situation*, having objected to what hath been actually done, in *this Caſe*; for it is the Duty of the *Objector* to prove what might, or could be, better done to obtain a *Remedy* equally deſir'd; and he ſeems, in ſome Meaſure, ſenſible of the Juſtneſs of Reaſoning in this Manner; ſince he ſays, "that an *Oppoſition*, weak and feeble in its Infancy, which could ſcarce creep up to *one Hundred*, hath now by gradual Increaſes advanc'd itſelf to above *two Hundred and Thirty*, ſtrengthen'd by Perſons of *great Rank, Station*, and *Fortune*." He afterwards aſks the following Queſtions, "Hath not the *regular, Parliamentary Conteſt* found many *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, who have quitted *valuable*

* *See* Vertot's *Hiſt. of the* Roman *Revolutions, Vol.* 1. *p.* 56.

able Employments, and increas'd the *Friends of the Oppoſition*, with great Dignity and Weight?" As the *Inſinuation* is obvious, ſo the Remark on it naturally follows; for tho' *Perſons of great Rank, Station*, and *Fortune*, have quitted *valuable Employments*, and therefore *more*, perhaps, may do the ſame; yet does not Experience ſhew that *they* never want *Succeſſors*, who will undertake to do what *they* refuſe; and that *all the Meaſures*, upon which ſo many *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* quitted their *Employments*, have been conſtantly approv'd of, in the ſame Manner, like the moſt indifferent Points? There hath always been *ſuch a lucky Majority*, for ſeveral Years paſt, that the *M——r* hath never loſt any Queſtion, with Relation to *himſelf*, during a ſole Adminiſtration of 18 *Years*. May it not be ſaid that the *Places* are more in Fault than the *Men*; and ſhew the Neceſſity of a good *Place-Bill*, which the diſintereſted Part of the Nation hath been continually endeavouring to obtain, ever ſince there have been *long Parliaments* and *annual Seſſions*? Have they not as conſtantly been defeated in it? Do not *thoſe*, who think themſelves ſo happy to enjoy *theſe Places*, generally make uſe of that ſingle Argument for juſtifying their Conduct, that *their Oppoſers* would do the *ſame Things*, if they were in *Place*; and that all the *late Oppoſition* is only for the Sake of *them*? The Conſequence of this Argument is a direct Confeſſion that they act againſt their Conſciences *themſelves*, and nothing but a mere Suggeſtion againſt *their Oppoſers*. But will this Method of Reaſoning juſtify their Conduct, ſuppoſing the *Event* ſhould hereafter prove that there are *other Men* to be found *as bad as themſelves*? Yet, even according to their own *State of the Queſtion*, they undeſignedly do great Honour to the *Oppoſers*; (for I will not call them *Patriots*) which they have farther done upon *Bills, for limiting the Number of* Officers, *who ſhall have Seats in the* Houſe of Commons. This is an Evidence of their *own good Intentions*, and reduces the *miniſterial Party* to the utmoſt Abſurdities; for as debarring themſelves from *Places* is an Argument that they do not *oppoſe*, for the Sake of *thoſe Places*, the pretended Argument for this was always, that only *ſuch Places* were left out as the *Oppoſers* do not think of obtaining for *themſelves*. If we conſider this, as the avow'd Motive of acting, with Relation to *publick Affairs*, what can more ſtrongly evince the Neceſſity of reſtraining *that Influence*, which they allow to be *All-prevalent*? Can the Nation poſſibly think itſelf *free*, or that they are ſo much as *repreſented* by thoſe who own themſelves to be only the Repreſentatives of the *lucrative Employments* they enjoy?

If we conſider *this Limitation*, with Regard to *thoſe Members*, who are for it, what can do them more Honour, or do more Juſtice to their Country? The *Enquirer* is pleaſed to point them all out as Men of *Abilities, Fortunes*, and *Lovers of their Country*, ſuperior to all *ſuch low Temptations*, as are allow'd to be ſo neceſſary and influencing, on the *other Side of the Queſtion*. This is a Proof that, if there ſhould be a *Change in the Adminiſtration*, and that any of the *preſent Oppoſers* ſhould come in, they muſt ſupport themſelves by the *Rectitude of their Meaſures*; ſince they are now willing to take away *thoſe Supports*, which are allow'd, on all Hands, to be neceſſary to a *bad Adminiſtration*, and which can never be neceſſary to a *good one*. The ſeeing them contended for, at any Time; the ſeeing them, in a Manner, the ſole Support of *any Meaſures*; the Pleas for preſerving them; all theſe are, in themſelves, the ſtrongeſt Proofs of the *Badneſs of the Meaſures*, and the Neceſſity of *limiting their Numbers*, ſhould it be only deſir'd to preſerve the Name of *Liberty*. How abſurd is the Notion of a *Majority of the Repreſentatives of a free People* being the *Place-men* and *Penſioners* of a *Miniſter*, whoſe Conduct they are choſen to inſpect, and to ſecure the Nation from the Conſequences of either his *bad Head*, or his *bad Heart*? But if it ſhould ever hereafter become viſible to the whole Nation, that they are but the Tools and Protectors of *thoſe*, whoſe Meaſures may prove our Deſtruction, they muſt and will inſiſt upon having *their Number limited*, and will undoubtedly prevail.

It was very juſtly obſerv'd, in the Debate of the *Houſe of Lords*, for addreſſing the *King* to diſſolve the *Long penſionary Parliament*, in 1675, * "That the *greateſt Princes* cannot avoid being limited, by the Nature of Things. *Repreſentatives of the People* are neceſſary to the *making of Laws*; and there is a Time, when it is morally demonſtrable that Men ceaſe to be *Repreſentatives*, there being Circumſtances and Properties, that diſtinguiſh *every Thing*, as well as *Perſon* in the World; ſo that, to conclude this Head, we owe the Obſervance of his Time and Place, both for *calling* and the *Duration of Parliaments*; and the *Prince* owes us, not only the *Frequencies of Parliaments*, but that *our Repreſentatives* ſhould be preſerv'd to us in them." Many Obſervations, that might be made upon *this Parliament*, ſhall be deferr'd to another Diſcourſe; in which ſhall be conſider'd the *State of* Corruption, and the *Power of the* Crown, on that Head, in Compariſon to what it hath been ſince, and the ſeveral Struggles to put an End to it.——But let us come to the *preſent Point*.

Upon the Suppoſition of any ſuch parallel Caſe hereafter; what ought *that Part of the Repreſentatives* to do, who agree with the Nation that *corrupt Influence* is grown to ſuch an

* *State Tracts*, Charles II. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 65.

Height, that it is in vain for them to contend any longer againſt it? We cannot poſſibly foreſee the *Point*, on which *ſuch a Situation* may happen; nor what would be moſt proper to do upon it. But thus much is certain; that the *laſt Diſpute* ought to be upon a *Queſtion*, if there ſhould be ſuch a Thing poſſible, in which the *whole Nation* ſhould be of *one Opinion*; againſt which even the *Miniſter* himſelf ſhou'd not be able to give the leaſt Colour of Reaſon; and that the Point in Diſpute ſhould be againſt *Meaſures*, not *Perſons*.

If this ſhould ever be the Caſe, might it not be the Means of obtaining what hath been ſo long contended for? May not the Nation enjoy its *Liberties* and *Quiet*, by ſo eaſy and conſtitutional a Remedy as the paſſing a proper *Place-Bill*, for ſecuring the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament?* It is certainly both the Duty and Intereſt of the *Place-men* themſelves to do it, at ſuch a Juncture, as their moſt effectual Juſtification; and the Want of it muſt at laſt end in making their *moſt darling Service* unneceſſary. Whereas, by *ſuch a Law*, they would have the Honour of uniting *thoſe*, who have ſeparated from them, and preſerving the *Liberties of their Country*. Nay, if they ſhould really think, at ſuch a Criſis, that the *other Side* did not deſign any ſuch Thing, they would have the additional Pleaſure of *biting the Biters*. They would likewiſe ſhew, that the *Intereſt of their Country* is ſuperior to all *perſonal Advantages* and *Reſentments*. It would even remove all Jealouſies not only of their *paſt* but *future Conduct*. It would ſhew, that *Place-men*, &c. may be really as zealous in the Service of their Country as *thoſe out of Place*; and that their conſtantly voting *one Way* hath been founded only upon their own Judgment. It would induce *thoſe*, who ſhall have brought *this Point* to a Criſis, with Pleaſure to own themſelves ſo far in the Wrong; and that the Approbation of *future Meaſures* will depend only upon their own intrinſick Merit. But if, inſtead of taking this only real Method of *Reconciliation* and *Union*, (which would then be only in *their Power* to do) they ſhould continue throwing out *Menaces*, of the higheſt Nature; if to this ſhould be added publick Declarations, that let a Thing be never ſo juſt and proper, if propos'd from the *oppoſite Quarter*, it ſhould be oppos'd for that very Reaſon only; where would it end, and who alone would be anſwerable to their *King* and their *Country* for the Conſequences of it, let them be what they will?

I am, Sir, &c.

HAMPDEN.

Common Senſe, April 21. N° 116.

SIR,

IT is talk'd, that a Bill will ſhortly be brought in, which may furniſh you with Matter for Panegyrick; and the rather, becauſe, if my Intelligence be right, yourſelf and the *Craftſman* are the principal Objects of it, tho', perhaps, that may not appear upon the Face of the Bill.

It ſeems, one of your Brothers of the Quill, the ingenious Author of a Paper, intitled, *All alive and merry, or the Daily Farthing Poſt*, hath not paid all that Reſpect to the Laws of his Country, as becomes ſo good a Proteſtant, and otherwiſe ſo good a Subject; for, whereas he ſhould have contributed the Sum of one Halfpenny to the Support of the Government for every individual Copy of his Farthing Poſt, he hath taken the whole Farthing to himſelf, to the great defrauding of his M———— Revenue.

It is conceiv'd, that the Commiſſioners of the Stamp Office have Power to cruſh him to Atoms; but ſo ſcrupulouſly nice are they grown, that they have defer'd it, till their Hands ſhould be ſtrengthen'd by new Powers; but here a Snake may lie in the Graſs: Therefore, *cavete Craftſman* and *Common Senſe*, for, if ſome Doctors don't lie, a Clauſe may be ſlipt in, that will ſweep you both from the Face of the Earth.

Let us ſuppoſe that a Clauſe ſhould be inſerted in ſome Act, that no Paper ſhould be ſtamp'd but of a certain Size, and that Size ſhould be ſo ſmall as not to contain half the Matter you now give the Publick.

As much as you deſpiſe the Parts of our great Men, they have made a moſt important Diſcovery, *viz.* that the Profits of your Papers ariſe from the Advertiſements. If ſuch a Scheme therefore ſhould take Place, and you write afterwards upon Politicks, you will have no Room for Advertiſements; and if you inſert Advertiſements, you will have no Room for Politicks, and then Nobody will buy your Papers; ſo that either Way, my Friend (to uſe your own Words) it is over with you. (p. 182.)

When *Common Senſe* ſhall be ſeen upon the Table of a Coffee-houſe, par'd and mutilated, I fancy it will look exactly like poor *Jenkins*, when he got out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*.

It is hoped you will acquieſce under any particular Loſs this Scheme may be to you, when your Country is to receive many ſignal Advantages from it.

It will firſt be a great Saving to Bookſellers and other Tradeſmen, by obliging them to keep that Money in their Pockets, which they uſed to give the *Craftſman* and *Common Senſe* for advertiſing their ſeveral Goods.

Next, the Paper you uſe, being of *Engliſh* Manufacture, it will leſſen the Conſumption of it, if not entirely deſtroy it; and it is much for the Honour of our Projectors, that neither Learning, Arts, Sciences, or Manufacture ſhould proſper, while they have Power to deſtroy them.

Next,

Next, it may contribute to break ſome Sturdy Beggars, called Stationers, who may happen alſo to be Common-Council Men.

As to the great Quantities of this Paper already made for this Uſe, and fit for nothing elſe, if it be aſked, What muſt be done with it? let the Stationers make Bonfires of it, to celebrate the Birth-nights of our *par nobile* —.

I hope you will not be ſo wicked, as to inſinuate, that ſuch an Act would be an Incroachment upon the Liberty of the Preſs, and a Step towards taking it intirely away: You may print on, you will be only obliged to give away your Works *Gratis*, and even then be upon as good a Foot as the miniſterial Papers are at preſent.

If there ſhould be ſuch a Clauſe in an Act, you may depend upon it, there is no more a private View in it, than there was in the Act for putting the Stage under a Court Licenſer; which Act, you are ſenſible, was projected merely out of a tender Regard to the Morals of the People.—Two very wicked Plays have been lately prohibited, (I pronounce them wicked, tho', I own, I have not read them) but I intend to read them as ſoon as they are publiſhed, that I may take Occaſion from thence to beſtow ſome Praiſes on the Projector of the Act, as well as on the Licenſer, his Deputy, and his Deputy's Deputy.

I find we are likely to receive greater Benefits from this Act, than we at firſt expected, for it is to operate upon old Plays, as well as new. The *Spaniſh Frier* was acted the other Night to a very great Audience; it was written above 60 Years ago, in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. It happens to be one of thoſe favourite Plays, which half the Audience know by Heart; the Actor who played the Part of *Raymond*, having left out half of one of his Speeches, it was immediately miſs'd by the Audience, and call'd for; the Lines he ſpoke were theſe:

What generous man can live with that conſtraint
Upon his ſoul!——to bear, much leſs to flatter
A court like this!——Can I ſooth tyranny?
Seem pleas'd to ſee my royal maſter murder'd,
His crown uſurp'd, a diſtaff on the throne?

There he made a Stop, even to a full Diſgrace. The next Actor went on; but the Audience thought they had a Right to the whole Speech, and therefore call'd again and again for it, but to no Purpoſe; either the Actor forgot the following Lines, or the Licenſer had forbid him to ſpeak them.

A council made of ſuch as dare not ſpeak,
And cou'd not if they durſt.—Whence honeſt men
Baniſh themſelves, for ſhame of being there.
A government, that, knowing not true wiſdom,
Is ſcorn'd abroad, and lives on tricks at home.

From the Daily Gazetteer. N° 1190.

SPEAKING *of the Pamphlet, intitled,* An Enquiry into the Fitneſs of attending Parliament *(which he ſuppoſes to be writ by the Author of the* Diſſertation on Parties) *he ſays:* The Whole is work'd up with the utmoſt *Art* and *Addreſs*, to prevail with thoſe *Gentlemen* (who have left the Houſe) to return to their Duty; nothing is omitted that can be ſaid to *perſuade* and *terrify* them to a Compliance.

There are two Points which he has labour'd very much, and which, it cannot be thought, he is in earneſt in what he ſays; the one, that he is in Pain leſt the People ſhould be ſeduced by the Seceſſion of ſo many wiſe Men, 'to attempt to ſave themſelves;' the other, leſt the Government ſhould be provok'd 'to vindicate itſelf.'

But, I believe, he needs be in no Manner of Panick, that either of theſe will be the Conſequence of the Seceſſion.

The People will hardly be perſuaded, 'to 'ſave themſelves,' as the cant Phraſe is, till ſuch Time as they *feel* Oppreſſion; which they have not done yet, nor, I dare venture to ſay, ever will do under this Adminiſtration.

The Government will hardly think there is any great Occaſion, 'to vindicate itſelf,' becauſe 30 or 40 *angry Men* have very wiſely reſolved to come no more to a certain Aſſembly.

I know I ſhall be thought by many greatly to leſſen their Number; but when the proper Deduction is made, out of the 230, of thoſe, who never could be ſuſpected to have a Thought of going into ſuch a wild, ſenſeleſs, illegal Project; of thoſe, who are really the Friends of theſe 30 or 40 wiſe Men, but, to the very great Shame and Reproach of ſuch wiſe Men, continue regularly diſcharging their Duty to their Country; and, in the laſt Place, of thoſe, who, according to their laudable, anniverſary Cuſtom, either never appear, or immediately return to their Country Sports, as ſoon as the Rod is removed from over their Heads, I mean, when the *Call* is over, and, who moſt certainly had abſented themſelves in the very ſame Manner, had the Seceſſion never been projected;—who does not ſee, that, when theſe Deductions are made, there will ſcarce *forty*, perhaps not *thirty*, be left, who can be ſaid to be in this formidable Seceſſion.

Craftſman, April 21. N° 667.

The Danger of Corruption *in a State.*

MR. *d'Aubigny*, Grandfather to the famous Madam *Maintenon*, tells us a remarkable Story of himſelf, which ought to be a Warning to all *free Nations*. He was one of the Heads of the *Proteſtants*, in the Reign of *Henry* IVth of *France*, and oppos'd the *Court* with ſo much Vigour, that the *King* was at length determined to take away his Life, or at leaſt to confine him in the *Baſtille*,

tille. Mr. *d'Aubigny* being privately informed of this Deſign againſt him, conſidered how to preſerve himſelf; and at length reſolved to go to *Court*, the next Morning, and beg a *Penſion* of the *King*, as the ſureſt Method. The *King* immediately embraced him, and granted his Requeſt. From *Court* he went to the Duke *de Sully*, the *Prime Miniſter*, who congratulated him upon this Occaſion, and ſhewed him the *Baſtille*; aſſuring him, that he would have been a Priſoner there in leſs than 24 *Hours*, but that he was now in no farther Danger.

When once *Corruption* grows prevalent, it is a Crime not to be *corrupt*; or at leaſt is look'd upon as a Reflection upon *thoſe*, who are ſo. In ſuch a Caſe, any *Nobleman*, of great Diſtinction and Virtue, who ſhould refuſe to accept of a *Penſion*, would be mark'd out as an *Enemy to the Government*, and muſt either expoſe himſelf to the Reſentment of the *Court*, or forfeit his *Honour* and *Conſcience*. *Such a Perſon* would, very probably, be mark'd out as a conſtant living Reproach to his Fraternity, an Enemy to the Government, and a Sort of Churl in Society; upon which he might expect the following Expoſtulations: "Why, *my Lord*, ſhould you make any Scruple of accepting his *Majeſty's gracious Offer?* Don't you ſee that many *Dukes*, *Earls*, and other *Peers*, of the higheſt Rank, think it no Reflection upon their Characters, to accept of an *honourable Stipend from the Crown?* What can you conceive to have been the Intention of giving ſo large a *Civil Liſt? Petimuſque damuſque viciſſim.* The *Bounties of the Crown* are not to be ſlighted and refus'd. Would you paſs for a *Jacobite?* The very *Refuſal of it* carries a Reflection againſt *his Majeſty*, as if he was purſuing ſome *unwarrantable Meaſures*, and may prove detrimental to *his Service.*"

But the *grand Mercenaries of all Countries* ought to conſider, that *Corruption* muſt at laſt deſtroy itſelf, and the *Conſtitution* too. *Corruption* begets *Corruption*, which naturally introduces *Luxury*, and *Luxury* is the certain Fore-runner of *national Poverty*. What can be the Conſequence of this, but ſome *terrible Convulſion?*—The Cord may bear ſtraining to a very great Length, but it muſt break at laſt.

Corruption, in a *State*, is juſt like *Dram-drinking*, amongſt *private Perſons*; which is apt to grow upon them, till it deſtroys their Vitals. I have heard of a *Woman*, who had accuſtom'd herſelf ſo much to *Gin*, that by Degrees ſhe came to drink 3 *Gallons* a Day; but it ſoon put an End to her miſerable Life. I wiſh therefore there was a *Corruption-Act*, as well as a *Gin-Act*.

I could carry on this Parallel with Humour, and even form ſome Sketch of an Act of Parliament.—*Which he does, and concludes it thus:*

"Provided always, that any Perſon, who will ſubmit to be branded with the Name of *Rogue*, *Raſcal*, or *Penſioner*, to his Face, or to have a broad *R* clapt on his Back, denoting to whom he belongs, may ſtill enjoy a *Penſion*, not exceeding 200 *Guineas per Annum.*"

Nothing tends ſo effectually to propagate this deſtructive Vice of *Corruption* as the keeping up *old Party-Names* and *Diſtinctions*, when the *eſſential Differences* are ſwallow'd up in a general Concern for the *publick Good*. This may be of great Uſe to a *wicked* and *declining Miniſter*; but is certain Death to the *People*, if they are fooliſh enough to bite at ſo naked an Hook.

It is ſo far, for Inſtance, from being right, to keep up the old Diſtinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, that I think even thoſe of *Court* and *Country* ought to be laid aſide. The only proper Diſtinction, at preſent, is, that of *Country* and *Miniſter*; which I recommend to my *Brother-Authors* for the future. The *Miniſterial* and *Country Intereſts* have often been, and may be again, diametrically oppoſite; but the *Court* and *Country Intereſt* ought always to be the ſame. I hope it is ſo now. I am ſure, at leaſt, that it might be ſo, if but *one Meaſure* were taken in good Time, which is no difficult Matter for any Body to point out.—If therefore one *ſingle*, *wiſe Act* will, in an Inſtant, unite the *Court* and *Country*, is it not ſtrange that *no one Courtier* ſhould have Honeſty, Spirit, or Gratitude enough to hit upon *that Advice*, and give it in a *Place*, where it is ſo much wanted?—All Perſons, who ſincerely mean the Preſervation of the *Conſtitution*, and the *preſent happy Eſtabliſhment*, may co-operate, and muſt have the *ſame Views*.—*Old Whigs* may drop their *Principles*, and adopt the direct contrary, deceiving themſelves with an idle Notion that they are ſtill following their *old ones*, whilſt they only purſue the *ſame Guide*, with whom they firſt ſet out. This puts me in Mind of a Story, which I heard when at *Oxford*.

A *Rev. Doctor*, who was a very learned Man, and a very ſilly Fellow, (which is too often the Caſe) had a great Inclination to ſee *London*: But neither *he* nor his *Horſe* knew the Way. Aſhamed to diſcover his Ignorance, he reſolved to follow the *Stage-Coach*; and, for that Reaſon, took particular Notice of the *Coachman*, who drove it. At *Wycomb*, the Paſſengers always ſhift Coaches; which the *Doctor* not obſerving, but keeping his Eye ſteadily fixed upon the *ſame Guide*, took it for granted, that he muſt be right, and was by him led the quite contrary Road; which is exactly the Caſe of ſome of my honeſt *Whig Friends*; very good Men, I dare ſay; but led out of the Way by *Robin* the Coachman. And as the *Doctor*, after jogging about 50 Miles, found himſelf where he did not deſign

to

to be, ſo I hope my *good Friends* will not bring about the very Thing, which they deſign to prevent.

Every Thing hath its Criſis; or, its *ne plus ultra*. *Rome*, when it arrived to its higheſt Pitch of Grandeur, fell headlong into Slavery. Even Iniquity hath its Bounds, and muſt at laſt deſtroy itſelf.—The Caſe of the late Lord *Macclesfield* is a ſufficient Warning to all Perſons concerned in any Kind of *political Affairs*. He ſold the Places of *Maſters in Chancery*, as all his *Predeceſſors* had done; but the Price growing to an exorbitant Rate, he was impeached in *Parliament*, convicted, and fined 30,000*l.* in which *two noble Lords*, who had been *Lord Chancellors*, and ſold the *ſame Places*, concurred and voted him guilty.

I might farther illuſtrate theſe Obſervations by the preſent melancholy State of the *Horſe-Races* at *New-market*. The original Deſign of *this Entertainment* was not only for *Sport*, but to encourage a good Breed of Horſes, for *real Uſe*. But, alas! how are thoſe Intentions perverted? *Our noble Breed of Horſes* is now enervated by an Intermixture with *Turks*, *Barbs*, and *Arabians*; juſt as our *modern Nobility* and *Gentry* are debauched with the effeminate Manners of *France* and *Italy*. The manly and uſeful Exerciſe of *Horſe-Racing* is carried to ſuch a Pitch of myſterious Iniquity, that all Mankind complain of it. No Man is there aſhamed of the Character of a *Sharper*.——In ſhort, *Spies*, *Bribery*, *Corruption*, *Deceit*, *ſignal Men*, and *all other courtly Arts*, are there employed.

But theſe Tricks being diſcovered, the *fair Sportſmen* went lately thither, for the laſt Time, and having proteſted againſt ſuch *foul Play*, retired, (or, if you pleaſe, *feceded*) and are reſolved to go there no more, till *ſome new Regulation* is made, to preſerve the Honour and Independency of *that worthy Aſſembly*; from whence it is concluded, that there will be a very *thin Meeting* next Seaſon.

To the Proto-Pyrate, *who calls himſelf the Author of the* GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THO' very little Regard has been paid to you, ſince it has been publickly known, that you are *inliſted* among the GAZETTEERS, yet there are ſo many notorious *Falſhoods* in your *Magazine* for *March* laſt, that it is become neceſſary for us to expoſe ſome of them.

1. Page 3. Col. 2. Letter A. You ſay, "You incurred the Diſpleaſure of the greateſt "Part of the *Bookſellers*, by refuſing to admit any of *that Fraternity* into a Share of "*your Property*." Sir, you diſobliged no *Bookſeller*, by refuſing to admit him into a Share, *not of your Property*, but of the *Property* you *ſtole* from *others*; for, we are well aſſured, that no one of them ever aſked you; it being as much the Intereſt of *Bookſellers* as of *Authors*, to have the *Property* of Books *preſerved ſacred*.

2. Page and Col. ditt. Letter D. You ſay, "A Knot of them combined to *ſeize* your "whole *Plan*." Sir, if you had dealt ingenuouſly, you would have ſaid, ſome of the *Proprietors* of the *News Papers* and *Journals*, which you had been *pillaging* and *mangling* for above a *Twelvemonth*, finding they could not prevent their being ſo treated by you, reſolved to collect and publiſh an Abſtract of them *monthly*, in order to prevent the World's being *impoſed on* by your *blundering*, *partial*, and *unfair* Extracts. This, they had a much better Right to do, than you, who had *no Share* in any one of the *Originals*; for, by your *cruel Mangling*, the World may be convinced you had *no Right* to the *Child*.

3. Page 112. Col. 1. Letter C. You ſay, "They came at laſt to a Reſolution of ex-"cluding us from the News-Papers, in which "they have any Influence." Sir, you ſhould have given an *Inſtance*, which you would have done if you could. In this you practiſe *an Art* uſual among thoſe of *your Profeſſion*, *you cry Thief firſt*. Yet, you know, that the GAZETTEERS, among whom Mr. CAVE, the *Chief*, if not the *ſole* Proprietor of the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, is naturally *liſted*, by his being *a Clerk* in the POST-OFFICE, have *refuſed* to inſert our *Advertiſement* for *March* laſt, not to mention others before. You know, that the *Daily Advertiſer* (the *Printer* whereof ſays Mr. CAVE is a *Proprietor*) has conſtantly *refuſed* to inſert any Thing from us, in Anſwer to what Mr. CAVE and his Authors publiſh in that very Paper againſt us. And, you know, that Mr. *Howgrave*, Printer of the *Stamford Mercury*, and Mr. *Raikes*, Printer of the *Glouceſter Journal*, have always *refuſed* to advertiſe even *our Title*; being, as they ſay, under Obligations to Mr. CAVE, *not* to advertiſe the *London Magazine*; which Obligations, we ſuppoſe, proceed from his ſending them their News POST-FREE.

Now, to ſhew, that we do not return *Evil for Evil*, if you think fit to reply to this, and ſend it to us, with the *common Price* paid by others, it ſhall be inſerted in any Paper you pleaſe to name, where we have an Influence; and, 'till you reſolve to do us *the ſame Juſtice*, we hope no Regard will be had to any Thing you aſſert in *thoſe Papers*, where we are *not allowed* Room for a Reply.

4. Page and Col. ditt. Letter D. You ſay, "Their laſt, and indeed their moſt artful "Expedient, has been to *hire* and incite the "weekly Journaliſts againſt us." This, Sir, no Man will regard or believe; for, if the *Authors* of the *Journals* you mean had been *Hirelings*, we ſhould not have ſeen ſuch

wretched

wretched Scriblers, as those who write in the GENTLEMAN'S, *alias*, the POST-OFFICE MAGAZINE, and the GAZETTEERS, preferred to such *lucrative Posts*. But, dear Sir, next Time you trouble the Publick with any of your *Accusations* or *Vindications*, remember the old Proverb, *Liars should have good Memories*: For, in the *very next* Column, it seems, you *forgot* what you had said in the *preceding*; because, Col. 2. Letter G, you say, "We gained Favour from the *Authors* "of these *Journals* by the most *servile Adu-* "*lation*." If so, why did you say we had *hired* them? We shall always be proud of having any Thing we publish, *approved* by those whose Writings are *approved* by every *honest Man* in the Kingdom; and, we must tell you, what one of your *servile Nature* will scarcely believe, that the *Authors* of the *Journals* you mean, would as much disdain *to receive* any *servile Adulation* from us, as they would disdain *to pay* a *servile Adulation* even to *your Master*.

We could point out many more *Falsehoods* and *Impositions* in your *last Month's* Production, but these will be sufficient for shewing the *Reader*, what Regard ought to be paid to your *Veracity*; and, if you think of ever writing any Thing *that is not contrary to Common Sense*, we must advise you to beware of telling us, "That Citadels, which have defied Armies, "have been *blown up* by Rats *."

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I BEG Leave, thro' your Means, to communicate to the Publick this short *Abstract of a Book lately published, under the Title of, The Mythology and Fables of the Antients explain'd from History*, by Abbé *Banier*, Member of the Royal Academy of *Inscriptions* and *Belles Lettres*.

The Manner in which this Author treats his Subject is entirely new, at least it has never been considered in so comprehensive a View as he has done. History is his Guide, and by means of that Clue he has found his Way thro' a Labyrinth of Fiction, in which others were lost and bewildered. Thus the Book aims at universal Use and Instruction; and, from the Variety of Materials it contains, and the curious Manner in which they are handled, will afford a great Fund of agreeable Entertainment to every Reader of any tolerable Taste; to those especially, who are desirous of being acquainted with the Heathen Religion, and all its Appendages, it opens a large Field of Amusement and Instruction, in explaining the Rise, Progress and Extent of Idolatry; in examining the Principles whence the various Forms of Superstition sprung; by what Means true Religion degenerated from its original Beauty and Simplicity, and shot out into all those horrid Shapes of Paganism which Priestcraft devised, Ignorance embraced, the venerable Name of Antiquity consecrated, the Tyranny, Avarice and Ambition of the Priests, back'd with the blind Credulity and obstinate Prejudices of the People, supported and maintained. Whoever reads this Book, with any tolerable Degree of Reflection, cannot chuse but be thankful for his own happy Situation, in being set at Liberty from that Bondage of spiritual Tyranny, which enslaved so great a Part of the World for many Ages together: At the same Time when he traces those Scenes of gross Superstition which the Author unfolds in the Description of the Heathen Temples, Sacrifices, Priests, Oracles, Sibyls, Expiations, and all the various Methods of Divination by Prodigies, Auguries, Aruspices, Magick, Astrology, Conjurations, Necromancy, and other Charms, whereby Mortals vainly curious pry'd into the Secrets of Futurity, which Providence hath wisely concealed from their Knowledge; when he sees even those innocent and good Principles of Gratitude, Hope, Fear, and Admiration, which are implanted in our Nature for excellent Purposes, capable of being perverted to serve all the Ends, not only of the most childish, ridiculous and absurd, but even of the most cruel, barbarous and inhuman Superstition; he cannot help, I say, compassionating the Weakness of human Nature, that is so easily misled by the sly Artifice of wicked Impostors.

The Book is particularly calculated for the Use of Schools and Academies, as it gives a very ample Account of the most curious Antiquities of *Greece* and *Rome*, and a judicious Abridgment of the best Things that have been said on the Subject by other Authors; as it explains the Poetical Emblems, and gives a Key to understand their allegorical Descriptions; and, *in fine*, as it unfolds the Meaning of all those Fables concerning the Gods, Demi-Gods, Heroes, and other poetical Personages, which are the eternal Subjects of the Poets, and to which the classical Books are full of Allusions. By tracing the Foundation of Mythology in History, the Author brings Truth out of Error, casts a most beautiful Light upon the Subject, and renders that a Study of great Dignity and Importance, which otherwise appears low and trifling.

Common Sense, April 28. N° 117.

THIS Paper contains a long Letter in Answer to a Pamphlet, intitled, An Appeal to the Unprejudiced, *&c. relating to the Convention. But as this Subject is pretty well exhausted, we shall only take Notice of the Conclusion, which is more general.*

The

* *See Ditto, Page* 111. *Col.* 1. *Letter* D.

The Remainder of this Pamphlet (ſays Mr. *Common Senſe*) is the ſame Common-place Declamation that is repeated in every Paper publiſhed on that Side for 12 Years paſt; a Complaint about Prejudice, and Oppoſition, and Diſaffection. In one Place, no M——— was ever ſo reviled, miſrepreſented, and abuſed; in another, all good M——s have been abuſed, from *Burleigh* down to the preſent, who, he modeſtly aſſerts, exceeds them all; and is, I ſuppoſe, in his Opinion, not only the beſt M——— that ever was born, but that ever will be born.

But how is all this undeſerv'd Prejudice created? He tells you, by Scribblers and Libellers, in which Number, I am afraid, he comprehends *Common Senſe*. So, it ſeems, it is we that have rais'd all this Ferment out of nothing; we have kindled a vaſt Fire without any Fuel; while that Side, which has all the Merit, and has five Scribblers and Libellers to our one, has not been able to open the Eyes of one Man, to the Virtues of thoſe who have brought to paſs ſuch great Things for the Commonwealth.

Indeed this honeſt Gentleman does us much more Honour than we deſerve; there is no ſuch Magick in our Writings; the World will not be perſuaded by us that white is black; and I am afraid there is *ſomething rotten in the State of* Denmark, when a Party is reduced to this one nonſenſical Argument, to juſtify every Meaſure; that the People of *England* don't deſire to be happy, and will hate every Man that endeavours to make them ſo; which is as much as to ſay, that every Man in the Kingdom is mad that has not a Penſion or Place.

§. *To* COMMON SENSE.

Sir, *London*, *April* 26, 1739.

I Am a Member of Parliament, and can't help condoling with you for the many Affronts you daily meet with, particularly from the Poſt-Office; and therefore would adviſe you to apply there for Redreſs, and ſend the following Petition, the Allegations of which, to my Knowledge, are true, having often attempted ſending you under my Cover into the Country, tho' to no Purpoſe, you being generally ſtop'd at the Poſt-Office. Which Proceeding is known to be *unwarrantable*.

Your humble Servant,
ABSENTEE.

To the POST-MASTER GENERAL.
The Humble PETITION of COMMON SENSE, ſheweth,

THAT your Petitioner, notwithſtanding his Affinity to divers Perſons of the firſt Rank of this Kingdom, and the Regard pay'd him in all foreign Courts, *has met with conſtant Inſults from the Clerks of your Office: That for Fear of giving Offence, and being ſtop'd from going on his lawful Occaſions, he choſe always to be under* Cover; *but notwithſtanding this Precaution, your Clerks, being his declar'd Enemies, made it their Buſineſs to find him out; and as often as he fell into their Hands, they treated him in a moſt barbarous and inhuman Manner, often throwing him into the Fire, and ſometimes forcing him to ſerve them on their moſt dirty Occaſions: That upon his threatning to complain to you of the ill Uſage he had met with, they had the Impudence to ſay, you was his Enemy, and that they had your Commands for ſo doing, for that* Common Senſe *was look'd upon by the preſent M——— as his Enemy, and, if not ſuppreſs'd, would overturn all their Meaſures: And they farther declared, that there was a* Faction *ſtrongly influenc'd againſt him, and that no Money would be ſpared to deſtroy him.*

Your Petitioner therefore moſt humbly prays, that you will take the Premiſſes into your Conſideration, and that you will give Orders, that, purſuant to the Laws of this Land, he may not be ill uſed or ſtop'd, by your Clerks, from viſiting any of his Friends or Relations in the Country.

And your Petitioner (as in Duty bound) will ever pray, &c.

Univerſal Spectator, April 28. N° 551.

SIR,

THO' 'tis with infinite Satisfaction, I ſee Men of my Faſhion grow more and more *Frenchified* every Day, I cannot help repining greatly that we make our Progreſs to Politeneſs no faſter; and that ſuch Numbers ſtill perſiſt, nay glory in being downright *Engliſh*.

Let them obſerve the Conduct of moſt of their Superiors; no longer rude, untractable, and proud of Independency; but ſuing for the Honour of being commanded, and as ready to receive any Impreſſion, as the Wax of their own Patents: In one Word, Sir, without the leaſt Reſemblance of thoſe rough-hewn Blades, their Anceſtors, who chaſtiz'd the *Spaniards* under *Elizabeth*, or conquer'd the *French* at *Agincourt* and *Creſſy*.—Shall Perſons of Birth and Dignity ſubmit themſelves to a voluntary Vaſſalage, and ſhall not the dirty Vulgar be compell'd to put on the ſame Yoke?

Had you ever been in *France*, Sir, you had been convinc'd of the Expediency of this Regulation. There, if the Gentry are Slaves, both in Body and Soul, to Prieſt and King, the Vulgar are Slaves to them. Whereas in *England*—But I dare not truſt myſelf with the barbarous Imagination—and will freely ſpend 1000*l.* at the next E——— to have it in my Power to move, that the *Canaille* here may be diſtinguiſh'd, like their Brethren in *France*, by meagre Faces, Rags, and wooden Shoes; that Gentlemen of Condition may uſe them at Diſcretion, and that it may be High-Treaſon for them but to whiſper the Words, *Liberty and Property*.

NORMAN.

To the Rev. Mr. ———

'TWAS you, my *Lucius*, to my erring youth,
Pointed the paths of virtue, and of truth;
My little knowledge all to you I owe, [to flow.
You ſtruck the rock, and taught the ſtream
Then ſhall I not my gratitude expreſs?
I ought to do it, I can do no leſs.
The poor, if they a bit of ore receive,
A thouſand thanks to the kind donor give.
And was I not as miſerably poor?
And did I not receive from you much more?
While prieſts by intereſt, or ambition led,
A gloomy veil o'er bright religion ſpread,
You bravely dare to draw that veil aſide,
And ſhew thoſe beauties they attempt to hide.
Strip'd of each frigthful, and each falſe diſguiſe,
No more a dreadful monſter ſhocks my eyes;
But in her native charms by you diſplay'd,
I ſee, and worſhip the celeſtial maid.
Nobly you ſcorn the pedantry of ſchools,
Above the cenſure, or the praiſe of fools.
Your clear ideas clearly you expreſs,
And truth ſublime in eaſy language dreſs.
Pleas'd I can liſten, nor e'er think it long,
While nature, and her laws employ your tongue;
Or while the mind you ſkilfully diſſect,
Explain its ſtrength, its weakneſſes detect:
But if fair liberty your thoughts engage,
Your boſom kindles with becoming rage;
There while our right you ſtrenuouſly maintain,
The patriot and philoſopher are ſeen!
'Tis with ſuch friendly art you condeſcend,
To mark my follies, and my faults to mend,
That I with patience, nay with pleaſure bear
The kind rebuke, or the inſtruction hear.
As the wreck'd veſſel on the ocean toſt,
Her anchor, rudder, and her pilot loſt,
Is but the ſport of winds: ſuch are the young,
While reaſon's weak, and ev'ry paſſion ſtrong;
To no one port with ſteady courſe they ſail,
But wildly drive before each preſent gale;
And oft deceiv'd they find, alas! too late,
What they deſign'd their fortune, proves their fate;
And all, perhaps, becauſe no friend would be
So true a friend to them, as you to me.
When firſt I told you, love my ſoul poſſeſt,
And down'd that *Silvia*'s beauties fir'd my breaſt,
You ſaid, and ſmil'd—'the paſſion I approve,
'A worthy perſon 'tis no fault to love:
'Yet onward tread with caution, leſt you fall;
'That may be cunning, which you prudence call.'
Warn'd thus by you, I us'd my utmoſt care,
And ſaw, and ſhun'd betimes the tempting ſnare.
And now at length my labours all are o'er,
The conflict's paſt, and I'm a ſlave no more.
No more my heart refuſes to obey
Its ſovereign reaſon's rightful, gentle ſway;
Silvia with all her charms no more I prize,
But ſeeing thro' her arts, her arts deſpiſe.
Theſe lines ſincereſt gratitude inſpires, [fires;
And I but write what worth, and friendſhip
No fulſome flatt'ry fills my honeſt lays,
Like you I hate it, tho' I love to praiſe;
And where ſuch merit ſhines, as ſhines in you,
Praiſe as a lawful debt is but your due,
And due from all, yet moſt from me,—dear friend, adieu.

The Rape of the LAWN: *With Advice to* SYLVIA; *on her loſing her Neck-Kerchief at* Greenwich *Church*, March 11, 1738-9.

Thrice fairer than thyſelf!

PARDON preſumption in a ruſtick ſwain,
Whoſe lowly muſe aſpires to lofty ſtrain:
With notes uncouth, with weak and faultring tongue,
The poet wanting, and his lyre unſtrung:
What arrogance! or ſay, from whence the ſpring,
That cauſes *Colinclout* t' attempt to ſing?
As nought below cou'd ſuch a clown refine,
The object ſurely then muſt be divine.
Prophetick ſpirit in ſo mean a boor!
To make thee ſing, who never ſung before.
But *Colin*, with thy clouted muſe, be brief,
And ſing of *Sylvia*, and her neck-kerchief.
Hail, beauteous goddeſs! heaven's chiefeſt care!
All nature's pride, and faireſt of all fair!
The field's chief flower, ſweet beyond compare!
Blaſt to each nymph, and bloom to ev'ry ſwain
Pride of the * hill, and glory of the plain!
Nature, that made thee, with herſelf at ſtrife,
Saith, that the world hath ending with thy life.
As I with equal wonder and delight,
Beheld thy beauties deck'd in native white,
Joy fill'd my heart, an angel fill'd my ſight.
Long I look'd on, (who wou'd not long look on,
That ſuch an object had to look upon?)
And view'd around, obſerv'd each moving part,
Saw how thy eyes kept concert with thy heart.
'So fair a form! with ſuch devotions join'd!
'A virgin body, and a ſpotleſs mind;
'Pleas'd with her pray'rs, while heav'n propitious ſees
'The lovely votreſs on her bended knees;
'Sure it muſt think ſome angel loſt its way,
'And happ'ning on this wretched earth to ſtray, [flight,
'Tir'd with its follies, fain wou'd take its
'And begs to be reſtor'd to thoſe bleſt realms of light.'
For this, and ev'ry good, you humbly plead,
So angels do, and doubtleſs thus you did.
Your vows thus offer'd, you with thoughts ſerene,
And mind compos'd, aroſe, with graceful mien, [been;
T' adorn that place, where every grace had
When

* *Crum*'s Hill.

When love's all-envy'd vail lay unespy'd,
Ungen'rous vails! that such fair beauties hide.
Celestial globes! where love triumphant plays,
And ev'ry grace each rapt'rous charm surveys;
Venus in state doth on these thrones appear,
She keeps her *Paphos* and *Cythera* here.
And cou'dst thou, *Sylvia!* such a vail devise,
(Thou who giv'st life, and light to human eyes)
To cloud those worlds, where all that's pow'rful lies?
Thou rather ought'st to have reveal'd thy pow'r,
And shew'd us morta's, what we might adore.
Well might'st thou wonder, and with wonder ask,
Where went thy kerchief? and dull *Colin* task.
Thrice stupid swain! the goddess shone so bright,
As vail'd his senses in th' abyss of night;
A face! a shape! a voice so sweet and clear,
Celestial musick warbled in his ear.
Silent! abash'd! unknowing what to say,
At length, said yes for no, and no for ay.
But when those beams that shadow'd him were past
Sense, day, and all return'd that was o'er-cast;
Then he cou'd tell thee, thou divinest maid!
The vail, 'tis true, was given for a shade,
In angry seasons, to protect thy charms,
And shield thy beauties from tempestuous harms:
But when all nature smiles with gay delight,
And *Phœbus* sues of thee to borrow light,
Thou slight'st his courtship, with thy seeming coy,
He pouts, and tells his tale to th' amorous boy;
How that a fair, of ev'ry charm possest,
Conceals them all, within a flinty breast.
Love flies in haste, saw where the cov'ring lay,
And whilst for justice to the gods you pray,
The injur'd god hence snatch'd his own away.
Learn then, bright nymph! to use thy pow'r aright,
Nor vail thy beauties in perpetual night;
Lest all the gods combine in a dispute,
Each take their own, and leave thee destitute.
This coarse advice to thy refiner ear,
Kindly receive, and think a swain sincere.

COLIN.

The following was promis'd in our last, p. 150.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I HAVE lived above ten Months in a Village, where none of the publick Papers are taken, and during that Time have not had the Pleasure of perusing any of your monthly Entertainments; but a few Days since, I receiv'd from a Friend, your Magazine for last *June*, in which I find a Copy of Verses, call'd, an Epistle to Mrs. *Masters* and her Readers. (See Vol. VII. p. 306,) I confess the Author has drawn up a black and heavy Charge against me; but sure, had he considered the Epithet *incarnate*, he would have seen *Clemene* was but an earthly Angel, and every one knows I am not the first that has mention'd such bright Terrestrials. 'Tis true, I have made her the most illustrious among the fair Forms of Virtue, and perhaps the Compliment may rise above the Subject; but, without wresting my Sense, can't possibly be apply'd to any higher Order than her own; for I have represented her a mere mortal Creature, indebted to a Divine Being for every Perfection both of Body and Mind. As for the grave Gentleman who attacks me in the religious Mask, I believe I may, without a Breach of Charity, presume he was prompted more by Passion than Piety; and in answer to his Epistle, I desire an Insertion of the following Lines in your next *Magazine*.

WHO e'er thou art, my nameless, angry foe,
Thou hop'st, unknown, to strike an envious blow;
In vain you strive, with base dissembling art,
To hide the secret rancour of your heart;
In vain would black infernal hate conceal,
Beneath the brightness of religion's veil.
What did your line of *blasphemy* intend!
Vile hypocrite! 'twas for a wicked end;
In your invidious charge too plain is seen
A lurking enemy that vents his spleen,
Forcing my sense, to what I ne'er design'd,
To what ne'er enter'd in a candid mind.
My honest meaning wrong'd, with zeal you burn,
And pious grow, to serve a present turn;
Then in a sacred, but affected strain,
You persecute the errors of your brain.
But if you needs mast ape the critick's skill,
For once take counsel from a female quill,
And when you next attempt the censor's page
Resume your judgment, and renounce your rage.
Friendly reproof, my soul with joy receives,
But I despise the stroke that malice gives:
Faults I allow, in ev'ry piece I've writ,
The want of spirit, elegance and wit,
The pointed beauties, and the polish'd art,
To raise my verse, and charm the reader's heart:
Yet need not call *Myrtillo*'s manly muse
To aid my pen, and combate your abuse;
My themes, themselves, shall for their author plead,
And justify me from an *impious deed*.
Pure are my thoughts, from all profaneness free,
Awfully rev'rent to the *deity*.
'Tis true, with warmth, I celebrate a friend,
And am delighted, when I can commend:
While each impartial judge to me will grant,
What you, my monitor, seem much to want.
O, let me here, the gen'rous talent boast;
I most am pleas'd, when I can praise the most.
Take not a line or two to feed your spite,
But read the whole, and understand it right:

Go ſearch, unprejudic'd, and then you'll find
Marks of good-nature, with a chriſtian mind.
What tho' I fondly ſung *Clemene*'s name,
And was tranſported with the darling theme;
No adoration, no falſe worſh'p's there,
No ſolemn invocation made in pray'r;
No wonder-working pow'r to her is giv'n,
Nor ought implor'd, which I ſhould aſk of heav'n.
I ever thought it was high merit's due
To be admir'd and lov'd, applauded too:
I lov'd, admir'd, and prais'd my virtuous friend,
Yet knew each grace did from her God deſcend;
I own'd the hand whence all her beauties came,
* And lowly bow'd me to the *pow'r ſupreme*.

March 16,
1738-9. MARY MASTERS.

COUNTRY-INNOCENCE: *Or, the* RURAL REPAST.

LET thoſe vain fops employ, that will,
A curious, quaint, and courtly quill,
In ſoothing high and lofty dames,
With ſcribbling of fantaſtick flames.
Let haughty *Jezebels* allure,
With painted face, and breath impure;—
And each romantick goddeſs rule
O'er ev'ry idolizing fool.
May jilts, and prudes, and proud coquets
Draw doating dolts into their nets;—
Deceive, diſdain, deride, deſpiſe,
And o'er wiſe woodcocks tyrannize.
Let baby *Leſbia*, and her ſparrow,
Furniſh boy *Cupid* with an arrow.
If *Chloe* condeſcend to walk,
Or chatt'ring *Pica* do but talk,
Or ſing-ſong *Solfa* ſhew her art,
Let beaux complain of am'rous ſmart.
But, if *Lucinda* come in ſight,
Let purblind ſots be ſlain outright.
And let thoſe fond, ill-judging fools,
That underſtand no muſick-rules,
(But quite regardleſs are of *time*,
As well as *reaſon*, and good *rhyme*)
To *Ariet*, at her harpſichord,
Great ſtore of compliments afford.
And, if, for mean, vain-glorious ends,
Bellaria treat her table-friends,
And glut each gormondizing gueſt
With what fine palates fancy beſt;
Let cits, and epicures, and rakes
Cry up the coſtly feaſts ſhe makes.
In ſhort,—let ev'ry gay gallant,
On charms chimerical deſcant.
I, a much humbler theme ſhall chuſe,
And court a more engaging muſe;—
A *love* more *rational*, declare;
And recommend more *wholeſome fare*.
I, free from all ambitious aims,
Shall ſhew, how dreſs'd up, *courtly dames*
Come ſhort of neat, clean *country laſſes*;
And, how pure *nature art* ſurpaſſes.—

[*To be continu'd.*]

* *See* Clemene's *Character in my Poems, p.* 34.

Upon ſeeing M——*m* V——te's PICTURE.

WHEN goddeſſes appear, e'en gods will love:
A *Venus* tempted an almighty *Jove*.
No wonder then, if *Sacchariſſa*'s charms
Could tempt a mighty monarch to her arms.
What, tho' we 're taught to curb unlawful fire?
Forbidden fruit but animates deſire.
Who, when ſuperior beauty charms the ſight,
And moves in all the majeſty of light,
Can look unconquer'd? or can ſay, I'm free
From love's ſoft, pleaſing, pow'rful tyranny?
Love, ſure you'll own, is natural to all:
And all obey its univerſal call. [its pow'r?
Where then's the crime, if kings have felt
(For kings, no doubt, have their unguarded hour.)
Know, ye, who raſhly dare condemn the man;
A god's his pattern, nature is his plan.

EUGENIO.

MARRIAGE *for* INTEREST. *Illuſtrated by a* SIMILE.

COME and behold, good brother *Hugh!*
Theſe wanton kittens purr and mew,
And with each other play:
Gabriel thus, and *Kate* ſo coy,
With various ſports the hours employ,
And chide the fleeting day.

But now, ſuppoſe theſe cats we take,
And throw 'em croſs a ſtick or ſtake,
Each ty'd to t'other's tail:
The ſportive play will quickly end,
Each for a foe will take its friend,
And fight with tooth and nail.
And this will be our lovers fate;
(Love, rais'd by intereſt, turns to hate.)
When they are man and wife,
He'll ſoon perceive her want of charms,
And ſhe, a booby in her arms;
(Hence ſprings domeſtick ſtrife.)
Gabriel will bluſter, ſtamp and ſwear;
Kitty will ſcold, and ſcratch, and tear;
E'en this will be their life.

A RIDDLE.

WITH favours, and fortune faſtidiouſly bleſt,
He's loud in his laugh, he's coarſe in his jeſt,
Of favour and fortune unmerited vain,
A ſharper in trifles, a dupe in the main,
Atchieving of nothing, ſtill promiſing wonders,
By dint of experience improving in blunders;
Oppreſſing true merit, exalting the baſe,
And ſelling his country to purchaſe a p——;
A jobber of ſtocks, by retailing falſe news,
A prater at court in the ſtile of the ſtews;
Of virtue and worth by profeſſion a giber
Of S——s and J——s the bully and briber?

Tho'

Tho' I name not the wretch, you'll guess who I mean,
'Tis the cur-dog of *Britain* and spaniel of *Spain*.
J. C.—Seven's the main.

In natalem sereniſſimi Frederici, Walliarum Principis, filii natu ſecundi.

QUO tendis? aut quæ facta potentium
Heroum, acutâ voce tibi placet
Cantare? Quem blandis Camœnis,
Calliope, celebrare ſumes?

Ceſſa vagari; te patriæ vocant
Laudes: canenti materies erit
Lux alma, quæ prolem recentem,
Dona Dei Britonis, ferebat.

Proles ab alto ſanguine principum
Demiſſa, quos & religio, & genus,
Virtuſque per cunctas probata
Eximios ſonuere terras.

Belli docebit te teneris modos
Mavors in annis, O decus Angliæ:
Ægiſque præſentis Minervæ
Excutiet genus omne damni.

Jam plenus ævo, ſi libeat manu
Verſare avorum geſta perennia:
Hinc nuda quid virtus, quid æquum
Hinc, juvenis generoſe, diſcas.

Secura gaude, nobilis Albion,
Heroa dignis laudibus efferens,
Præbente qui viret juventâ
Hoſtibus incutiet pavorem.

Tunc, heu! cruentus cultor Iberiæ
Pectus Britonni ſentiet æreum,
Tandemque, ſed ſero, dolebit
Pacificæ nociuiſſe genti.

Dii te feracem propitii beent,
Auguſta mater. ſtirps etiam tua
Sub jure defendat Britannos,
Perpetuum decus, atque robur.

STOKE's-*BAY*. *By Mr.* GAZLEY.

LET the gay world in noiſy mirth employ
Its idle hours, and court expenſive joy:
To follow nature, whereſoe'er ſhe ſtrays,
Be ſtill the conſtant buſineſs of my days.
O'er all her works, contemplative, I keep
A watchful eye, and trace 'em thro' the deep.
The flow'ry garden, the ſequeſter'd ſhade,
The lengthen'd viſta, and the forc'd caſcade,
With ev'ry plan contriv'd by art, muſt yield
To the rude beauties of the watry field.
How am I pleas'd the ſteep aſcent to gain,
Where *Stoke*'s tall landmark overlooks the main;
While innocent of heat the morning beams
Play on the flood with ever-varying gleams;
And ſcarce the gentle zephyr's eaſy breeze
Ruffles the ſilver ſurface of the ſeas?
The level ſtrand ſlowly the wave rouls o'er,
And faintly murmurs on the ſhelly ſhore:
Perhaps the fleecy flocks that browze around,
Add their ſoft bleatings in alternate ſound:
Perhaps the larks, as from the turf they riſe,
With leſſ'ning notes mount upwards to the ſkies;
All elſe is ſacred ſilence.—Hence! remove,
Ye worthleſs crew! 'tis ſolitude I love.
And now with ſecret wonder I behold,
Where erſt the ſtorm in wild confuſion roll'd;
Now to the ſmooth alluring ſcene compare,
The flatt'ring ſmiles and friendſhips of the fair;
At length on more exalted thoughts I feed,
And deeper doubts within my breaſt ſucceed.
I aſk what pow'r that maſs of waters guides,
To certain periods of revolving tides?
Thoſe tides nor floods increaſe, nor winds reſtrain,
And time and drought exhale their ſtores in vain.
They know their limits, and obſerve their laws:
Say, can attraction ſolve the wondrous cauſe?
Can ſun and moon ſuch ſtrange effects procure,
As joint or ſep'rate they exert their pow'r?
Yet on that pow'r the mind in vain reflects,
We only know it is, and know it acts.
Shou'd not the air, as regular as they,
Th' impulſive influence of this cauſe obey?
Experience tells us, how th' inconſtant wind,
By ſun or moon diſdains to be confin'd.
Now ſtray its wanton breezes o'er the wave,
Anon, its guſts enormous billows heave;
Rages wide-waſting the ſonorous ſtorm,
And driving wrecks the dreary deep deform.
Owns then the wind attraction's powerful law?
Do circling orbs air's upper ſurface draw?
And flow its ſtreams to fill the vacant ſpace,
As with leſs weight the parts incumbent preſs?
Whence then to earth directed is its courſe?
Whence ſprings its inſtant change, and various force?
Thro' fibrous roots what ſends the fruitful rain,
To raiſe the flow'r, or ſwell the golden grain?
Who can reveal what principles impreſt,
Or guide or animate the bird and beaſt?
Their frame contemplate, and their actions ſcan:
What is their ſenſe? And what they reaſon, man?
Each element, each creature, plant, and tree
Of ev'ry kind proclaim a deity.
But tir'd, at length, with the perplexing ſtate,
Which anxious thought and doubts unſolv'd create,
Again my eye the lovely ſcene ſurveys, pleaſe;
Leaves what diſtracts, and chuſes what may
The various windings of the wide-ſtretch'd coaſt,
How diſtant hills in doubtful ſkies are loſt;
How *Portſmouth*'s ramparts guard the ſea-beat ſhore,
Her docks, her harbour, and her town ſecure:
How the fair * iſle, at beauteous diſtance plac'd,
Laughs with the wealth of laviſh nature graced;
Her woods, her fields, her meads, of chearful green,
Checquer with ſweet variety the ſcene.

Here

* *Iſle of* Wight.

Here the tall grove ſurrounds the rural ſeat,
There ruſſet downs the diſtant view compleat.
Delicious ſpot! ſcarce *Italy* can boaſt
A nobler ſoil, or more indulgent coaſt.
What tho' the bounteous hand of heav'n ſupplies
A warmer ſeaſon, and ſerener ſkies?
What tho' their olives yield their oily ſtore,
And floods of wine the gen'rous vintage pour?
No true content their happy clime affords;
The peaſant ſweats for arbitrary lords,
Doom'd two relentleſs tyrants to obey,
A ſlave to princely and to prieſtly ſway.
E'en this dear land deſpotick rule hath own'd,
When firſt beneath the *Norman* yoke ſhe groan'd;
When lawleſs pow'r yon * ample tract defac'd,
And towns and temples lay a gen'ral waſte;
O'er many a league of conſecrated ground
The foreſt ſtretch'd its woody wilds around;
On ruin'd cloiſters roſe the gloomy ſhade,
And the ſtag harbour'd where the prieſt had pray'd.
The ſcar of ancient ſlav'ry ſtill is ſeen,
And marks the country with a deeper green.
But now, triumphant, and in peace ſhe reigns,
And kings ſubmit to what their queen ordains;
For liberty, for arts, for arms renown'd,
Admir'd and envy'd by the nations round.
See! in long lines her royal navy ride,
The dread of *Europe*, and the world beſide!
Here while my eye with fix'd attention ſtays,
And each bright beauty of the ſcene ſurveys,
Their echoing thunder rattles round the coaſt,
And the clear proſpect in thick clouds is loſt.
The *Britiſh* flag, that diſtant realms explores,
And dictates laws on either *India*'s ſhores,
To this th' obſervant fleet their homage pay,
And ſhine alike with alter'd † colours gay.
Where the deep ſcarlet ſhed its ſanguine hue,
From the proud ſterns now ſtreams th' obſequious blue;
While the broad pendant floats aloft no more,
But ſtrikes ſubmiſſive to ſuperior pow'r.
And well theſe honours to the flag are paid,
That guards th' extenſive bleſſings of our trade,
Aſſerts the grandeur of the *Britiſh* throne,
And makes the wealth of all the world our own.

The Compleint of a Parſonage-Houſe *being let out for a* Tavern.

I WHO in good old *Rey*——r's days
Had *piety* within;
By ſad reverſe of fate, in *L*——'s
Am now let out to *ſin*.

Tell me no more, the *doctor* cries,
What *goodneſs* here did dwell;
I think my *houſe* as well apply'd
To *drinking* and *quadrille*.

A FABLE. *The* Ivy *and the* Oak.

A PAULTRY, creeping ivy had,
By length of time, an oak o'erſpread;
Twiſting, and tangling every arm,
Still boaſting, that it did no harm:
Since, by his aid and ſtrength alone,
The oak's ſecur'd from falling down.
Now, liſt'ning to this creature vain,
One thus replies, in pure diſdain:
Thou, little, ſneaking, ſcrubby weed!
Thou, nothing but thyſelf doſt heed:
If ſuffer'd, thou, this noble trunk
Wilt quite ſuck dry, like any punk.
Then ſoon, his helping hand he gave,
And ſtript it off, the tree to ſave.

MORAL.

Thus fares the prince, who ſtands ſurrounded
With cheats, and pilferers confounded;
Till he, at once reſumes his power,
And turns the villains o'er and o'er.

To Miſs U——la W——n.

BRIGHT roſe the ſun from ocean's watry ſtreams,
And gilt the gladſome morn with roſy beams;
His rays, with undiſputed glory ſhine,
Unrivall'd, till the fatal hour of nine; [maid
When *Cælia* wakes — and the fair, blooming
Appears in beauty's brighter beams array'd:
Out-ſhone by *her*, for ſhame the bluſhing god
Retires in haſte behind a friendly cloud;
To her ſuperior charms reſigns the ſway,
And leaves the nymph ſole goddeſs of the day:
His light, *his* heat reach but the outer part,
The eye *ſhe* dazzles, and *ſhe* fires the heart.

DUNELMO.

In the Spell-Monger, *p.* 94. *of our* Magazine *for* Feb. *col.* 1. *ver.* 30. *for yalls, r. galls. dele ver.* 39 *and* 40. *and add in their Room theſe following:*

Not half ſo loud did the fierce *Cyclops* roar,
When his cruſh'd eye ſuſtain'd the fiery bore:
'Midſt horrid groans hoarſe bellowings rend the ſkies,
Whilſt hobbling *Truſty* to the *doctor* hies;
Relates the caſe:—when ſee! th' officious quack,
With doubtful aid, ſtands ready at his back.

After ver. 6. *in col.* 2. *add:*

Huzza's in peals to diſtant hills declare,
That ſomething wonderful had happen'd there.

N. B. *Our Correſpondents are deſired to direct their Letters for* Tho. Aſtley *in St.* Paul's *Churchyard, without enclofing them in a ſecond Cover, which is an additional Expence in the Poſtage.*——*Several Poems, both printed and Manuſcript, muſt be defer'd to our next.*

* *New Foreſt.* † *When an Admiral hoiſts his Flag, it is uſual for the other Ships to ſalute, and change their Colours in Compliment to him.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

TOWARDS the End of last Month, Sir *Abraham Elton*, Bart. and *Thomas Coſter*, Eſq; Repreſentatives in Parliament for the City of *Briſtol*, waited on his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* from the ſaid City, in order to congratulate his Royal Highneſs on the Birth of the Prince; and Sir *Abraham Elton* made their Compliments as follows:

PErmit us, Sir, with Hearts full of Joy, to approach your Royal Highneſs, for the Mayor, Burgeſſes, and Commonalty of the City of *Briſtol*, humbly to congratulate the Increaſe of your Family on the Birth of another Prince.

May the Royal Pair, with which Heaven has bleſſed us, multiply and increaſe, that the *Britiſh* Throne may always be filled with a Prince from this Illuſtrious Branch.

Theſe are the ardent Wiſhes of the Citizens of *Briſtol* for the Prince, whoſe condeſcending Goodneſs hath ſo honour'd us as to be one.

His Royal Highneſs's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks for this new Inſtance of your Duty to the King, and Regard to me. The City of Briſtol *may always depend upon my hearty good Wiſhes for their Welfare.*

MONDAY, *April* 2.

Were executed at *Sarum*, the three following Perſons, condemn'd for deſtroying the Goods, and attempting to pull down the Dwelling-houſes of Mr. *Coulthurſt* and other Clothiers, *viz.* *John Bizer*, a Weaver; *John Crabb*, a Shearman; and *Richard Rowde*, a Brick-maker. Two Troops of the *Scotch* Greys attended the Execution, which was performed without any Diſturbance.

SATURDAY, 7.

As the Workmen were digging in *Stocks-Market* for the Foundation of the Manſion Houſe, they took up a Grave-Stone which had been there 297 Years: The Letters and Figures, with a curious Coat of Arms upon it, appear'd but very little defaced.

The noted *Turpin* was executed at *York*, and made a large Confeſſion of the Robberies committed by him. (See p. 53.)

WEDNESDAY, 11.

This Night the new-born Prince was baptized at *Norfolk* Houſe in St. *James*'s-*Square*, by the Names of *Edward-Auguſtus*; the King of *Pruſſia*, by his Proxy his Grace the Duke of *Queenſberry* and *Dover*, and the Duke of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel*, by his Proxy the Marquis of *Carnarvon*, being Godfathers; and the Dutcheſs of *Saxe-Wiſſenfels* by her Proxy the Right Hon. Lady *Charlotte Edwin*, Godmother. The Ceremony was perform'd by the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. *Secker*, Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*. The Silver Font that was made uſe of for the Chriſtening of K. *Charles* I. was brought from the *Tower* for the Chriſtening of the new-born Prince.

The ſame Gentlemen were re-choſen Directors of the *E. India* Company, for the Year enſuing, who were in the Direction laſt Year, except theſe new ones, *viz.* *Samuel Hyde*, *Peter Godfrey*, *James Raymond*, Eſqrs; and Sir *John Salter*, and Sir *William Billers*, Knts. in the Room of *Stephen Bliſs*, *Richard Blount*, *Chriſtopher Burrow*, *John Emmerſon*, and *Harry Gough*, Eſqrs.

Likewiſe the ſame Gentlemen were re-choſen Directors of the Bank, as laſt Year, except *Stamp Brookſbank*, *William Fawkener*, *Henry Neale*, *Charles Savage*, *James Spilman*, Eſqrs. Mr. *Alexander Sheaſe*, Mr. *James Gaultier*, and Mr. *William Hunt*; in whoſe Room were choſen, *John Bance*, *Charles Palmer*, *Moſes Raper*, *William Snelling*, *Chriſtopher Tower*, Eſqrs; Mr. *Claude Fonnereau*, Mr. *John South*, and Mr. *Samuel Tench*.

SUNDAY, 15.

The Anniverſary of the Birth of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* was celebrated, when his Royal Highneſs enter'd into the 19th Year of his Age.

WEDNESDAY, 18.

The Congratulatory Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, on account of Prince *Edward*'s Birth, preſented on this Day to their Royal Highneſſes.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſſes,

WE, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, beg leave to congratulate your Royal Highneſſes on the Birth of another Prince.

Every ſuch Encreaſe of the Royal Family we conſider as an additional Security to ourſelves, in full Confidence that all your illuſtrious Progeny will be form'd by the Inſtructions and Example of your Royal Highneſſes, to be the Glory and Happineſs of theſe Kingdoms, by continuing to us all the invaluable Bleſſings which ariſe from Liberty at home, and the Support of our National Character abroad.

His Royal Highneſs's Anſwer.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I and the Princeſs are very thankful for this new Inſtance of your Duty to the King, and of your

your Regard to us. My Children will, I hope, one Day, deſerve a Share of that Affection you always have ſhown to the Family; and it ſhall be my Care early to inſtil into them a Love for the Laws and Liberties of that Country they have the Happineſs to be born in. The City may always depend on my good Wiſhes for its Proſperity, and Welfare of its Trade.

They all had the Honour to kiſs their Royal Highneſſes Hands.

The Deputies repreſenting the Corporation of *Bath*, waited upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, with the following Addreſs, from the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of that City, on Occaſion of the Birth of Prince *Edward-Auguſtus*.

To his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs.

THE Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *Bath*, are too much intereſted in the Increaſe of your Royal Family to forbear expreſſing the Joy we feel on the Birth of your Royal Son.

We are ſo ſenſible, Sir, of your Affection to your Royal Iſſue, that we preſume to congratulate your Royal Highneſs on the ſame Occaſion; and we aſſure your Royal Highneſs, we ſhall rejoice at every Event that enlarges the Happineſs of your Royal Highneſs.

To promote that, may your Royal Highneſs enjoy Felicities equal to your Wiſhes, even equal to your own Deſerts: May Providence protect her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales* to heighten the Pleaſures, and ſoften the Cares of Life, which are incident even to Princes.

May it guard your Royal Iſſue in their Infant Years, and attend them in every Stage of Life, to ſecure that Liberty our Anceſtors ſo ſucceſsfully contended for, and we now enjoy in its full Extent under his preſent Majeſty.

To which Addreſs, his Royal Highneſs returned a very gracious Anſwer.

THURSDAY, 19.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Land Tax Bill, and to ſeveral other publick and private Bills.

The Parliament of *Ireland* which ſtood prorogued to *Thurſday* the 3d Day of *May* next, is by his Majeſty's Order further prorogued to *Thurſday* the 16th Day of *Auguſt* next.

At the Aſſizes at *Thetford* 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death; at *Taunton*, 4 Men and a Boy; at *Briſtol*, one for Murder and one for Houſe-breaking; at *Exeter*, 4 Men and a Woman; at *Lincoln*, one for Horſe-ſtealing; at *Glouceſter*, 2 Men and 2 Women; at *Stafford*, 4 Men, one for poiſoning his Maſter; at *Shrewſbury*, 2 Men. At *Hereford* it was a Maiden Aſſizes, none being capitally convicted; and at *Monmouth*, there was not one Priſoner to try.

The Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole* was greatly indiſpos'd towards the End of this Month, but ſoon recover'd ſo as to be able to ſee Company.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

JAMES Ogilvie of *Rothiemay*, Eſq; to Lady *Betty Maitland*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Lauderdale*.—Dr. *Cole*, an eminent Phyſician of this City, to Mrs. *Micklewright* of *Hatton-Garden*.—*Jacob Elton*, Eſq; Alderman of *Briſtol*, and Brother to Sir *Abraham Elton*, Bart. Member for that City, to the Relict of the late Mr. *George Bridges*.—Mr. *Nathaniel Shower*, a *New-England* Merchant, to Miſs *Elicia How*.—Mr. *Chriſtopher Harris*, of the Poſt-Office, to the Daughter of *Jabez Harris*, Eſq; Clerk of the Weſtern Road.—The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Vere Beauclerc*, brought to Bed of a Son, who died ſoon after.—Counteſs of *Caithneſs* ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

SAMUEL Weſtall, Eſq; Lieut. Col. and Muſter-Maſter General of the Train'd Bands of this City.—Rev. Mr. *Baker*, Vicar of *Hayes* in *Middleſex*.—Mr. *Geary*, Engineer to *London-Bridge*, and the *New River* Water-Works.—Mr. *Barnes*, one of the Cuſtom-Houſe Gaugers.—At *Burghope* in *Herefordſhire*, Sir *Edward Goodere*, Bart. aged upwards of 90, created a Baronet by *Q. Anne*.—At *Guildford*, *John Dean*, Eſq; a Hop-Merchant of this City.—At his Houſe, the *Tyger* on *Tower-Hill*, Mr. *Bland*, famous for his wild Beaſts, Variety of Birds, &c.—*Edward Stanhope*, of *Grimſton* in *Yorkſhire*, Eſq;—Hon. *George Watſon*, Eſq; great Uncle to the Earl of *Rockingham*.—Hon. *William Leveſon Gower*, eldeſt Son and Heir to the Lord *Gower*.—*Edward Carteret*, Eſq; joint Poſt-Maſter General.—Mr. *Hill*, of *Convent-Garden* Theatre, of the Wounds he receiv'd in the Street by Villains unknown.—Maſter *D'Aeth*, eldeſt Son of *Narborough D'Aeth*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *Thomas D'Aeth*, Bart.—At *Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*, *Anthony Aſkew*, M. D. and in the Commiſſion of the Peace for that County.—Mr. *John Hornſby*, well known among the Sportſmen, for his Judgment in Horſes and Skill in riding Races. He was by his own Deſire, buried in his Shoes and Stockings, Silk Riding Suit, Jockey Cap, and his Whip in his Hand.—Rev. Mr. *Stevens*, Vicar of *Malden* near *Kingſton*, and a Prebendary of *Wincheſter*.—Rev. Mr. *Gardner*, Rector of *All-Saints* in *Briſtol*.—In *Scotland*, the Lady *Scotie*, Relict of Sir *James Scotie* of *Bolgowny*, Bart.—In *Ireland*, Lady Viſcounteſs *Antrim*, who was married to *William Hawkins* Mc-*Gill*.—*Richard Oldfield*, Eſq; of a plentiful

Eſtate

Eſtate at *Windſor*.—At *Cambridge*, Dr. *Nicholas Saunderſon*, Profeſſor of Mathematicks in that Univerſity, exceedingly well ſkill'd in that Art, tho' blind from two Years of Age.—Mrs. *Bance*, Wife to Mr. *Bance*, one of the Directors of the *Bank*, and Member of Parliament for *Weſtbury* in *Wiltſhire*.—Near *Southgate*, Mrs. *Jackſon*, poſſeſs'd of a conſiderable Jointure, which comes to her only Son, *Thomas Jackſon*, Eſq;—In *Holborn*, aged 73, Mr. *Edward Kidder*, the famous Paſtry-Maſter, who has taught near 6000 Ladies the Art of Paſtry.—Right Hon. the Counteſs Dowager of *Gainſborough*, Mother to the preſent Earl, of the Small Pox.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Fountain* made a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.—Mr. *Thomas le Merchant* made Chaplain to the Iſland and Gariſon of *Guernſey*. Mr. *Richard Clark* preſented to the Rectory of *Hempſtead*, *Norfolk*.—Mr. *James Hotchkis*, to the Rectory of *Bretenham*, *Suffolk*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

LIEUT. Gen. *Napper* made Lieut. Gen. and Commander in chief of his Majeſty's Forces in *Ireland*.—Lord *Cathcart* made Governor of *Londonderry*.—Marquis of *Lothian* made Lord Regiſter of *Scotland*.—His Majeſty granted to Sir *John Norris*, Knt. the Office and Offices of Vice Admiral of *Great Britain*, and Lieut. of the Admiralty thereof; and alſo Lieut. of the Navies and Seas of *Great Britain*.—Mr. *Townſend* choſen Aſſiſtant Surgeon at St. *Bartholomew's-Hoſpital*; and Mr. *Baker*, Surgeon of St. *Thomas's*.—Dr. *Tyſon* choſen Treaſurer of the *College of Phyſicians*.—Earl of *Finlater* appointed High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly in *Scotland*.—Sir *John Eyles* made joint Poſt-Maſter General with the Lord *Lovell*.—*Joſeph Taylor*, Eſq; choſe Member of Parl. for *Aſhburton* in *Devonſhire*.—Lord Viſc. *Bulkeley*, for *Beaumaris*, in the room of his Brother deceaſed.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

JOHN Gee, late of *Cambridge*, Chapman.—*Francis Sturgeon*, of St. *Anne's Weſtminſter*, Linen-draper.—*Samuel Burgeſs* of *Macclesfield*, Hoſier.—*Richard Armſtrong* of *Guildford*, Draper.—*John Foſter*, of *Wooburn*, Victualler.—*Charles Norgrave*, of *Aſhton*, in the Pariſh of *Oundle*, Maltſter and Scrivener.—*Richard Banks*, late of St. *Olave*, *Southwark*, Saleſman.—*Robert Cundall*, of *Tottenham High-croſs*, Victualler.—*Bernardiſton Nelſon*, of *Newport Pagnell*, Dealer in Horſes.—*George Petty*, late of *Stratford* by *Bow*, Felmonger.—*Iſaac Roe*, of St. *James Duke's Place*, Victualler.—*Stephen Prew*, of St. *Thomas Apoſtle*, *London*, Factor and Warehouſeman.—*John Cartwright*, late of *Wolverhampton*, Cutler.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 100 ½ a ¼	*Afric.* 13 ½
—*Bonds* 2*l.* 8*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.* 102 ½
—*Annu.* 113 ⅝ a ½	*Lon. ditto* 13 a ⅛
Bank 142 ¾ a ½	3 *per C. An.* 105 ¾
—*Circ.* 2*l.* 15*s.*	*Eng. Copper none*
Mil. Bank 122	*Salt Tallies* ½ a 2*l.*
India 168 ½ a 168	*Emp. Loan* 110 ½ a ⅞
—*Bonds* 6*l.* 14*s.* a 12	*Equiv.* 111

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 4 2 ½ a 2	*Bilboa* 39 ¼
D. Sight 35 1	*Leghorn* 49 ¾ a ⅝
Rotter. 35 6 2 ½ a 5	*Genoa* 52 ½
Hamb. 34 3	*Venice* 50 ½
P. Sight 31 ¼ a 3/16	*Lisb.* 5*s* 5*d* ⅝
Bourdx. 31	*Oport.* 5*s* 5*d* ¼
Cadiz 40	*Antw.* 36 1
Madrid 40	*Dublin* 9

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 29	*Oats*	11 14 6
Rye	12 17	*Tares*	20 22
Barley	13 17	*Peaſe*	21 28
H. Beans	18 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
F. Malt	16 21	*B. Malt*	17 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *March* 27. to *Apr.* 24.

Chriſtned	Males 658	Females 604	1262
Buried	Males 1037	Females 1045	2082
Died under 2 Years old			764
Between 2 and 5			185
5	10		68
10	20		62
20	30		164
30	40		186
40	50		184
50	60		183
60	70		133
70	80		110
80	90		35
90 and upwards			8
			2082

Hay 34 to 40*s.* a Load.

THE late Treaty concluded between their *Britannick* and *Daniſh* Majeſties, in relation to the Lordſhip of *Steinhorſt*, conſiſts of *five* Articles, the Subſtance whereof is as follows, *viz.*

1. His *Britannick* Majeſty declares that what paſs'd on the 3d of *December* laſt, * at the Caſtle of *Steinhorſt*, was conſidered by his Officers but as an indiſpenſable Means for maintaining his lawful Rights, and that they acted ſolely with that View, *his Majeſty having had no Intention to injure his* Daniſh *Majeſty on that Occaſion.*

2. His *Britannick* Majeſty promiſes that *Steinhorſt* ſhall be *immediately* evacuated by his Troops, the Retrenchments newly made demoliſhed, *and all Things reſtored to their former State*, ſo to remain until the Affair be decided.

3. His *Britannick* Majeſty aſſures, *that he has not entered into any Engagement with the ducal Houſe of* Holſtein, and that he has no Intention to engage with it hereafter, in any Money Negotiation, prejudicial to the King of *Denmark*.

4. His *Britannick* Majeſty declares, that ſince the Diſpute about *Steinhorſt*, no new Fortifications have been, nor ſhall be, added to the City of *Ratzburg*, of which his *Daniſh* Majeſty may convince himſelf by ſending a Perſon to examine Things upon the Spot.

5. His *Daniſh* Majeſty promiſes, that as ſoon as the 2d and 4th Articles are fully executed, his Troops lately aſſembled ſhall withdraw, and commit no further Act of Hoſtility; and that as to his Pretenſions to that Lordſhip, he will either refer them to an amicable Accommodation, or a Deciſion of Law; ſo that if the Affair cannot be concluded by Miniſters on both Sides, the Parties ſhall have recourſe to one of the three following Methods, *viz.* to eſtabliſh a Commiſſion, to leave the Matter to the Judgment of Umpires, or to refer it to a Deciſion of Law, *in which laſt Caſe, his* Daniſh *Majeſty preſerves to himſelf the Choice of the Tribunal to whoſe Sentence he will acquieſce.*

As the King of *Denmark* is by this Treaty to be left in Poſſeſſion, he ſeems to have obtained almoſt every Thing he could wiſh, except that of the Expences he has been put to upon this Occaſion; *and perhaps ſome Means have been found, by ſome other Treaty or ſecret Article*, to make him full Satisfaction in that Particular.

The Affair of the five *Swediſh* Senators, mentioned in our laſt, was determined on the 15th of laſt Month, and their Diſmiſſion approved of; but the Diet, in Conſideration of their former Services, has agreed to grant each of them a Penſion; which they no Way deſerve, if what is ſaid be true; for it is pretended, that theſe five Senators, who were ſometime ſince appointed Commiſſaries for renewing the Treaty of *Neuſtadt* with *Ruſſia*, had been by Dint of Money engaged in the Intereſt of that Power: It ſeems the *Swedes* now begin to be very angry with the Renewal of that Treaty; which may ſhew that *France* has not lately agreed to grant them ſuch a large Subſidy for nothing; and, indeed, it is ridiculous for any Nation to grant a Subſidy to another, unleſs thoſe to whom the Subſidy is granted, agree to do ſomething which they would not otherwiſe have done: When a Penſion is granted without ſuch an Engagement, it ought to be called a Tribute rather than a Subſidy.

In *February* laſt, the *Tartars* endeavoured to make an Inroad into the *Muſcovite* Territories. They were about 20,000 in Number, under the Command of the Sultan of *Bialgorod*, and upon the 14th appeared upon the other Side of the *Nieper* near *Potock*; but General *Bachmatow*, who commanded upon that Frontier, prepared to give them a warm Reception; and accordingly, 3000 of them having paſſed the River next Morning, he immediately attack'd them with ſuch Succeſs, that they were moſtly cut to Pieces or drowned in repaſſing the River. Upon this the main Body of them retired towards *Poland*; and, like *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas*, being reſolved not to return without ſome Booty, they plundered and burnt ſeveral Towns and Villages in *Poliſh Podolia*, and carried away captive all the Inhabitants they could lay hold of. Upon Complaint made, the *Turks* have promiſed, that all the Priſoners ſhall be releaſed, and the Damages repaired; but if the *Polanders* do not inſiſt upon a ſevere Puniſhment's being inflicted upon ſome of the *Tartarian* Chiefs, they may expect the ſame Uſage, the next Time the *Tartars* enter any of their Territories.

The News Writers from *Madrid* ſay, they have heard that the *Engliſh South Sea* Company had refuſed to pay the 68,000*l.* ſtipulated by the Declaration annexed to the late Convention; that Admiral *Haddock* had received Orders to remain in the *Mediterranean* with the Squadron under his Command; and that they talked in *England* of fitting out ſeveral Men of War: Yet ſay they, none of theſe Things give our Court the leaſt Uneaſineſs, ſince they continue diſarming their Men of War, in order to ſave an Expence which is thought uſeleſs at preſent. But notwithſtanding what theſe Politicians ſay, either the *Spaniſh* Court muſt have Reaſon to be uneaſy at our continuing our Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, or we muſt have Reaſon to call it home; for we ought to be as careful as they, not to put ourſelves to any uſeleſs Expence.

* *See* London Magazine *for* December, *p.* 633.

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. THE Statues: A Tale for the Ladies. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

2. *Grobianus*; or, the compleat Booby. Printed for *T. Cooper*, 8vo, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

3. The Tragedy of King *Saul*. Printed for *N. Pieſley*, price 6*d*.

4. Taſte: An Eſſay. By *J. S.* D. S. P. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

* 5. The Satires of *Perſius*. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Tho. Sherridan*, D. D. Printed for *D. Browne*, 8vo, price 2*s*. The ſame 12mo, printed for *A. Millar*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

HISTORICAL.

6. Chronologia Enucleata. By *Canute Young*, A. M. Printed for the Author, 12mo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

7. The Hiſtory of Prince *Edward*, and his Princeſs *Eleonora*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

8. The Hiſtory of *Guſtavus Vaſa*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

9. *Clarendon* and *Whitlock* farther compared. Printed for *J. Millan*, 8vo, price 2*s*.

10. A Journal of the Squadron under Rear Admiral *Haddock*. By the Rev. Mr. *George Lumley*. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 6*d*.

11. Modern Hiſtory. By Mr. *Salmon*. In 3 Volumes in Quarto, price 3*l*. 3*s*.

12. An Account of the Lives and Works of the moſt eminent *Spaniſh* Painters, *&c.* Printed for *S. Harding*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

13. The Hiſtory of *England*, during the Reigns of *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*. By Mr. *Oldmixon*. Printed for *T. Cox* and *R. Hett*, Folio, price 1*l*. 5*s*.

14. The Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Baptiſts. By *Tho. Croſby*. Sold by *A. Ward*. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 10*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

15. Obſervations on the preſent Taſte of Poetry. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

16. A farther Reply to Mr. *Shepheard*'s Advertiſement. By *J. Wynter*, M. D. Sold at *Deard*'s Toyſhop, price 1*s*.

17. An Eſſay towards laying open the Decay of the fine Woollen Trade. Printed for *A. Dodd*, price 3*d*.

18. An Eſſay towards the Character of Madam *Chimpanzee*. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 6*d*.

19. A Philoſophical Amuſement upon the Language of Beaſts. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 2*s*.

20. A Syllabus of Anatomy. By *G. Thomſon*, M. D. Printed for the Author, price 1*s*, 6*d*.

21. An Imitation of the ſecond Epiſtle of the firſt Book of *Horace*. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, price 1*s*.

22. Lyſiæ Orationes & Fragmenta. Typis G. Bowyer. Delivered to Subſcribers, by M. *Vaillant*, *Harding*, and *Batburſt*.

23. The Tryal of *Richard Turpin*. Printed for *Ward* and *Chandler*, price 6*d*.

* 24. A Diſſertation on the Stone in the Bladder. By *W. Schaw*, M. D. The 2d Edition. Sold by *R. Goſling*, price 1*s*.

25. Philoſophical Experiments. By *Stephen Hales*, D. D. F. R. S. Printed for *W. Innys* and *R. Manby*, and *T. Woodward*, 8vo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

26. An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of the Stone and Gravel. By *Hen. Bracken*, M. D. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

27. A Philoſophical Account of the Works of Nature. By *R. Bradley*, F. R. S. The 2d Edit. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 6*s*.

28. An impartial Examination of the 4th Volume of Mr. *Neale*'s Hiſtory of the Puritans. By *Z. Grey*, L. L. D. Sold by Meſſ. *Betteſworth* and *Hitch*, price 6*s*.

29. Memorials and Characters. Number VI. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

POLITICAL.

30. An Appeal to the Unprejudiced, in relation to the Convention, price 6*d*.

31. A Letter from an abſented Member to a Friend at *Weſtminſter*. Printed for *J. Standen*, price 6*d*.

32. Political Reflections upon the Finances and Commerce of *France*. Printed for *A. Millar*, 8vo, price 4*s*. ſew'd, or 4*s*. 6*d*. bound.

33. A ſhort, critical Review of the political Life of *Oliver Cromwell*. Sold by *J. James*, 8vo, price 4*s*.

34. The Convention vindicated. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

35. Scurrility and Defamation corrected; in Anſwer to City Corruption, *&c.* Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

36. A Letter of *Claudio Tolomei*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 2*s*.

37. An Eſſay on civil Power in Things ſacred. Printed for *M. Steen*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

38. A Letter to Mr. *Sn—ll*, on Liberty. Printed for *M. Steen*, price 6*d*.

39. The Fitneſs of attending Parliaments. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

40. A Letter proving the Diſſenters not to be excuſed from ſerving the Office of Sheriff. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

41. The Caſe of King *Jehoſhapat*. Printed for *J. Vokes*, price 1*s*.

42. The Objections againſt the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts conſidered. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 1*s*.

43. Remarks on the Obſervations on the Conduct of the Tories. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

44. A Letter to Sir *R. W.* Printed for *J. Brett*, price 6*d*.

SERMONS.

45. Sermons on different Subjects. By *Z. Mudge*. Printed for *S. Birt*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

46. A Sermon preached at the Conſecration

tion of *Matthias*, Lord Biſhop of *Landaff*. By *J. Chapman*, M. A. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 6*d*.

47. A Sermon preached before the Univerſity of *Oxford*. By *Tho. Randolph*, D. D. Printed at *Oxford*, for Mrs. *Fletcher*, and ſold by the Bookſellers at *London*, price 6*d*.

48. A Sermon preached at *Norwich*. By *R. Lecke*, D. D. Sold by *R. Robinſon*, and Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 6*d*.

49. A Sermon by *G. Whitefield*, A. B. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 6*d*.

50. A Sermon preached to the Societies for Reformation of Manners. By *S. Smith*, L. L. B. Printed for *M. Downing*, price 6*d*.

51. A Sermon againſt Curſing and Swearing. By *G. Duncombe*, M. A. Sold by *R. Goſling*, price 6*d*.

52. A Sermon preached at *Wellingborough*, By *P. Doddridge*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett* and *J. Buckland*, price 6*d*.

53. A Sermon preached before the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony of *Georgia*. By *W. Berriman*, D. D. Printed for *J. Carter*, price 6*d*.

54. Two Sermons preached at *Cambridge*. By *W. Weſton*, M. A. Price 1*s*. And,

55. A Sermon preached before the Univerſity of *Oxon*. By *W. Romaine*, M. A. Price 6*d*. Both printed for *T. Cooper*.

THEOLOGICAL.

56. Mr. *Nelſon*'s Companion for the Feſtivals and Faſts of the Church of *England* abridged. Together with a ſhort Explanation of the Morning and Evening Service in the Common-Prayer. In twelve Catechetical Exerciſes. In which the Nature and Meaning of the Feaſts and Faſts are explained, in a Method ſo eaſy and familiar, as will enable thoſe of the meaneſt Capacity, to know and underſtand their Duty, and prevail with them to practiſe it in their Lives and Converſations. By a late eminent Divine. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 1*s*. or 10*s*. a Dozen to thoſe who give them away.

57. A Letter to Mr. *Tho. Chubb*. By *R. P.* Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

58. Chriſtianity the ſole, true, and infallible Way of Life. By *C. Robinſon*. Sold by Meſſ. *Pemberton*, price 2*s*.

59. A Dialogue between a Baptiſt and a Church-man. The 2d Part. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

60. The pious Soul's Delight. By *W. Tanſur*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, price 2*s*.

61. The erroneous Tranſlations of the vulgar Verſions of the Scripture. By *John Lookup*, Eſq; Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s*.

62. Obſervations on the Remarks of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Journal, *&c*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

63. The divine Meditations of *John Gerhard*, D. D. Engliſhed by *T. Rowell*, M. A. The 3d Edition, price 3*s*.

64. A Vindication of a Defence of Baptiſm with Water. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 2*s*.

65. An Examination of a Book, entitled, The True Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. By *L. Jackſon*, B. D. Printed for *J. Clarke* in *Cornhill*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

* 66. The Chriſtian Life. By *John Scott*, D. D. The 10th Edition. In 5 Volumes, 8vo, price 1*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

67. The Genealogies of Jeſus Chriſt. By *Ed. Yardley*, B. D. Sold by *J. Mechell*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

68. Nineteen Letters of the late Dr. *Hammond*. Publiſhed by *Francis Peck*, M. A. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

69. Remarks on Mr. *Chubb*'s Vindication of his True Goſpel. By *C. Fleming*. Printed for *D. Farmer* and *T. Cox*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

70. The Inſpiration of the New Teſtament aſſerted, *&c*. In Anſwer to Mr. *Chubb*'s True Goſpel, *&c*. By *Philaleutherus Chriſtianus*. Sold by *T. Aſtley*, and *W. Collins* in *Sarum*, price 6*d*.

71. An Anſwer to an Examination of Mr. *Hutchinſon*'s Remarks. By *D. Gittins*, L. L. B. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

72. Remarks on the Review of the Demoniac Controverſy. By *T. Hutchinſon*, D. D. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 6*d*.

Speedily will be Publiſh'd, by SUBSCRIPTION,

Price Five Shillings. (On a Superfine Royal Paper.)

A TRAGEDY, called EDWARD and ELEONORA. By Mr. *THOMSON*.

The Repreſentation of this Tragedy on the Stage has been prohibited by Authority, *for what Reaſon the Author knows not. He is conſcious, that he had no other Intention, but to paint Virtue and Vice in their proper Colours; and he hopes, that there is neither Sentiment nor Reflection introduced, that does not flow naturally from the Subject. The Characters in the Play cannot offend thoſe whom they may be thought to reſemble: They are virtuous. If they diſpleaſe, they can diſpleaſe thoſe alone to whom they were never intended to be applied. And how Moral Reflections and Sentiments of Liberty ſhould offend, in a free Nation, he will not enquire. He is only ſollicitous to approve himſelf, to all who judge impartially, an honeſt Man, and a Lover of his Country. For his Succeſs, he truſts to that Candour and Indulgence, which he has already met with from the Publick, on other Occaſions.*

Subſcriptions are taken in by the following Bookſellers, *A. Millar*, over-againſt St. *Clement*'s Church in the *Strand*; *R. Willock*, in *Cornhill*; *J. Gray* and *J. Davidſon*, in the *Poultry*; *J.* and *P. Knapton*, in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard; *R. Dodſley*, in *Pall-Mall*; *J. Brindley*, in *New Bond-ſtreet*; and *J. Stagg*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 171.

SIR,

ALTHO' we had no Debate in our Club upon the Subject Matter of the following Speech, yet as it relates to ſome Affairs of a very extraordinary Nature that have lately happened in this Kingdom, which have not been ſo much taken Notice of as they deſerve, I believe you will think it worth a Place in your Collection.

If you had ſhewn as little Regard to Religion and the Laws of your Country, as the Authors and Collectors of the *Gentleman's Magazine* uſually do in their Collections, I ſhould not have ſent you this Speech; becauſe, if you had given ſuch a Stab to Religion, both natural and reveal'd, as they have done by republiſhing that ridiculous and atheiſtical Letter from *Cambridge*, firſt publiſhed in the *Daily Gazetteer*, I ſhould not have expected that you would have publiſhed a Speech, that ſo juſtly finds Fault with the Publication of that Letter. I do not, indeed, wonder that the *Gazetteers* ſhould be allowed to take indecent Liberties with the Laws and Conſtitution of their Country; but I was a little ſurprized, that Mr. *Urban* ſhould have dared to reprint a Letter for which the Author was puniſhed, tho' he never publiſhed it; for ſurely the Publication of ſuch a Letter is a more heinous Crime, and more highly deſerves the Animadverſion of the Magiſtrate, than the bare writing it to a private Friend and Correſpondent. The writing of ſuch a Letter might, perhaps, be a Breach of the Statutes of an Univerſity, but the Publication of it is an Offence againſt the Laws of this, and every well-regulated Society.

For this Reaſon, I was at firſt not a little ſurprized at Mr. *Urban*'s taking ſuch a Liberty in his laſt Month's Collection; but when I was told, that in his Collection for the former Month, he had reprinted a Paper, for which the firſt Printer was ſent to, and is ſtill confined in *Newgate*, my Surprize ceaſed, becauſe I concluded he was, and from henceforth ſhall always look upon him to be at leaſt a Confederate, if not one of

the illuſtrious Authors of the *Daily Gazetteer*; and that therefore he thinks, he may take more Liberty than any honeſt Man will, or dare take.

After this ſhort Introduction, I muſt acquaint you, that *Wedneſday* the 11th of laſt Month being one of our Club Days, as ſoon as Dinner was over, the Hon. *M. Atilius* pulled out of his Pocket the *Gazetteer* of that Day, and addreſſed the Club thus,

Mr. Preſident,

Sir,

AS few of the Gentlemen of this Club ever read the *Gazetteer*, I muſt deſire Leave to have that Paper which was publiſhed this Morning, read by your Secretary, before I make any Remarks upon it.

(The *Gazetteer* being accordingly read to the Club, he went on as follows, *viz.*)

Sir,

WITHOUT entering into the Diſpute about the Truth of the fundamental Points of natural Religion, which, I take to be, the Exiſtence of a ſupreme and over-ruling Spirit, the Immateriality, and conſequently the Immortality of the Soul of Man, and the Certainty of a future State of Happineſs or Miſery, I ſhall lay it down as a Maxim, that it is the Buſineſs of every well-regulated Society, and of every wiſe and honeſt Magiſtrate, to propagate and eſtabliſh a Belief in theſe three fundamental Points; and to diſcourage, or even puniſh, every publick Attempt to ſhake this Belief in any Member of the Society.

This I ſay, Sir, will always be held as an inviolable Maxim by every diligent, faithful, and wiſe Magiſtrate; becauſe a firm Belief in theſe three great Points muſt greatly contribute to the Encouragement of Virtue, and towards rendering every Member of the Society ready, upon all Occaſions, to perform thoſe Duties which he owes to God, to Mankind, and to his Country. For, even to ſuppoſe with Mr. *Collins*, that the Actions of Men are the neceſſary Effects of the Motives, and that Men always chuſe that, which at the Time of Action, appears to them to be the greater Good, or the leſſer Evil, (which I am far from granting) yet even upon this Hypotheſis it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Support and Well-being of Society, to propagate and eſtabliſh a Belief in a future State of Happineſs or Miſery, dependent upon the good or bad Actions of Men in this Life; becauſe if temporal Rewards and Puniſhments are Motives for good or bad Actions, as Mr. *Collins* admits they are, ſurely eternal Rewards and Puniſhments, to be diſtributed by a Judge who cannot be deceived, are Motives which muſt more neceſſarily produce their Effect.

Upon this Occaſion, Sir, I can hardly refrain from ſome enthuſiaſtical Exclamations upon the Wiſdom of the Author of Nature, who has made a Belief, in the fundamental Truths of natural Religion, ſo neceſſary for the Preſervation of Mankind, and for the Support and Happineſs of every Society; and if I were to ſpeak before a Multitude of the Vulgar and Ignorant, I ſhould give a Looſe to that Spirit of Enthuſiaſm, which I at preſent find ſo ſtrong an Inclination to indulge; but as I now ſpeak before thoſe who never allow any Paſſion, not even a religious Enthuſiaſm, to tranſport them beyond thoſe Bounds which Reaſon aſſigns to every Paſſion, I muſt give a Check to that Paſſion which I find riſing in my Soul, and apply myſelf only to the rational Faculty of thoſe that hear me.

That in all the important Actions of

of our Lives we ought to be, and generally are, prompted by that which we think the greateſt Good or the leaſt Evil, is certainly true, tho' our Opinion, or the laſt Judgment of the Underſtanding, in ſuch Caſes, is far from being the Cauſe, and much leſs the neceſſary Cauſe, of the Action we perform: But, with regard to moſt of the Actions we do, or can perform, there is a preſent and a future Good, a private and a publick Good, that are, I may ſay, at perpetual Variance, and continually combating which ſhall have the Preference. The Dictates of natural Religion, the Dictates of Reaſon, the Dictates of Chriſtianity, and the Dictates of Honour, direct us, upon all Occaſions, to prefer the Good of the Publick; the Dictates of Pride, Envy, Vanity, Avarice, or Luxury, often direct us to ſacrifice the Good of the Publick, to ſome preſent and ſelfiſh View, or to the Gratification of ſome domineering Paſſion.

The Fear of the Gallows, Sir, may prevent a low Wretch from picking a Pocket, or from murdering his Neighbour; but the Villain in an exalted Station who plunders the Publick, or murders or betrays the Liberties of his Country, is but ſeldom in Fear of the Gallows; it is too often of his Party. If ſuch a high Wretch can work himſelf up, to a thorough Diſbelief of a future State, it is a great Encouragement for him to proceed in his Villanies, and by heaping Crime upon Crime, to ſecure himſelf againſt temporal Puniſhment.

On the other hand, Sir, a ſordid Wretch, or a Man vainly fond of human Applauſe, may do a real Service to the Publick, or to his Country, for the Sake of that Reward which the Law-givers of his Country have been ſo wiſe as to provide, or for the Sake of human Applauſe and Eſteem, an Appetite which the All-wiſe Author of Nature has deeply engraved upon the Mind of every human Creature, and an Appetite which every honeſt and wiſe Magiſtrate will endeavour to propagate, becauſe, with moſt Men, it is the chief Incitement to virtuous and great Actions; but, the ſordid Expectation of a temporal Reward, can never be made uſe of as a Motive for prevailing with a Man to ſacrifice himſelf and Family, for the Good of Mankind or his Country, which, in many Caſes, may be neceſſary; and the Expectation of human Applauſe, can never be made uſe of as a Motive for prevailing with a Man to oppoſe a faſhionable and epidemical Madneſs; becauſe, by ſuch an Oppoſition, he muſt expect to meet with the Contempt of his Cotemporaries; and, unleſs he be a Man of great Note or Figure in his Country, his Oppoſition will be forgot, before his Countrymen come to be cured of the Madneſs they then labour under.

Thus, Sir, we may ſee, that temporal Rewards or Puniſhments can, in many Caſes, be no Motives for performing virtuous, or abſtaining from vicious Actions. But, ſuppoſe a Man fully convinced of the Exiſtence of a ſupreme Spirit; ſuppoſe him convinced that that Spirit has preſcribed to him a certain Rule of Action, and that that Rule is, to be ready upon all Occaſions, to ſacrifice every private View, nay his own Life, to the Good of Mankind, or to the Good of his Country; and, ſuppoſe him convinced, that if he complies with this Rule, he will meet with an eternal Reward in a future State, and that if he neglects or tranſgreſſes it, he muſt, in a future State, be eternally

miſerable; ſurely, if the Expectation of a temporal Reward or Puniſhment can be a prevailing Motive for performing a virtuous, or againſt committing a vicious Action, the Expectation of an eternal Reward or Puniſhment will, in all Caſes, be a more prevailing Motive; and may, in many Caſes of a private Nature, be a prevailing Motive, when no Hope of a temporal Reward can excite, nor the Fear of any temporal Puniſhment deter.

A firm Belief in the three fundamental Points of natural Religion is, therefore, ſo neceſſary for promoting the Good of Mankind, and the Happineſs of every Society, that the Civil Magiſtrate, tho' he had no Regard to Religion, yet, if he has a due Regard to the Happineſs of the Society to which he belongs, he will certainly prevent or puniſh every publick Attempt that may be made for unſettling or eradicating this Belief. That the Letter publiſhed in the *Gazetteer* now read to you, is an Attempt of this Kind, I believe no Gentleman will doubt; and, that the Publication of it in a News Paper, which is ſo induſtriouſly and ſo gratuitouſly ſpread over the whole Nation, muſt be attended with worſe Conſequences than the bare Writing it to a particular Friend, is what every Gentleman will, I believe, readily admit. As for the unfortunate Man that wrote it, I do not know but that he was a little too ſeverely dealt with; eſpecially, if it be true, that ſome unjuſtifiable Means were made uſe of, for getting the Letter from the Gentleman to whom it was wrote; for, the private Converſation or Correſpondence of Friends, while it continues private, is what no Government can regulate, no Government ought to meddle with, none but a tyrannical one does. Therefore, the Puniſhing of a Man for the bare Writing of ſuch a Letter, can be juſtified by nothing but that ſtrict Regard that ought to be had to the Principles as well as Practice of all thoſe who are appointed or allowed, by the Laws of Society to educate our Youth, or to inſtruct the Vulgar and Ignorant. With reſpect to ſuch Gentlemen, indeed, they ought to be kept under a more ſtrict Diſcipline, than is neceſſary for the other Members of the Society: Perhaps it would not be wrong, to treat them as we do our Soldiers, by ſubjecting them to particular Laws for binding them to their good Behaviour; for, they ought to be a great deal more watchful over both their Words and Actions, than other Men have Occaſion to be; and therefore, may be puniſhed, at leaſt, with Degradation or Incapacity, for Faults that ought to be over-look'd in other Men.

Upon this Maxim only, I think it is, Sir, that the Puniſhing the Author of this Letter, can be juſtified; but, there is a great Difference between writing a blaſphemous Letter privately to a Friend, and publiſhing it to the World. The Writer offends only the Man he writes to, and if he has a Mind to overlook the Offence, the Government has no Occaſion to take notice of it; but the Publiſher commits a publick Offence, and ought therefore to be puniſhed by the publick Magiſtrate. For this Reaſon, Sir, I was ſurprized to find this atheiſtical and blaſphemous Letter publiſhed in any of our News Papers, eſpecially in a News Paper that has the Character of being countenanced by ſome of our chief Magiſtrates. Before this Morning, I confeſs, I was from ſeveral Circumſtances inclined to believe, that the

the *Daily Gazetteer* was ſupported and diſperſed by ſome of thoſe concerned in our Adminiſtration; but now, I am convinced, that no Man who has a Concern in our Government has the leaſt Concern in that News Paper. I ſhould be extremely ſorry to think that any of them had; for, I ſhould from thence conclude, that we are under the Government either of thoſe who underſtand nothing of the true Arts of Government, or of thoſe who have a Mind to enſlave us; in either of which Caſes, I ſhould look upon my Country to be in a moſt unfortunate Situation.

As I have already ſhewn, Sir, how neceſſary it is for the Support and Welfare of Society, to inculcate a Belief in the fundamental Principles of natural Religion, it will, I believe, at firſt View, appear manifeſt, that no Magiſtrate who had the leaſt Knowledge of the true Arts of Government, and no Deſign againſt the Liberties of the People, would countenance, and much leſs authorize, the Publication of a Letter which muſt be of the moſt pernicious Conſequence, when it comes to be read by the Weak and Ignorant; eſpecially, if by the Reading of that Letter, they ſhould be induced to peruſe the Book or Pamphlet therein recommended; for tho' that Pamphlet may be eaſily diſſected, and fully anſwered, by thoſe who have accuſtomed themſelves to an abſtract Way of Reaſoning, yet, to many, it may be a Stumbling-block, and may ſeem as demonſtrative as it did to the Author of this Letter, whom I muſt look on as a *weak Philoſopher*, tho' he ranks himſelf among the *able Miniſters* of the *Word* of *Truth*.

Indeed, if we were under the Government of Magiſtrates who had Deſigns againſt the Liberties of our Country, which, I am ſure, is far from being the Caſe, their Countenancing the Publication of this Letter, would be a Teſtimony, not of their Weakneſs, but their Wickedneſs; for it muſt be granted, Sir, that the Publication of ſuch a Letter, would contribute greatly towards the Accompliſhment of their Deſign; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that ſuch Magiſtrates would not only Countenance, but ſecretly authorize the Publication. Let us conſider, Sir, that Mankind, in all their Reſolutions and Actions, are governed either by Principle, or by ſome ſelfiſh View. While the Members of a Society are governed by Principle, they have a Regard for the Good of their Society, and have a Fellow-feeling for the Sufferings of one another; they have a Regard for Poſterity, and will unite, at the Expence of their preſent Happineſs and Eaſe, againſt any Attempt that may be made for rendering their Poſterity unhappy. While this continues to be the Caſe, it is impoſſible to enſlave the People, becauſe there are but few will join in the Attempt, and the People, upon the firſt Alarm, will certainly unite, and hazard both their Lives and Fortunes for the Preſervation of their Liberties. But when the Members of a Society in general begin to be directed by ſelfiſh Views only, it is eaſy for thoſe who have got Power into their Hands, to collect and form a great Party of Men who will join with them in every Thing, for the Sake of ſatisfying their preſent Appetites; and this Party may the more eaſily ſucceed in their Deſign, becauſe the reſt of the People being regardleſs of their Country, as well as their Poſterity, moſt of them will chuſe a little preſent Happineſs and Eaſe, rather than riſk their Lives and Fortunes for the Relief of their

Coun-

Country, or the Happineſs of their Poſterity: Nay, moſt of them, while they have any of the Comforts of Life leſt, will tamely hug themſelves in the Enjoyment of what they have left, and endeavour to forget thoſe which have been taken from them by the moſt unjuſt Oppreſſion, eſpecially if that Oppreſſion has been directed againſt the People in general, and not againſt any particular Man.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that thoſe who have any Deſigns againſt the Liberties of their Country, muſt firſt begin with endeavouring to root out of the Minds of the People, all thoſe Principles by which the Reſolutions and Actions of Men ought to be directed; and for this Purpoſe, they cannot take a more effectual Method, than that of rendering doubtful the firſt Principles of natural Religion; for when a Man once begins to doubt of the Being of a God, and of a future State, he naturally begins to think that his ſole View in Life ought to be, to gratify his preſent Appetites. For this End he will ſtick at no Villany he can ſafely perpetrate; and as he has no Expectation beyond the Grave, he will meanly ſubmit to hold Life upon any Terms, rather than riſk it in any Attempt for the Relief of his Country, or the Preſervation of his Friend.

This Doctrine, Sir, is in itſelf ſo evident, that it ſtands in no Need of being ſupported by Examples from Hiſtory. If it did, I could furniſh you with a great many. The *Romans* loſt all Regard for Religion, eſpecially that which was eſtabliſhed among them, before they loſt their Liberties; and *Julius Cæſar* was, we are told, a Friend and Companion to thoſe who were in his Time the moſt abandoned and profligate of his Countrymen. I could make the ſame Obſervation of many others who have had Deſigns againſt the Liberties of their Country; and in all arbitrary Monarchies we may obſerve, that they endeavour to deſtroy all true Religion, by ſetting up ſome ridiculous Superſtition in its Room, which is always cook'd up as artfully as they can, for the Support of Ignorance and arbitrary Power. It is therefore as much the Buſineſs of thoſe, who are real Friends to Liberty, to inculcate the Principles of true Religion, and diſcourage Atheiſm, whether in the Dreſs of a Materialiſt, a Fataliſt, or a Predeſtinarian, as it is their Buſineſs to oppoſe the Introduction of any ridiculous and ſlaviſh Superſtition; and if in a free Country the ruling Magiſtrates ſhould begin to countenance either the one or the other, it is high Time for the People to look about them; for they may depend on it, that ſuch Magiſtrates are ignorant of the Part they ought to act, or reſolved to act a Part, which no Magiſtrate ought to be allowed, with Impunity, to attempt.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope no Gentleman will ſuppoſe, that I am a Friend to Perſecution, or an Enemy to Liberty of Conſcience. The three fundamental Points of natural Religion, are the only ſpeculative Opinions I, at preſent, contend for; and, even as to them, I would not have any Man compelled, by the Fear of Puniſhment or the Hope of Reward, to make a publick Profeſſion of his Belief in them; but, as a Belief in them, ſo evidently tends to promote the Good of Mankind and the Happineſs of every Society, if a Man has any Doubt about all, or either of them, or thinks he has found any new Argument againſt them, I think he ought not to be allowed

to indulge his Vanity, by printing and publiſhing to the World, either his Doubts or his Arguments; for no Man, I hope, will pretend, that his Conſcience obliges him to perſuade the reſt of Mankind, that neither he, nor they, have any Conſcience at all. Nor ſhould I think even this Reſtraint neceſſary, if all Men had Capacity and Leiſure ſufficient for examining into the Bottom of this Diſpute; but, as few Men have Time, and ſtill fewer have a ſufficient Capacity for this Purpoſe, the metaphyſical Sophiſtry uſually made uſe of by thoſe who take the wrong Side in this Queſtion, may puzzle the Head and unhinge the Belief of a Perſon who has not been accuſtomed to an abſtract Way of Reaſoning, or has not a Capacity ſufficient for diſtinguiſhing between ſolid Argument and artful Sophiſm; and therefore, tho' I think no Government or publick Magiſtrate, ought to pry into the private Converſations or Correſpondence of Men upon this or any other Subject whatever, yet, I think, no honeſt and wiſe Government will allow any Thing to be publiſhed with Impunity, that was wrote with a profeſſed Deſign to make Men doubt of the Being of a God, of the Immortality of the Soul, or of a future State of Happineſs or Miſery, dependent upon their good or bad Actions in this Life.

With reſpect to theſe three Principles, Sir, Liberty of Conſcience can give no Man a Pretence for oppoſing them, or for endeavouring to render them doubtful; and, even with reſpect to the other Principles of Religion, natural or eſtabliſhed, I am afraid Liberty of Conſcience is a Pretence too often made uſe of for very bad Purpoſes. As no falſe Opinion, or ridiculous Superſtition ought to be eſtabliſhed by the Laws of any Country, no Man ought to be puniſhed for endeavouring to vindicate the Truth, againſt the falſe Opinions or ridiculous Superſtitions which the Ignorance or Madneſs of former Ages has introduced, eſpecially if they be ſuch Opinions or Superſtitions as are of pernicious Conſequence to the Well-being of Society; but, we are not from hence to conclude, that every Man that pleaſes ſhall have a Liberty to ſet himſelf up as a publick Teacher; and, for that Purpoſe, to convocate unlawful Aſſemblies of the People; for, by ſuch Means, the People are not only drawn away from their Induſtry, but the moſt abſurd and enthuſiaſtical Opinions, may be ſpread among the Vulgar and Ignorant, which it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate to prevent, by all the prudent Means he can think of. As to the Duty of the Magiſtrate in this Caſe, I hope the Example of the *Romans*, when they were in their moſt perfect State of Virtue, Wiſdom, and Liberty, will be admitted as a good Precedent. During the 2d *Punick* War, and about the 540th Year of that City, their Hiſtorians tell us, that a new Sort of Prieſts and Prophets began to ſpread new Religions, and new Ceremonies among the Vulgar and Ignorant. Theſe Prieſts and Prophets, without doubt, pretended Conſcience, and perhaps, a divine Authority for the Superſtitions they were endeavouring to propagate. What did this wiſe People upon that Occaſion? The Senate ſeverely reprimanded the inferior Magiſtrates, whoſe Buſineſs it was, for not having put a Stop to theſe Irregularities; and when they found the inferior Magiſtrates could not eaſily prevent them, they recommended the Care of it to the *Prætor* of the City, who thereupon made an Edict in theſe

theſe Words, *Ut quicumque Libros Vaticinos, precationeſve, aut artem Sacrificandi conſcriptam haberet, eos Libros omnes Literaſque ad ſe ante Kalendas Apriles Deferret: Neu quis in Publico ſacrove Loco,* novo *aut* externo Ritu *Sacrificaret.*

This ſhews, Sir, that a Liberty of Conſcience, abſolutely unbounded, is far from being neceſſary or convenient even in a State of the moſt abſolute Freedom; but it is no eaſy Matter to ſettle juſt Bounds to this Liberty: I believe it can hardly be done by a ſtanding Law, and therefore, in every Society, it muſt in a great Meaſure, be left to the Wiſdom of the Adminiſtration. When a Society happens to be under prudent and diligent Magiſtrates, they will keep this Liberty within juſt Bounds; but when it happens to be under negligent or ignorant Magiſtrates, this Liberty will either be allowed to deviate into Licentiouſneſs, or the Magiſtrates by miſtaking Liberty for Licentiouſneſs, will deviate into Oppreſſion and Perſecution.

When it evidently appears, Sir, that a Man is ſincerely directed by his Conſcience, and no Way touched in the Head, he ought to meet with great Indulgence; but when it appears that a Man is touched in the Head, and affected with ſome Sort of enthuſiaſtical Madneſs, as the Diſtemper is certainly infectious, and may have much worſe Effects upon ſome others, than it has upon him, out of pure Charity for the People, ſome Sort of Care ought to be taken to prevent his being able to communicate his Diſtemper. But when it evidently appears, that a Fellow ſets himſelf up as a new Sort of Teacher, for the mere Sake of Lucre, and makes a Trade, or rather a Farce of Religion, it is a heinous Crime in any Magiſtrate to encourage ſuch a Fellow, it is a moſt egregious Soleciſm in Politicks to give him any Indulgence; he ought to be made liable to thoſe Puniſhments that by our Laws are inflicted upon Conjurers and Fortune-Tellers. Such a Fellow will never ſurely be countenanced or encouraged by any Government, or by any Magiſtrate, unleſs that Magiſtrate has a Mind to render Religion itſelf contemptible; and, I am ſure, no Magiſtrate that has ſuch a Deſign, can have any Regard to the Happineſs of Mankind or his Country. On the contrary, when a free Country happens to have the Misfortune to be under the Rule of ſuch a Magiſtrate, I ſhall always ſuſpect he has Deſigns againſt the Liberties of his Country; and that he has a Mind to deſtroy all Regard to Principles of every Kind, in order to increaſe the Number, and the Pliancy of his Tools, and to render the People leſs obſtinate, and leſs unanimous, in the Defence of their Liberties.

After *M. Atilius* had thus finiſhed what he had to ſay upon this Subject, we had ſome Diſcourſe upon the Nature and Tendency of this Letter, and upon the Deſign of publiſhing it in the *Gazetteer*; but as no Gentleman would undertake to defend or excuſe either the Letter, or the Publication of it, we had no Debate upon the Subject.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

If the Gentleman at Kingſton, *will be pleas'd to inform us how we may direct to him, we ſhall endeavour to give him Satisfaction.*

The TRIALS *of the Riotous* WEAVERS, *&c. at* MELKSHAM, *continued from p.* 188.

JOHN CRABB, indicted for riotously and feloniously, with Force of Arms, breaking and entering the House of *Henry Coulthurst*, of *Melksham* in the County of *Wilts*, Clothier, and (with others) demolishing his House, and destroying large Quantities of Wool, Yarn, and Utensils belonging to the manufacturing of Cloth, to a considerable Value.

To which he pleaded *Not Guilty*.

Samel Stevens sworn an Evidence.

Stevens. On the 28th of last *November*, I saw the Prisoner at the Bar coming over the Bridge at *Melksham*, with Colours on a Stick; when he came within a little Distance of Mr. *Coulthurst*'s House, he got upon a Dungmixon, and said these Words, 'About thirty 'or forty of ye come after me, and let the 'rest stand upon the Bridge;' and waving his Colours round, 'Come on, brave Boys, says he: Damn ye, are ye come hither and left your Hearts behind you?' and then the Prisoner, striking at the Door of Mr. *Coulthurst*'s House and finding it fast, broke the Windows, and entered in, and the rest of the Mob followed.

John Inchmore sworn.

Inchmore. I saw *John Crabb*, the Prisoner at the Bar, come over *Melksham* Bridge on the 28th of *November*, with a Stick in his Hand, and a blue Skain on the Stick, and cried out, 'Brave Boys, what are ye come here to do, 'and leave your Hearts behind you?' with that the Mob came to Mr. *Coulthurst*'s Door, and broke the Windows, and entered into the House.

Richard Harding sworn.

Harding. I saw two or three hundred in a Mob, but did not see *Crabb* amongst them, nor did I see what the Prisoner did to the House: I saw the Mob laying on Mr. *Coulthurst*'s House with Sticks and Clubs, striking at the Walls and Windows, some of the Walls beaten down in the lower Part, and a Party of them going into the House; and I saw some of the Inside of the House beaten down, with several Partitions.

Amelia Harford sworn.

Harford. I saw *John Crabb* the Prisoner come into *Melksham*, with Abb on a Stick, at which I said to him, What, turned from a *Penny Cripper* to a Weaver! for which he was going to strike me, but I went into an Apothecary's Shop to prevent him. I did not particularly observe the Damage done to Mr. *Coulthurst*'s House.

Elizabeth Nutt sworn.

Counsel. Elizabeth Nutt, Was you at *Melksham* the 28th Day of *November* last?

Nutt. Yes, I was.

Coun. Did you see the Prisoner at the Bar there?

Nutt. Yes, I did see him; he came up the first Man to the Door of Mr. *Coulthurst*'s House, with a long Stick, some of a Chain tied on it, and beat the Door, and finding it fast, he struck the Window.

Coun. Was he the first Person that struck the Window?

Nutt. Yes, and please your Honour, he was.

Coun. What follow'd on his breaking the Window?

Nutt. He broke the Window to Pieces.

Coun. What were the Bars of the Window made of.

Nutt. Made of Wood, which he broke.

Coun. Were there any Partitions to the Window?

Nutt. Yes, the Munions.

Coun. What do you mean by Munions? Look up to that Window [*pointing to a Window in Court*] and explain it to us?

Nutt. That Post between the Glass that parts the Window.

Coun. These they broke, did they not?

Nutt. Yes.

Coun. Was the Prisoner at the Bar the first Man you saw go in?

Nutt. I am not certain he was the first, but I saw him go in.

Coun. What Number was there in the House?

Nutt. I believe there were upwards of twenty.

Coun. What followed thereupon?

Nutt. They threw Abb, and Chain, and Cloth out of the Window; they staid above an Hour in the House; they said they were sent to beat down the House flat to the Ground before they went hence, or else they must not go home; and if they met with Mr. *Coulthurst*, they would cut him in Quarters, and pull out his Heart, and fry it on a Gridiron, and hang his Quarters on a Tree.

Coun. Was you a Servant to Mr. *Coulthurst*?

Nutt. Yes, and in the House at that Time. I only observed what was done the first Day of the Riot, when the Windows were broken down, and the several Partitions of the Rooms, which were made of Lath and Plaister; and what Houshold Goods they could lay Hands on they broke and destroy'd: The Wainscot that parted the Kitchen and the Workhouse was also beat down. I saw only what was done the first Day, and in the lower Rooms.

Court. Prisoner, Now is your Time to make your Defence: If you have any Thing to say for yourself, or any Witness to call, the Court is ready to hear them.

Prisoner. Please your Honour, my Lord, On the 28th Day of *November*, after the

Mob was diſperſed, the Gentlemen of *Melkſham* gave away Beer to the Mob, and I had got a little Beer in my Head, and going along the Streets, a great Company came out of Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Houſe, and called me in; and after that they would have ſtuffed Things into my Pocket, and would have forced me to keep them, and afterwards they gave me a conſiderable Quantity of Brandy, and having taken me up, they carried me before a Juſtice of the Peace, and I being in Drink, had no room to make any Defence for myſelf. I have worked for Mr. *Coulthurſt*, and he obliged me to take Truck; he obliged me to go to an Alehouſe and buy Beer at 4 Pence a Quart which was not worth one Penny, and to take Tobacco at ſixteen Pence a Pound, that was not worth ten Pence; Bread at ſix Pence a Loaf which was not worth 4 Pence; and Woollen and Linen Goods at the ſame exceſſive Rates.

Court. If he obliged you to take Truck, why did you not complain of it?

Priſoner. In the firſt Place, if we made any Appeal about it, the Clothiers would join one and all, and prevent our having any Buſineſs: They are all got into ſuch a Combination together as to pinch the Poor, and it has been ſo many Years; we are the miſerableſt Objects on the Earth; we are obliged to ſtir in Behalf of ourſelves, or elſe be trodden down dead; this is as true as God is in Heaven.

Court. In this Caſe you might have had Relief by applying to a Juſtice of the Peace; let there be what Combination ſoever among the Clothiers, they could not hurt you; they are obliged to pay by ready Money and not in Truck. Have you any Witneſs to call, they will be heard?

Priſoner. I have Witneſs in the Court to prove I have taken Truck of Mr. *Coulthurſt*.

Court. I think that is not a Juſtification for your committing thoſe Outrages. You have now pleaded not Guilty, and the Queſtion is, whether you was there or not, and whether you did any Action in the Riot at Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s?

Priſoner. My Lord, it is only thro' Malice; I declare that they have taken falſe Oaths againſt me, and did it on Purpoſe to take away my Life.

Court. You ſaid before that you was there, but it was occaſioned by your being drunk; if you were drunk that is no Excuſe for your Actions. If you have any Witneſs to call, you may?

Priſoner. I have not been provided for my Trial.

Court. You have had Notice of it: This is the 5th Day of the Aſſizes, you might have been provided to have made what Defence you thought proper.

Priſoner. I had ſeveral Witneſſes but they could not come. I have no Witneſs here; ſeveral of them being ill could not be here.

Mr. *Coulthurſt.* My Lord, permit me to ſpeak. I declare that this *John Crabb* never worked for me in his Life; and I never paid any of my Servants in Truck, but in ready Money, according as they deſerved; and never deſired them to take one Penny in Goods.

Court. We are ſufficiently ſatisfied as to this Affair.

Then the Evidence was ſummed up to the Jury, who brought in their Verdict Guilty, *Death.*

JOHN BEZER, Indicted for riotouſly and felonicuſly aſſembling with ſeveral others at *Melkſham*, on the 29th Day of *November* laſt, and then and there aiding and aſſiſting, with Force of Arms, in the pulling down and demoliſhing ſeveral Houſes belonging to *Henry Coulthurſt*, of *Melkſham* aforeſaid.

To which he pleaded *Not Guilty.*

William Salter ſworn.

William Salter. I ſaw the Priſoner at the Bar go into one of Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s new Houſes, in which *Samuel Stevens* liv'd, with a great Stick in his Hand, and beat ſome of the Free-ſtone Windows down; and I ſaw him with ſeveral of the Rioters, I believe about 20 or 30 of them, about the Houſe, who did conſiderable Damage; they broke the Front of the Houſe to Pieces.

Counſel. What did they do in the Inner-part of the Houſe?

Salter. They broke down the ſeveral Partitions of the Rooms, ſome of which were made of Lath and Lime, others of Wood.

Coun. What Time of the Day was it you ſaw this done?

Salter. About one or two of the Clock in the Afternoon, on the 29th of *November.*

Anne Salter ſworn.

Anne Salter. I ſaw the Priſoner at the Bar at *Melkſham* on the 29th Day of *November*, and he called to the Mob, and ſaid, Will you go on? and afterwards he ſtruck at Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Windows, but I did not ſee him do any Thing to *Stevens*'s Houſe.

Coun. You ſaw him with the Mob?

Salter. Yes, I did, and heard him bid them go on; and after they had been at the Shear-ſhop, they went to one of the new Houſes, and broke the Walls, and beat the Windows to Pieces, but did not ſee them do any Thing to *Stevens*'s Houſe.

Coun. Did you ſee *Stevens*'s Houſe afterwards? and what did you obſerve had been done there?

Salter. I ſaw the Tons pulled down, and three Parts of the Tiles punched off, the Inſide of the Rooms, the Doors, with the Partitions beat to Pieces, and the Windows,

Frames

Frames as well as Glaſs, torn aſunder and broke to Pieces.

Robert Stratton ſworn.

Robert Stratton. I ſaw the Priſoner at the Bar at *Melkſham* with the Mob, on the 29th Day of *November*; he had a Stick in his Hand, and a freſh-ground Hatchet under his Coat.

Coun. How many do you think the Mob might be in Number, that was there then?

Stratton. I believe there might be 4 or 500 of them, paſſing by and at Mr. *Coulthurſt*'s Houſe, and this *Bezer* was with them, and had a new-ground Hatchet under his Coat.

Court. Priſoner, Now is your Time to make your Defence, or to produce your Witneſſes, if you have any to call.

Priſoner. Pleaſe you my Lord, I am not guilty of the Facts I am accuſed of, they have ſworn falſely againſt me.—I was, my Lord, a Servant to one Mr. *Threder* at *Sene*, and hearing the Mob was riſen at *Melkſham*, my Maſter ſent his Servants to bring home the Work from the Looms; I was employed to carry home ſome of the Work, and I did not come home until ſome Time in the Evening, and ſaw no more of the Affair: I know no more of the Things charged on me than the Child unborn.

Court. Priſoner, Where was that you ſay you was?

Priſoner. At *Sene*, two Miles diſtant from *Melkſham*. I ſaw none of the Mob, I was on Duty carrying home Mr. *Threder*'s Work on the Day of the Riot, the firſt Day that they entered *Melkſham, November* 28.

Court. You was not charged this Day with being with the Rioters, but on the ſecond Day; how come you to be there then?

Priſoner. My Lord, the next Day we walked the Streets, being off of our Work, and, having nothing to do, was looking on the Damage they had done, but never did any Thing to it.

Court. Who was with you?

Priſoner. There was one *John May*, a Shopmate of mine.

Court. Is he here?

Priſoner. He is not here, my Lord, I am a poor Man and not able to bear his Expences: We are all poor People, and I know not any one to ſpeak for me.

Court. You have no Witneſs?

Priſoner. I don't know that I have.

Court. Then you have no Witneſs to give us an Account how you behaved yourſelf, and that you only came to ſee what was done there, and did not act or aſſiſt in the demoliſhing any Houſe.

Priſoner. My Lord, I did not; where I liv'd was at ſome Diſtance from it: I went thither to carry home my Maſter's Work.

Court. That you ſay you did on the 28th of *November*, but you ſay you was there on the next Day.

Priſoner. Yes, my Lord, *Melkſham* is my native Town, and as my Work was thrown by, we went to ſee the Ruin there, but not to do harm; and, my Lord, after the Spoil was over I returned home, and worked in Peace and Quiet.

Court. You have no Witneſs?

Priſoner. Mr. *Threder* is in Court, and can affirm what I ſay.

Mr. *Threder* called, and ſworn.

Priſoner. Mr. *Therder*, did we not go to bring home your Work from *Melkſham?* I was Servant then to *John Emmet*.

Mr. *Threder.* My Lord, as to the Affair he calls me to ſpeak about, I know nothing of it. But as he has called on me, I will give ſome Account of him concerning what I know of him. This Man did Work for me for ſome Time, as a Servant of mine; and he came to me one Day to let me know his Maſter *John Emmet* was arreſted, and deſired I would lend his Maſter a Crown; accordingly he borrowed a Crown of me in his Maſter's Name, and after that he went to a publick Houſe, a Quarter of a Mile from us, and there he got to gaming as I was informed; and then in the Evening he came to me, and told me his Maſter was yet under Arreſt, and that he had been backward and forward to Mr. *Lock* at the *Devizes*, in order to get his Maſter diſcharg'd, and that he was weary in ſo doing, but his Maſter was an honeſt Man. I pity'd his Maſter, and enquired where he was; he told me at the *Green Man*, a publick Houſe a Quarter of a Mile from us; I ſaid I would go and talk with him, and clear him if it was no great Sum. I went thither, and he told me a canting Story all the Way; when I came to the Houſe, I aſked whether *John Emmet* was there; the People of the Houſe replied he was not there, nor had not been there; I aſked whether his Attorney was there, and they ſaid, no, nor had not been there. This, my Lord, is what I know of him.

Court. Do yon know any Thing of his bringing home Work for you, *November* 28?

Mr. *Threder.* No, my Lord, I don't know any Thing of the Matter: He has not work'd for me a conſiderable Time; for his ſerving me this vile Trick, I ordered he ſhould not work for me any more.

Court. Do you know where the Priſoner at the Bar was the 28th of *November* laſt.

Mr. *Threder.* No, my Lord.

Court. You ſay you did not know where the Priſoner was on the 28th of *November*, did you ſee him on the 29th?

Mr. *Threder.* No, I did not.

Priſoner. I own I was overtaken in Liquor then.

Mr. *Threder.* I have nothing more to ſay againſt or for you; I have ſpoken nothing but the Truth.

Court. Priſoner, Have you any more Witneſſes to call?

Priſoner. No.

Then the Evidence was ſummed up to the Jury, who brought in their Verdict Guilty. *Death.*

EDWARD DAVIS, Indicted for being with a riotous and tumultuous Aſſembly at *Melkſham*, on the 29th Day of *November*; and then and there aiding and aſſiſting, with Force of Arms, in the pulling down and demoliſhing an Out-houſe (or Shear-ſhop) belonging to *Henry Coultburſt* in *Melkſham* aforeſaid, and deſtroying ſeveral Utenſils and Goods in the ſame, belonging to the Woollen Manufacture.

To which Indictment he pleaded *Not Guilty*.

Anne Church ſworn an Evidence.

Counſel. Anne Church, Do you know the Priſoner at the Bar?

Church. Yes, Sir.

Coun. What Trade or Occupation does he follow?

Church. He is a Weaver.

Coun. Did you ſee the Priſoner at the Bar at *Melkſham* on the 29th Day of *November*, at the Time when the Rioters were there?

Church. Yes, pleaſe your Honour, I ſaw him on a Window of Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Shear-ſhop.

Coun. What did you ſee him do there?

Church. I ſaw him beating off the Tiles from the Shop.

Coun. Was this Shop adjoining to Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Manſion or Dwelling-houſe?

Church. No, Sir, It ſtood at ſome Diſtance from it, in the Road Way going to *Cheppenham* near *Binegar*.

Coun. What more did he do there, beſides punching off the Tiles?

Church. I heard him ſay that if the reſt of the Company would go with him, he would help to pull down the reſt of Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Houſes.

Coun. What might you obſerve the Mob do there?

Church. I ſaw them beat the Windows to Pieces, and the Doors open; and I ſaw them throw out the Shearing Tools.

Coun. How many of theſe Perſons might there be in the Shear-ſhop?

Church. I believe there were above 20 in the Shear-ſhop.

Anne Salter ſworn.

Coun. Anne Salter, Do you know the Shear-ſhop of Mr. *Coultburſt*, and where it ſtands?

Salter. Yes, pleaſe your Honour, it ſtands on the Corner of the Road going to *Binegar*.

Coun. I ſuppoſe it ſtands at ſome Diſtance from Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Manſion-houſe; what Diſtance may it be?

Salter. There are two Gardens between Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Dwelling-houſe and this Shear-ſhop, one of which belongs to Mr. *Coultburſt*, and the other to Mr. *Sanger*.

Coun. Did you ſee the Priſoner at the Bar there with the Rioters on the 29th of *November* laſt?

Salter. Yes, Sir, I did.

Coun. Pray give an Account what you ſaw him and the Rioters do there?

Salter. I ſaw them punch out a conſiderable Number of the Tiles; and I ſaw the Priſoner at the Bar punch out eight or ten with a long Pole which he had in his Hand.

Coun. What did you ſee the Mob in general farther do then?

Salter. I ſaw them bring out the Broad Cloths, and the Shearing Tools, Soap, Oil, and the Things the Men worked on; I ſaw two Windows thrown out, Frames and Glaſs all together.

Mr. *Taylor* ſworn.

Coun. Mr. *Taylor*, be pleaſed to give us ſome Account of this Shear-ſhop belonging to Mr. *Coultburſt*.

Mr. *Taylor*. This Shop was Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Shear-ſhop, uſed for the Dreſſing of his Cloth, he had there working Tools to the Value of more than 200 Pounds which was thrown out by the Mob. This Shop joins with a Tenement belonging to Mr. *Coultburſt*.

Coun. Do Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Servants work in this Shop?

Mr. *Taylor*. Yes, Sir, in this Shop Mr. *Coultburſt* puts ſeveral Things belonging to the Woollen Manufacture, and there his Servants uſually Work in dreſſing his Cloth.

Coun. Is there any Door or Way of Communication from the Shop to the Tenement, with which it is joined? and what Diſtance is the Shop from Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Manſion-houſe?

Mr. *Taylor*. There is no Way of Communication between the Shop and the Tenement but from the Street, the Door of the Shop being towards the Street; and, I think, the Diſtance from Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Houſe to the Shear-ſhop is about 200 Yards the Street Way, which is the uſual Way of paſſing from the Houſe to the Shop.

Court. I am in ſome Doubt whether this Shear-ſhop is to be conſidered as an Out-houſe, or a Part of Mr. *Coultburſt*'s Manſion-houſe. Let Mr. *Coultburſt* be examined as to this Affair.

Coun. Mr. *Coultburſt*, What Uſe is this Shop for?

Mr. *Coultburſt*. I uſe it for the Dreſſing my Cloth. I make uſe of it for my Trade in ſeveral Reſpects, in ſcribbling and picking Wool, and for ſhearing Cloth; and I keep Wool and Yarn there ſometimes to a vaſt Quantity; I have very frequent Cloth and Woollen Goods carried from my Houſe to be manufactured there, and when manufactured returned to my Houſe again.

Coun.

Coun. Is there any Door from the Shop to any other Tenement?

Mr. *Coulthurſt.* No, Sir, it is joined to another Houſe, but there is no Door or Way of Communication from the Shop to the Houſe, but by the Street.

Coun. How far diſtant is the Shop from your Manſion-houſe.

Mr. *Coulthurſt.* I take it to be above 100 Yards the neareſt Way; there is a Way I take to go to it, for my own Uſe, through the Backſide, and I believe it is full that Diſtance or more.

Court. Mr. *Coulthurſt,* Did you pay your Servants in Truck?

Mr. *Coulthurſt.* My Lord, I never paid any of my Servants in Truck, nor ever deſired they ſhould be paid but with ready Money for their Work.

Here a Queſtion in Law ariſing, whether the ſaid Shear-ſhop was to be conſidered as an Out-houſe, or a Part of Mr. Coulthurſt's *Manſion-houſe, it was for ſome debated by the Counſel in Court, and ſeveral Enquiries made into former Caſes in Law, but remaining ſtill undetermined, by the Direction of the Court it was found a* Bill ſpecial.

Several others were tried, and fined 40*s.* each, to be impriſoned a Year, and to find Security for 3 Years. (See p. 153.)

We think it needleſs, after having given our Readers the foregoing Trials, together with that in laſt Month, to inſert the particular Trials of theſe laſt mentioned; and therefore ſhall conclude with the following, *viz.*

The SPEECH *delivered by the* JUDGE *at the Condemnation of thoſe who were capitally convicted.*

YOU, the Priſoners at the Bar, have been Indicted and Convicted of ſuch Offences, which, when you committed them, you very well knew, the Law would puniſh with Death. You have been convicted on full and clear Evidence; and your Offences are of ſuch a Nature, that if Examples are not made by puniſhing, in the ſtricteſt Manner, Offences of this Kind, the Liberties and Properties of the Subject muſt be very uncertain, and very precarious. Some of your Offences are of that Kind, that they are very near related to High Treaſon; and are attended with ſuch Conſequences, that the Rights and Properties of the People that live in this Country can never be ſafe, if you ſhould eſcape unpuniſh'd. 'Tis neceſſary for Example ſake, that you ſhould ſuffer for the many Injuries that have been done; which you are not able otherwiſe to repair; and 'tis to deter others from committing the like Offences. I have very little more to ſay to you, than to deſire you, that you would not flatter yourſelves with the Hopes of Life; ſuch Hopes will be in vain, and to no Purpoſe: You muſt ſuffer the Puniſhment of the Law for the Offences you have committed. I hope you will make the beſt Uſe of the Time you have to live, by a ſincere and hearty Repentance for the Crimes you have committed; not only for thoſe of which you are now convicted, but alſo for all the Sins of your paſt Lives.—It is very certain, not to be doubted, that you have been drawn into thoſe Offences by an idle and diſſolute Life; by not regarding the Laws, and not obſerving your Duty to God. He is a merciful God, and if you truly and ſincerely repent, I hope he will forgive all your Sins in the next World. — I need not repeat what I ſaid to you before, that you ſhould employ your remaining Time in the beſt Manner you can. You will have good Aſſiſtance, and I hope you will heartily repent.

Nothing remains for me now, but to pronounce the Judgment of the Law on you; and it is this, *That you be carried hence to the Place from whence you came, and from thence to the Place of Execution, and there ſeverally to be hanged by the Neck, until you are dead.* The Lord have Mercy on your Souls.

They were accordingly executed on *April* 2. (ſee p. 203.)

Craftſman, April 28. N° 668.

EXTRACTS *from ſeveral Political Plays, with* OBSERVATIONS.

SIR,

ONE of the celebrated Authors of the *Tatler* hath remark'd, that our *beſt Comedies* are good Repreſentations of the Manners of the Age, in which they were written. To this Obſervation I will add, that in our *beſt Tragedies* we may trace the Politicks of the *publick Adminiſtration,* at the Time, when they were brought upon the Stage.

When *Spain* had attain'd the moſt formidable Degree of Power, as well as an inſupportable Spirit of Inſolence, the Reduction of *that Monarchy,* in both theſe Particulars, was the glorious Work of *England,* during the prudent Adminiſtration of *Burleigh,* under the ſucceſsful Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*; at which Time, we find our immortal *Shakeſpear* animating the People with a Spirit

Spirit equal to ſo great an Undertaking, in his famous Play of *Henry the Fifth*; where he hath, with great Strength of Poetry, preſented to their View the former Triumphs of their Anceſtors over *France*.

Nor was our *publick-ſpirited Bard* A leſs aſſiduous in applauding that Love for *univerſal Liberty*, which our Nation then ſhew'd, by aſſiſting the *United Provinces*, in their brave Struggle to throw off the bloody Shackles of *Philip*, King of *Spain*, and erect themſelves into *one independent* B *Republick*. How greatly *Shakeſpear* admir'd, how zealouſly he propagated the noble Principles, on which *theſe injured People* acted, when they drew their Swords againſt *that Tyrant*, with invincible Reſolution, either to free themſelves, or die, may C be ſeen by the elevated Sentiments, he hath put into the Mouths of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, throughout his admirable Tragedy of *Julius Cæſar*.

At the Time, when *William, Prince of Orange*, was preſented with the Crown of *England*, by the Gratitude of the *People*, whom he deliver'd from impended Slavery, the Ambition of *France* was as dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*, as the Power of *Spain* had been, in the Reign above-mentioned. It was therefore a laudable Ambition in our E *new-elected King*, whom we had juſtly dignify'd with the Title of *glorious Deliverer*, to humble the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and fight the Cauſe of Mankind againſt *that treacherous Monarch*; who never made *War* but with a View to *enſlave*, nor ever made *Peace* F but with an Intent to *betray*; whoſe ſavage Cruelties to the *Germans* in the *Palatinate*, and to the *Dutch* at *Swammerdam*, not to mention his Inhumanities againſt his *own Proteſtant Subjects*, leaves him as little Pretenſion to the Character of a *po-* G *lite Prince*, as the repeated Defeats, his Armies afterwards received from the Duke of *Marlborough*, did to that of a *great Conqueror*; tho' of *both theſe Titles* he was moſt ridiculouſly vain.

And whilſt the *Britiſh* King was carrying on this generous Undertaking, Mr. *Rowe* brought his Tragedy, call'd *Tamerlane*, on the Stage; one of the fineſt Pieces of Poetry, that ever did Honour to the *Engliſh* Language. It was written with the manifeſt View of celebrating the glorious Oppoſition, *England* was then making in Behalf of all *Europe*, againſt the Deſigns of *France*; and in *that Character*, which gives Name to the Play, we ſee the fineſt Panegyrick beſtow'd upon K. *William*, that can be given to any Prince.

Well hath our holy *Alha* mark'd him out
The ſcourge of lawleſs pride, and dire ambition,
The great avenger of the groaning world.
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
No luſt of rule, the common vice of kings,
No factious zeal, inſpir'd by *hot-brain'd prieſts*,
Ill hid beneath *religion*'s ſpecious name,
E'er drew his temperate courage to the field;
But to redreſs an *injur'd people*'s wrongs;
To ſave the *weak one*, from the *ſtrong oppreſſor*,
Is all his end of war; and when he draws
The ſword, to puniſh, like relenting heaven,
He ſeems unwilling to deface his kind.

And tho' the Ferocity of Temper in *Bajazet*, makes his *Character* not quite ſo applicable to the *French Tyrant*, yet the Cruelty, Falſhood, Ambition, and all the Crimes, which drew the Sword of *Tamerlane*, are ſo exactly the ſame with thoſe of *Louis* XIV. by which he made the *Britiſh King* his irreconcileable Enemy, that I am well aſſured no *Engliſhman* could then hear the following Lines repeated, and not think of the *French Monarch* with Indignation and Abhorrence.

Thrice by our laws and prophet hath he ſworn,
By the world's lord and maker, laſting peace
With our *great maſter*, and his royal friend,
The *Grecian emperor*; as oft regardleſs
Of plighted faith, with moſt unkingly baſeneſs,
Hath ta'en th' advantage of their abſent arms,
Without a war proclaim'd, or cauſe pretended,
To waſte with fire and ſword their fruitful fields;
Like ſome accurſed fiend; who, 'ſcap'd from hell,
Poi-

Poiſons the balmy air, thro' which he flies;
He blaſts the bearded corn, and loaded branches,
The lab'ring hind's beſt hopes, and marks his
way with ruin.
But ſee his fate; the mighty *Tamerlane*
Comes, like the proxy of enquiring heav'n,
To hear and to redreſs.

After K. *William*'s Death, the Cauſe of *Europe* was aſſerted by Q. *Anne*, with ſuch a Series of Succeſs, as fill'd the whole World with Admiration. Nor was ſhe leſs happy in *uniting* her Subjects at home, than in overthrowing the *Enemies* of Freedom abroad; and we ſee the excellent Author of *Tamerlane* takes an Opportunity to praiſe her, on *both theſe Queſtions*, in a Tragedy call'd the *Royal Convert*, during the proſperous Part of her Reign.

Of royal race a *Britiſh queen* ſhall riſe,
Great, glorious, pious, fortunate, and wiſe;
To diſtant lands ſhe ſhall extend her fame;
And leave to later times a mighty name:
Tyrants ſhall fall, and faithleſs kings ſhall bleed,
And groaning nations by her arms be free'd;
But chief this happy land her care ſhall prove,
And find from her a more than mother's love;
From hoſtile rage ſhe ſhall preſerve it free,
Safe in the compaſs of the ambient ſea;
Tho' fam'd her arms for many a cruel fight,
Yet moſt in peaceful arts ſhe ſhall delight,
And her chief glory ſhall be to *unite*.
Picts, *Saxons*, *Angles*, ſhall no more be known,
But *Britain* be the noble name alone.
With joy their ancient hate they ſhall forego,
While diſcord hides her baleful head below;
Mercy, and truth, and right ſhe ſhall maintain,
And every bleſſing croud to grace her reign;
Auſpicious heav'n on all her days ſhall ſmile,
And with eternal union bleſs her *Britiſh* iſle.

But when *this Princeſs*, towards the Cloſe of her Government, was thought to have made an unhappy Change in her Politicks, and ſome of her *Miniſters*, we find the Panegyrick of the *Stage* turn'd into Satire; and our great Mr. *Addiſon*, in his incomparable Tragedy of *Cato*, levels the whole Artillery of Eloquence and Poetry againſt thoſe, who were then thought to be engag'd in bad Deſigns againſt their Country.

O *Portius!* is there not ſome choſen curſe,
Some hidden thunder in the ſtores of heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blaſt the man,
Who owes his greatneſs to his country's ruin?

Nay, ſo far does he carry his Reſentment againſt *this Miniſtry*, that he ſeems to adviſe a *Seceſſion* from the very Place, where ſuch Meaſures were carrying on. *Cato* ſpeaks thus to his Son *Portius*.

A Let me adviſe thee to *retreat* betimes
To thy paternal ſeat, the *Sabine* field,
Where the *great Cenſor* toil'd with his own hands,
And all *our frugal anceſtors* were bleſt
In humble virtues, and a rural life;
There live retir'd; pray for the peace of *Rome*;
Content thyſelf to be obſcurely good.
When *vice* prevails, and *impious men* bear ſway,
B The *poſt of honour* is a *private ſtation*.

King *Charles* II. ſeems to have directed all his publick Meaſures, with one continued Aim at *arbitrary Power*; and his private Schemes, with the ſingle View of gratifying his *debauch'd Inclinations*. Whoever C peruſes the *beſt Tragedies*, produc'd in thoſe *corrupted Times*, cannot help obſerving them to be full of the ſtrongeſt Reflexions upon all the *Evils*, which oppreſs'd our Country, during the whole Courſe of *that long, inglorious Reign*.

D If there are any ſo much unacquainted with the Character of *this Monarch*, as not to know what little Regard he ſhew'd to the Honour of the Nation *abroad*, or the Happineſs of his Subjects at *home*; how meanly he left the Govevment of E his People to *thoſe*, who either wanted Wiſdom to diſcover, or Virtue to purſue the *publick Emolument*, whilſt himſelf lay ſtupidly buried in the Arms of a *foreign Miſtreſs*, ſent over with the infamous Deſign of drawing him off from the *Intereſt of his* F *Country*; they may find a pretty exact Repreſentation of *him*, together with his *Court*, in the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s Tragedy of *Valentinian*.

The *ſtanding Force*, *this Prince* kept up in Time of Peace, under the Title of *Guards*, tho' not numerous, G gave at that Time great Uneaſineſs to all *true Lovers of Liberty*; and what Sort of Perſons he choſe to advance in the *Army*, is finely ſet forth

forth by *Otway*, in his Tragedy call'd the *Orphan*.

Go to the *camp*, preferment's nobleſt mart,
Where *honour* ought to have the faireſt play,
You'll find *corruption*, *envy*, *diſcontent*, and *faction*,
Almoſt in every band——How many men
Have ſpent their blood in their dear country's ſervice,
Yet now pine under want; whilſt ſelfiſh ſlaves,
That e'en would cut their throats, whom now they fawn on,
Like *deadly locuſts* eat the honey up,
Which *thoſe induſtrious bees* ſo hardly toil'd for?

There cannot appear any ſurer Token of a Nation's being in the high Road to *Slavery* and *Ruin*, than when the *grand Council*, compoſed of the *People's Repreſentatives*, have ſuffer'd themſelves to be corrupted by the *Court*, with the *Treaſure of the Publick*; when, inſtead of exerting themſelves, like the *Guardians of Liberty*, and *Fathers of their Country*, they ſit only watchful how they ſhall beſt take Advantage from any *publick Grievance*, in order to add ſomething either to the *Power*, or *Revenue of the Crown*; for this, tho' a ſlow, is a moſt infallible Method of deſtroying *publick Liberty*, as it muſt at laſt eſtabliſh *Tyranny by Law*; and that the *Engliſh Nation* were going on, in this melancholy Way, during ſome Part of the Reign now under Conſideration, let the famous *Penſionary Parliament* declare.

Another ſure Sign that the Jaws of *arbitrary Power* are opening to devour us, is when any of our *Courts of Juſtice* appear to be influenc'd by the *Miniſtry* to pervert the *Law*, in order to cruſh the *Friends of Liberty*, whoſe Love for their *Country* will not ſuffer them to remain in Silence, when they behold an *evil Miniſter* leading the People into irretrievable Ruin; and that this was then alſo the Caſe, appears too evidently from the *State Trials*.——To both theſe Grievances Mr. *Otway* alludes in many of the fineſt Paſſages of his *Venice preſerv'd*; particularly in the following ones.

——— To ſee our *ſenators*
Cheat the deluded people with a ſhew
Of liberty, which yet they ne'er muſt taſte of;
They ſay by *them* our hands are free from fetters,
Yet whom they pleaſe they lay in *baſeſt bonds*,
Bring whom they pleaſe to infamy and ſcorn,
Drive us, like wrecks, down the rough tide of power;
Whilſt no hold's left to ſave us from deſtruction.
All, that bear this, are *villains*, and I one,
Not to rouſe up, at the great call of nature,
To check the growth of theſe *domeſtick ſpoilers*,
Who make us *ſlaves*, and tell us 'tis *our charter*.

Again, in the ſame Play.

We've neither *ſafety*, *unity*, nor *peace*;
For the foundation's loſt of *publick good*;
Juſtice is lame, as well as blind, amongſt us;
The *laws* corrupted to their end, who made them,
Serve but as inſtruments to ſome new tyranny,
That every day ſtarts up t'inſlave us deeper.

To recite every Paſſage in *Fletcher*, *Otway*, *Lee*, or *Dryden*, which point at ſome particular Enormities of the *Government*, under which they wrote, would be endleſs; and therefore I ſhall finiſh my Quotations with obſerving, that whoever deſires to behold an *abject Council*, a *corrupted Parliament*, and an *ignorant*, as well as a *wicked Adminiſtration*, painted in one Piece, let them peruſe the following admirable Picture, as drawn by *Dryden*, in the *Spaniſh Fryar*.

A *council* form'd of ſuch as dare not ſpeak, &c.

See the whole Paſſage from *Common Senſe*, in our laſt, p. 193. Col. 1.

From what hath been ſaid, I think any ſincere Friend of our *preſent excellent Adminiſtration*, cannot help ſecretly lamenting the late Act, for *Licenſing the Stage*; for as it obliges our *dramatick Writers* to ſubmit their Works, in a Manner, that muſt be very diſguſtful to all Authors of Genius, or Spirit, it will very probably induce them to employ their Abilities, in ſome other Branch of Literature; ſo that by theſe Means, the glorious Meaſures of the *preſent Government* may fail of being celebrated upon the *Stage*, with all the Pomp of *Poetry*, which ſuch *conſummate Wiſdom* and *publick Fidelity* deſerve.

Common Senſe, May. 5. N° 118.

The People's Regard to MAGISTRACY, *and what occaſions their Contempt of it.*

SIR,

IT is an Imputation moſt injurious to Mankind, that their natural Diſpoſition is apt to incline them to a Diſtruſt, and Diſlike of thoſe who govern them. I am ſatisfy'd the contrary is ſo evident, that it has been always eaſy to diſcern in People a Kind of Bigotry, (if I may uſe the Expreſſion) in Favour of ſuch as have been plac'd in Power over them, which could not, where they have not met with more than ordinary ill Uſage, be got the better of.

I know of few Hiſtories into which I have ever look'd, that have not furniſh'd me with ſufficient Grounds to confirm me in my Opinion. And were I to look back into our own Hiſtory, and that, perhaps, not very far, I ſhould not want Examples of the Partiality People entertain towards thoſe in the higheſt Stations, which has inclin'd them to acquieſce in the worſt Treatment, even when they have been moſt viſibly ſenſible of it: But as Inſtances of this Kind may, to ſome, appear invidious, I will not particularize any here.

I ſhall therefore conſider a little the Behaviour of the *Romans*. —— Whoever will, with Accuracy, obſerve their Conduct, will find, that tho' they were ſtrenuous and violent in aſſerting their Liberty againſt a moſt oppreſſive, inſolent, and tyrannical Nobility, yet, as their Complaints were for the moſt Part juſt, and their Deſires reaſonable for a free and deſerving People, they always ſhew'd the greateſt Moderation in the Uſe they made of any Acquiſition they gain'd from the Nobility in Security of their Liberty. Which makes *Livy* (tho' moſt evidently a Favourer of the Patricians) ſay, on a very extraordinary Example of this Nature, *Hanc modeſtiam æquitatemque & altitudinem animi, ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc Populi univerſi fuit?*

Nor could thoſe Tumults which happen'd at *Rome* (as *Machiavel* well obſerves) be reaſonably call'd diſorderly, and irregular, which produc'd ſo many Examples of all Sorts of Virtue, and the Succeſs of which, whoever examines, will not find they occaſion'd any Laws or Violence to the Prejudice of the common Intereſt, but the contrary. Nor could they be ſaid to be bloody or ſeditious who, in above 300 Years Time, from the Expulſion of their Kings, amongſt all their Heats and Animoſities, ſent not above 8 or 10 Perſons into Baniſhment, executed very few, and condemned not many to any Pecuniary Mulct.*

It was under the Tyranny of their Kings, and afterwards in the abject State they were reduc'd to by their Emperors, that Riot, Licentiouſneſs, and Rapine flouriſh'd at *Rome*; and we are told by *Livy*, that the Reaſon which induced the Sons of *Brutus*, and other young Men of Quality, to attempt the Re-admiſſion of the *Tarquins*, was their Reluctance to ſubmit to the wholſome Reſtraint of a well regulated Commonwealth.

Licentiouſneſs is the conſtant Effect of a corrupt, ill-conducted Adminiſtration of Government, tyrannical and wanton in Power, but without Authority. For a due Obſervance of Laws can be no longer expected, than the Reverence for them is retain'd; but whenever a People find themſelves throughly miſerable and oppreſs'd, when the Dignity of Laws is loſt and proſtituted, and when Men ſee thoſe ſacred Ties multiplied to ſerve private Views,

* Machiav. on Livy, *Lib.* I. *Cap.* 4.

this muſt naturally introduce a Contempt of ſuch Laws, and a Hatred of thoſe that govern: And as the Bulk of Mankind are not capable of making always the proper Diſtinction, can we ſuppoſe otherwiſe than that Hatred towards thoſe in Power, and Contempt of particular Laws, ſhould, of Courſe, introduce a Contempt of Magiſtracy and Laws in general?

And what makes this unfortunate Situation (whenever any People happen to be in it) the more irretrievable is, that Governors, inſtead of enquiring into the true, the real Source of the Evil; inſtead of extending their Care to the redreſſing, or, at leaſt, alleviating the Load of Miſery which has given the unfortunate Wretches, affected by it, too great Reaſon for Diſcontent, or, rather, Deſpair; I ſay, inſtead of this, the Groanings of a miſerable People are ſaid only to be the Breathings of rebellious Spirits, Armies are thought neceſſary to awe their Complaints and increaſe their Poverty; they meet with a Treatment from their publick Parents, which the Scripture ſuppoſes abſurd and impoſſible from their natural ones; when *they cry for Bread, they are given a Stone; when they aſk for Fiſh, they are given a Serpent.*

But tho' I will venture to affirm, that Licentiouſneſs in a State, has always had its Foundation from the Faults of thoſe that govern, yet I am, at the ſame Time, ſenſible, that when the Minds of a People are throughly exaſperated, their Reſentment will often exert itſelf indiſcriminately, in the moſt unjuſtifiable Manner, even to a Breach, or Oppoſition of Laws, perhaps, the moſt ſalutary to the Commonwealth.

There is one Thing will always make People pay a proper Regard to Laws and Government; that is, if they ſee them not made Uſe of to their Diſadvantage, and find themſelves eaſy and thriving under the Influence of them. The lower Rank of Men, who form the Bulk of a Nation, are always directed in their Sentiments of Things from what they themſelves feel; and that not abſurdly. But if in this general Way of judging, they miſtake in Particulars, and are led into unwarrantable Actions, yet every Lover of Mankind and his Country muſt be touch'd with Commiſeration, at the ſame Time that he thinks their Puniſhment neceſſary.

And here I cannot conclude without touching firſt, which I do with ſincere Concern, on thoſe unfortunate Tumults and Riots which have of late happen'd in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom, which ſhould awaken the Attention of every Lover of his Country, and demands the moſt ſerious Regard of the Legiſlature; and tho' every wiſe and good Man muſt have the greateſt Deteſtation of theſe Proceedings, yet it is a moſt melancholy Reflexion, to conſider the innumerable Train of publick Calamities that, I fear, have been too evidently the Sources of them: Decay of Trade and Induſtry, the certain Conſequences of high Taxes; univerſal Corruption and Profligacy in Morals, too much encourag'd by higher Examples, has brought that general Poverty and Diſſoluteneſs into ſome Parts of the Kingdom, as has reduced Numbers of the Manufacturers to the State of deſperate Ruffians, and declar'd Violators of the Laws and Peace of that Society, of which they might have been the moſt induſtrious and uſeful Members, and moſt flouriſhing Support.

Therefore, Compaſſion for ſo many deſtitute unhappy Wretches, the Security of the publick Tranquillity, the Safety of every Individual, the Honour and Continuance of the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, nay, the very Being of Liberty itſelf, all call aloud and demand ſome Remedy:

A Remedy that will heal the Sore from the Bottom, by cleanſing the Foulneſs of the Ulcer, and removing the Cauſes of it.

This is not to be brought about by adding Sanguinary and Penal Laws, and by the burdenſome and ever-deſtructive Expedients of keeping up ſtanding Armies; but by eaſing the People of the Load they groan under, diſincumbering Trade and Induſtry, and healing their Diſcontent; by diſcouraging Idleneſs and Licentiouſneſs, by properly leſſening their many Incentives and Harbours, tho' it ſhould be attended with the Diminution of a ſmall annual Income in an over-grown Revenue.

Laws and Penalties that will bind in Chains Liberty as well as Licentiouſneſs, will always be deſir'd by deſigning Miniſters, who often make thoſe very Calamities, in which their ill Conduct has involv'd a Nation, and which ought to turn to their own Confuſion, ſerve as a Pretext to increaſe their Power of oppreſſing, and of adding Impunity to their worſt Deſigns. And this Artifice ought therefore to be the more guarded againſt, becauſe weak, tho' well-meaning Men, are often drawn in by the Dread of theſe popular Diſorders, to contribute to the Eſtabliſhment of the moſt miſchievous Powers. But as even a confus'd State is better than a ſervile one, ſo national Peace and Tranquillity, founded only on the Ruins of Liberty, is no better than the Peace the Devil allow'd the Child in the Goſpel, it *rent him ſore and left him for dead.*

Craftſman, May 5. N° 669.

The Riſe of a corrupt INFLUENCE *in* PARLIAMENT, *&c.*

SIR,

THE Author of *the* FITNESS tells us, that the Statute 6 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 16, well deſerves the Attention of *every Member of the Legiſlature*. He quotes the firſt Part of the Law for *Attendance*; but leaves out the latter Part, which contains the *Penalty*, and ſhews the Difference between our *ancient Conſtitution* and the *preſent*; for it is, "upon Pain to every of them ſo *departing*, or *abſenting themſelves*, in any other Manner, to loſe all *thoſe Sums of Money*, which he or they ſhould or ought to have had, for his or their *Wages*." It will not be diſputed that *thoſe*, who are paid for their *Attendance*, have no Injuſtice done them, if their *Pay-maſters* ſtop their *Wages*, for not doing what they are hired to do. But this ſhews the eſſential Difference between *ancient* and *modern Parliaments*, in which ſuch vaſt Numbers of the *Repreſentatives* now receive *Wages* from the *Crown*. In former Times, there were *frequent new Parliaments*, and always but *ſhort Seſſions*. *Wages* were then paid, and the *poorer Boroughs* were excus'd, on Account of their Incapacity to pay. Laws were likewiſe made in Favour of the *Gentry*, that *Corporations* ſhould compel none but *their own Freemen* to ſerve for them; which not only ſhews that it was eſteem'd a *Burden*, but what a conſiderable Number of Members were ſent by the *trading Part of the Nation*, to take Care of their Intereſt; whilſt the *landed Gentlemen* had only the *Knights of the Shire* to repreſent them. In thoſe Times, they were all united in one and the ſame Intereſt. The Separation of them into the *Landed Intereſt*, the *Trading Intereſt*, and the *Monied Intereſt*, is a modern Invention of *dividing* and *governing*; for *Parliaments* have been ſince alter'd ſo much, in this Reſpect, by their *long Continuance*, that a *Seat* is look'd upon as a *profitable Place*, and every Art is us'd to influence *Elections*. Nothing ſhews this Difference, in a ſtronger Light, than

the hearing of *learned Counſel* at the Bar, in Caſes of *controverted Elections*, ſetting forth the great Injury done to their *Clients*, and the great Advantage of being a *Member of Parliament*. Nay, the very *Laws* themſelves, now allow *great Penalties* to be paid to the *Candidate*, for the Injuries done him, in *diſcharging* him from what was formerly thought a *Burden*. The vaſt Sums now ſpent to obtain a *Seat*; the Varying of the Market Prices of *Boroughs*, according to *Triennial* and *Septennial* Parliaments, and moſt Places being now given to *Members*, too plainly ſhews the Cauſe of *this Alteration*, and points out the *only Remedy*.

The Miniſters of K. *Charles* II. were very ſenſible of the Uſe and Abuſe of *Parliaments*. They were the firſt, who introduc'd the Art of governing by *Corruption*. The Extacy at the *Reſtoration* ſo intoxicated the Nation, that they could hardly think themſelves ſafe, whilſt they had any *Liberty* left; or refus'd any Thing that was aſk'd. We are certainly much oblig'd to thoſe honeſt Miniſters, *Clarendon* and *Southampton*, for ſtopping the firſt Fury of thoſe Times. The *firſt of theſe* was afterwards ſuppoſed to have ſuffered, upon that Account; for the *Court* thought he did not aſk enough, when 1,200,000 *l.* a Year was granted for defraying *all the Expences of the Government*; a Sum, tho' nothing in Compariſon with the preſent Times, for *thoſe Uſes*, yet it was thought vaſt and dangerous, in Proportion to what any King of *England* ever enjoy'd before, and was juſtifiable only by the Tranſport of thoſe Times. It enabled the King to keep up a *ſtanding Army*, tho' a very ſmall one in Compariſon with what the Nation hath been ſince loaded with; a Power unknown in the Hands of any of his Predeceſſors; and ſuch a one as laid the Foundation of all the ſubſequent Progreſs of *arbitrary Power*. All the abſurd Notions and Doctrines, upon which his *two Predeceſſors* had built, and by which they vainly flatter'd themſelves with Hopes of enſlaving the People with *Words*, were enforc'd by *Law*, as much as poſſible. The contrary Notions, and real good Acts for preſerving the *Liberties of the People*, were exploded and repealed; particularly the Act for *Triennial Parliaments*.

If we view King *Charles* II. in this Situation, with reſpect to former Reigns, he ſeems to have been in full Enjoyment of *arbitrary Power*, abounding in *Wealth*, *Armies*, and the Power of making *Laws*, for his Support alone. This Succeſs was certainly beyond his Expectation; and therefore he could not foreſee any End of it. His Love of *Pleaſure* and *Profuſion* made him neceſſitous. The juſt Apprehenſions of *France* and *Popery*, and the many Vacancies that happen'd in the *Houſe of Commons*, created an Oppoſition, which enabled the *Friends of Liberty* to make a Stand again. The Views of the *Court* were better known: The *Length of the Parliament* had given Time for a thorough Acquaintance with every *Member*; and yet *this Parliament* was not corrupted with *Penſions*, till its 12th Year, 1672, which was firſt began by Lord *Clifford*. This was ſo contrary to the very Eſſence of a *Parliament*, that they have ever ſince been branded for it. But it is ſurprizing to find ſo much Noiſe made, at preſent, about 18 *Penſioners in Parliament*, who receiv'd amongſt them 7,800 *l. a Year*; tho' if it is conſider'd as the Introduction of what hath ſince follow'd, the Amazement of the Thing at that Time, together with opening a *new Scene of Government* by it, we cannot help applauding thoſe, who expreſs'd ſo much Jealouſy upon it.

Nothing confounds the *true State*

of Things ſo much, as applying our *preſent Ideas of them* to the *ſame Names* in *former Times*. Some People are apt to imagine that all the *Place-men* and *Penſioners* conſtantly voted according to the *Court*'s Direction, in thoſe Times, without conſidering the Difference of the Infancy of what they have at laſt ſeen, with ſo much Labour, brought to *Maturity*. The very Notion of always governing by a *corrupt Majority*, was too great an Abſurdity to be ſwallow'd, in thoſe Times. *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* were then too cloſely connected together for any Schemes of that Kind. The Notion of the *People*'s making their own Fetters, and the Name of the *People*'s Conſent, by their *Repreſentatives*, for the Service of the *Crown*, and the *Miniſter* only, could not enter into the Imagination of any Perſons, in thoſe Times. All the Views of *arbitrary Power* were then to rule alone, without the Name of a *Parliament*. The private Intereſts of thoſe, who were corrupted, were diametrically oppoſite: Their fundamental Maxim was, not to ſtarve the *Crown*, for Fear of a *Diſſolution*; and not to give too much as a *ſtanding Revenue*, for Fear of being no longer neceſſary. Upon *this Principle*, their whole Conduct turn'd; and all their *extraordinary Grants* were determinable at ſhort Periods.

How different are the Times ſince, in that Point of *Corruption?* Yet the Clamour of the whole Nation run very high againſt them, and introduced Attempts to put an End to it, for the future. The firſt Inſtance was in a Bill, brought into the *Houſe of Lords*, in 1675, *to prevent the Dangers, which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*. The wiſe Remedy for this was, to make the Nation *ſwear, that they would not endeavour to alter the* Proteſtant Religion, *now eſtabliſh'd by Law in the* Church of *England*, *nor the Government of this Kingdom, in* Church *or* State, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd*. This occaſion'd the Propoſal of *another Oath*, to be taken by the *Members of Parliament*, for preſerving the *Indepen-dency of Parliament*, from the Influence of the *Crown*.

This, with Reports ſpread abroad of *their Corruption*, were the Occaſion of a *Teſt, for purging the* Members, *and vindicating the Honour of the* Houſe of Commons, *by ſwearing*, as they did, *that they had not, directly or indirectly, receiv'd any Sums of Money*, &c. *ſince* Jan. 1, 1672. This points out the Time, when it was ſuppos'd *Corruption* was firſt introduced; and likewiſe ſhews how few were influenc'd by *ſuch Motives*, as well as how neceſſary the reſt thought it to preſerve *their own Reputations*. How different hath been the Conduct ſince; when Endeavours have been made to obtain *Bills*, upon the *ſame Plan*; and ſurely for more viſible Reaſons? Is it not urg'd againſt *them*, as well as *Place-Bills*, that they are deſign'd as *Reflexions* upon the *Members of that very Aſſembly?* But do not *they themſelves* convince Mankind of the Neceſſity of *ſuch Bills*, from the very Motives of not paſſing them? That a *Set of Men* ſhould thus acknowledge themſelves to be *accuſed*; take the *Charge* upon them; and for that very Reaſon, will not ſhew their *own Innocence*, is ſomewhat ſurprizing. The *evil Influence* exiſts, or it does not: If it does not exiſt, every Body would agree to take away all Suſpicion of the *Abuſe of a Power*, which gives ſuch Uneaſineſs to the whole Nation: If it does exiſt, the more unjuſtly is the Remedy, in any Degree, refus'd, ſince it the more convinces the Nation of the Neceſſity of it; and how vain are the Hopes of any *Oppoſition* to a *Miniſter*, whilſt it is impoſſible, let the *Oppoſers* be never ſo much in the Right, in a

Cauſe

Cauſe of the greateſt Importance to the People, to have ſo much as a Chance of carrying any Point againſt him, by a *Majority of Votes*.

Soon after this, an Addreſs was mov'd for, in the *Houſe of Lords*, for diſſolving *that Parliament*, and for calling *frequent new Parliaments*. The Arguments for it were, that *long Parliaments* had produced an Alteration in our Conſtitution; which, join'd with *this Corruption*, they could not be conſider'd as the *Repreſentatives of the People*—I ſhall mention ſome of the Arguments then urg'd for it.

" * *Parliaments* began in the Time of *Henry* VIII. to be longer than they ought; *that Prince* knowing that *long Parliaments* were fitter to make *great Changes*. They have been too frequent ſince; but never of that Length as this. Beſides, the long Continuance of *Repreſentatives* renders them liable to be corrupted, and won off from the publick Intereſt. It gives them Time to ſettle their Cabals and Intereſt at *Court*, and takes away the great Security the Nation hath; that if it be poſſible to happen, that the *Spiritual Lords*, on Account of their great Dependence on the *Crown*, together with the *Court Lords* and *great Officers*, ſhould, in any future Age, make up a greater Number of the *Houſe of Lords*, and ſhould paſs Things very prejudicial to the *Publick*; yet all ſhould prove ineffectual, and the Nation remain ſafe in an *Houſe of Commons* lately choſen, that have not Time to learn *new Sentiments*, or put off their *old Principles* at a good Market, *&c.*"—The Nation was very ſenſible of this Kind of Reaſoning, (for it is plain that *mere Penſioners*, in the *Houſe of Lords*, were not ſo much as dreamt of, in thoſe Times) and their Apprehenſions of *ſuch an Influence* have been aſcribed as the Reaſon why the *next Parliament* was choſen ſo generally againſt the *Court*.—They too were ſo well convinced of the dangerous Conſequences of *ſuch an Influence*, that upon being informed of 18 *Members* having receiv'd *Penſions*, in the *laſt Parliament*, they ordered a Bill to be brought in, *that no Member ſhould receive any* Penſion, *or* Place of Profit, *&c.* The ſmall Number of *Penſioners*, as it may be thought at preſent, upon which all this Outcry was rais'd, is very evident. What was the Number of *Place-men*, who ſate in *that Parliament*, does not appear; but they ſeem only to be hooked in afterwards. We may, however, negatively conclude, that they were not many, from the very State of Things at that Time; for the *Admiralty* was in *one Perſon*, and the *Treaſury* in *one Perſon*. The *Commiſſion of Trade* was compoſed chiefly, if not entirely, of a Committee of the *Privy Council*, appointed for that Uſe. The *inferior Officers* of them all three were really, and ſo then eſteemed, only *neceſſary Drudges of the Office*. The great Number of Places in the *Exchequer* were low Things, in thoſe Days. The Officers of the *Army* were very few too; and probably few or none of the *Fleet* were in Parliament, conſidering in what a low State it then was. The *Collection of the Revenue* afforded but little *corrupt Influence*: The *Cuſtoms* were farm'd, for Part of the Time; as well as the *Exciſe* and *Hearth-Money*. To modern Inventions we owe the Improvements, on that Head, of influencing *Relations*, and *Quartering*.

I will conclude, at preſent, with obſerving, that if ſo ſmall a Number of *Place-men* and *Penſioners* fill'd the Nation with ſuch dreadful Apprehenſions at *that Time*; What ought they not to fear from what they have ſeen ſince? The more neceſſary

* *State Tracts of K.* Charles II. *Vol.* I. *p.* 66.

neceſſary a *Regulation* of this Kind hath been, the leſs Succeſs hath it always met. The *ſeveral Laws*, already made, for preventing it, are ſufficient to ſhew how careful we ought to be to preſerve the *Repreſentatives of the People* untainted; but, if at leaſt double the Number of *Placemen* ſhould be in any Parliament, beſides *Penſioners*, than ever were when thoſe *former Laws* paſs'd, for limiting and reſtraining them; is it not a Proof how eſſentially they are eluded? Will it not demonſtrate the certain Succeſs of every Debate, when *all the Placemen* are conſtantly on *one Side the Queſtion?—Debating* would then be at an End. What other Struggle therefore can be made, in ſuch a Caſe, than to bring it to *that Point*, which will make it abſolutely neceſſary to regulate *ſuch a Grievance*; or, that it ſhall be the avow'd Principle of our *future Government*, to which all muſt be obliged to ſubmit, if ever they ſhould be reduc'd to it, that *Parliaments* themſelves would be the greateſt Burthen and Grievance of the Nation?

HAMPDEN.

Common Senſe, May 12. N° 119.

Occaſion'd by another Letter in the Gazetteer. *(See p. 181.)*

OUR well-bred Antagoniſt of *March* 24, who fancied, like an arch Wag as he is, that by attacking a ſuppoſed Author of this Paper with perſonal Scurrility, he could divert the Attention of the Publick from the Examination of thoſe excellent Meaſures which have rais'd us into ſuch Reputation abroad, and have occaſioned ſo much Proſperity at home; tho' he then fail'd of Succeſs, yet, like a Man of true Spirit, returns to the Charge, and hath made his Appearance in the ſame genteel Stile. *(In the* Daily Gazetteer *of* April 17.)

In this ſecond Eſſay he denies that he was Author of the firſt;—but he cannot conceal himſelf, the Dignity of the Sentiments and the Stile diſcover the Author. An *Italian* Poet, deſcribing a Lady's delicate Taſte in Dreſs, ſays, that a Pin ſtuck in by her Finger gave an agreeable Air to the whole Perſon: So a ſingle Daſh of his Pen communicates a certain *Je ne ſcay quoy* to a whole Work; for all that belongs to him are Grace and Graces.

I will illuſtrate what I ſay by preſenting the Readers with a few Flowers from this eloquent Diſcourſe.

Speaking of Writers, he ſays, "I don't at all wonder that the little, low Emiſſaries of Faction, and the Hackney Scribblers who are of no Faction, but write merely that they may eat, ſhould be as ſcurrilous and abuſive, as if there was not an Oaken Stick, a Blanket, or a Horſe-pond in the World; and ſhould, from their Garrets and lurking Holes, or the Corners of Lanes and Allies, pelt Perſons of the higheſt Rank *(meaning himſelf)* with all the Dirt and E———t *(the laſt is a ſweet Word the 'Squire often uſes in Converſation, eſpecially among the Ladies)* they can rake out of their Dunghills, or ſweep out of their Kennels."

——The images his cleanly fancy forms,
Are beauteous like himſelf——

Not above a third Part of this ſweet Diſcourſe relates to the Author of *Common Senſe*, in the ſmall Compaſs of which he hath dignified him with the ſeveral Titles following:

Infamous Miſcreant,—Knight of the Poſt,—Bully to a Brothel,—Puff to a Gaming Table,—Hackney Writer,—little low Fellow,--Iriſh Papiſt,- Cheat,—Impoſtor,—Spy,—Aſſaſſin,—vile Incendiary,—common Slanderer,—proſtitute Hackney Scribler,--Ruffian,—Malefactor fit to be try'd at the Old Baily,—Pick-

—Pick-pocket joining in the Cry of ſtop Thief.

Sweet are his words, and tunefully they flow.

In the Hurry of his Imagination he forgot Highwayman, Footpad, and Son of a Whore; but they will ſerve in his next: In the mean Time we ſhall give him Credit for them in our Books, and we'll account for all together.

Here you behold the ſame graceful Negligence, or, to ſpeak in the Words of the Learned, that *curioſa Fælicitas* which diſtinguiſhes the Works of HORACE.

He is pleas'd to ſay, theſe fine Things cannot be too often repeated.--Go on then illuſtrious Wit, ſputter and ſwell, loll out a Yard of that eloquent Tongue, and ſlobber all that approach with the Repetition of them:—Praiſe him again, and again, in the ſame decent Language, thou haſt his Conſent, for full well he knows thy Pen will no more hurt him than thy Sword.

However eloquent thy Expreſſions may be, ſome of them are a little unlucky, eſpecially that in thy firſt Paper, where thou telleſt this Author of his blundering. I will not enumerate thine and thy Relation's Blunders, for I am not writing a Volume in Folio; but I may aſk thee, whoſe Blunder was that, the other Day, in Relation to certain Bank Notes, which, being deliver'd to a wrong Man, made a Diſcovery how virtuouſly the P——— Money is laid out.

As to your great Dignity, which you are pleas'd to top upon us, you muſt know, that the Perſon who writes this ſaw thy Dignity in another Place, when it was the Jeſt of every Aſſembly at Night, and every Coffee-Houſe in the Morning thro' a great City. No Doubt, you thought of giving a high Idea of your Dignity to a great P———s, when you entertain'd her and her Ladies with a Malady occaſion'd by the Loſs of Leather from a certain Part, which you thought it was very witty to pronounce *Ore Rotundo*. I aſſure you, Sir, we could write a Book as large as the *Roman Comique* filled with nothing but Stories of thy Dignity, in which, perhaps, ſome of the Abſurdities are full as diverting as thoſe of thy illuſtrious Predeceſſor, *Monſieur Ragotin*.

You triumph extremely upon a Notion that the Author of this Paper is not a rich Man. I don't know how this came into your Head, for, I aſſure you, if he wanted Money, he could, within the Circle of his own Acquaintance, borrow at leaſt half a Crown; which he doth not mention in Order to brag of the great Company he keeps, but to ſhew thee he is able to raiſe more Money upon his ſingle Credit, than thou couldſt ſome Years ago, upon thine.

As to your Reflection about his lodging in a Garret, it does him Honour; for it is the Opinion of the Learned, that, Time out of Mind, the beſt Productions of the Brain, whether in Proſe or Verſe, have deſcended from the upper Story: It would become thee to ſpeak with a little more Reſpect of the Habitation of the Muſes. If he doth not think fit to diſcover where his Garret lies, it is for Reaſons of State; the Lodging of a political Writer is one of the *Arcana Imperii*, which, for the Publick Good and his own, he is obliged to keep. He would have thee know, that his Garret is his Caſtle, and he doth not deſire to have its Tranquillity diſturb'd by ſuch Emiſſaries as a Relation of yours often employs, who are the worſt Company in the World to a Gentleman who is paying the Debts of the Nation, or ſettling the Balance of *Europe* in his Garret.

But as the Scene of Affairs muſt of Neceſſity change in a ſhort Time,

Time, he will, probably, come down Stairs; and it is the general Opinion that you and a certain Relation of yours will be obliged to walk up Stairs, unleſs you have extreme good Luck.

Your Scurrility upon all Writers, without Diſtinction, makes him laugh; he will preſent the Publick with a few of them.

Fellows who make a Trade of Defamation and Scandal, and infamouſly hire themſelves out for Bread:—The moſt worthleſs, the moſt pernicious, the moſt deteſtable of all Mankind:—The Peſt and Bane of human Society.

Tho' this be no more than your common-Place *Billingsgate*, yet I can't ſay but it comes naturally enough from a Man, who never aſſociated with any Writers but what anſwer'd that Deſcription. The Author of your *Enquiry* and *London Journal* was moſt extremely a Hireling, and hath received his Reward.——Let the Truth of his Writings declare his Character.—What do you think of the *Spaniſh Curate, will he not demand Payment for you know what? A Word is enough to the Wiſe.*

Did not you and your Relation pick up a Fellow that had not a Garret to lie in, nor a Capacity for any Thing but calling Names, place him in his Chariot (a Figure not unlike thyſelf) and, at the Rate of near 2,000*l.* a Year, hire him to abuſe every Gentleman that had better Parts or more Honeſty than your illuſtrious Selves? Hath not the City of *London*, nay the whole People of *England* been abuſed by Perſons hired by you for that Purpoſe? Muſt not thy virtuous Relation come into the Rank, who, while he lay under the Guilt and Conviction of the dirtieſt and meaneſt Practice that can ſtain the Character of a Gentleman, abuſed the whole Legiſlature in a Pamphlet? Thy Deſcription of Writers can fall upon none, therefore, but thoſe that belong to thee, and they are obliged to take it, becauſe they are Hirelings. And here I cannot forbear making an Obſervation, of which, I hope, every Body who reads this will take Notice, that more Money hath been given to juſt ſuch Perſons as you have deſcribed, as the Reward of Scurrility, in the Space of 15 Years, than *Lewis* XIV. who will be renowned to Poſterity for his Encouragement of Arts and Sciences, gave in his whole Reign among Men of Learning.

Thou layeſt great Streſs upon the Author of *Common Senſe*'s concealing himſelf, as if it made thy Meaſures either better or worſe. Thoſe who write upon political Subjects, even under the Protection of Power, have always conceal'd themſelves; thoſe againſt it are obliged, from Motives of common Prudence, to do ſo. Were the Authors of the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, *Cato's Letters*, and *Craftſman*, Knights of the Poſt, Aſſaſſins, Cheats and Impoſtors, becauſe their Writings were publiſh'd under borrow'd Names?—What an Inundation of Nonſenſe doſt thou pour out in this Fury of thy Malice?—But I ſee thou art not able to look Danger in the Face, and the Diſtractions of Mind, which thy Fears have thrown thee into, have occaſion'd this Raving.

It gives thy generous Soul no ſmall Pain to think that the Author of this Paper ſhould receive ſome Profit from his Works:—Know, to thy eternal Mortification, that he owns it: I will tell it thee, tho' it ſhould kill thee; nor *is* it a Diſgrace in him, more than in other Writers, who have had the good Fortune to pleaſe the Publick. If it be a Reproach, he owns it is a Reproach that cannot be laid to thy Writings, nor thoſe of thy Aſſo-

ciates, which it is very well known are printed at the publick Charge, in Spite of the P—, and, like the Iſſue of common Proſtitutes, dropp'd at Peoples Doors.

If thou hadſt not taken Folly for thy Guide, thou wouldſt be the laſt Man living that ſhould begin perſonal Hoſtilities;——but ſince thou haſt begun them, doſt thou fancy, Friend, that we will not ſhew thee to the Publick, ſtrip'd of all Diſguiſe?

I muſt quit thee a Minute, to ſpeak a Word or two to the Publick, which, I hope, will take Notice, that when they hear that this Man has hang'd himſelf, they will not lay his Death to our Charge; he drew it all upon himſelf, and therefore no Jury can make more of it againſt us, than *ſe defendendo*.

If it was proper to talk to thee ſeriouſly, he would tell thee, that he hath every Right to be call'd a Gentleman that thou canſt pretend to: His Fortune was at leaſt a little better than thine, nor is that any great Boaſt, when he is comparing himſelf to one who was thruſt naked upon the World, and whoſe whole Inheritance were Nonſenſe and Abſurdity.

He hath told thee before, that he believ'd the Protection, which makes thee give thyſelf theſe ſawcy Airs, will ſoon forſake thee; he is now morally ſure of it; the Minute that Event comes to paſs, the Reaſons which oblige him at preſent to conceal himſelf will be remov'd, and he promiſes thou ſhalt know him, (he means thou ſhalt know the Perſon who writes this, and was alſo the Author of that of the 7th of *April*; for, I preſume you gueſs that more Hands than one have appear'd in this Paper.) I ſay, thou ſhalt not only know him, but thou ſhalt ſee him. If he refuſes thee this Favour, may he be as contemptible then as thou art to day.

Craftſman, May 12. N° 670.

A CORRUPT INFLUENCE, *&c. Continued from p.* 231.

SIR,

I Never read any Thing with more Pleaſure than the *Diſſertation upon Parties*; and nothing, in my Opinion, hath been more uſeful to the Nation. We already ſee the Effects of it, in ſome Degree, and it will be of much greater Service to future Generations; ſince our Poſterity may learn from hence to avoid deſtroying themſelves, and giving up their *Liberties*, for *idle nominal Diſtinctions*, which are of no other Uſe, than as Means to ſatisfy the *Ambitious* and *Corrupt*.

The Notion of managing by *Parties*, with the Help of a *little corrupt Influence*, was obvious and eaſy, take either Side of the Queſtion, or change Hands as often as they would: But the Notion of corrupting the *Whole*, when *Party Diſtinctions* no longer prevail'd, was a *Scheme of Slavery*, that could never enter into the Thoughts of any; and yet the continued Increaſe of *that Influence*, under *Miniſters* of all Denominations, gives us juſt Reaſon, when *Parties* are no more, to be very apprehenſive, as it is the only Means of ſupporting a *weak* and *corrupt Miniſter* againſt the Senſe of the *whole Nation*, and even of his *own Hirelings*, for the Sake of that *dear Self*. Such a Man, from the Corruption of his Heart, and the Luſt of Power, would purſue *this corrupt Influence*, tho' he were ſure in the End to ſacrifice his *Royal Maſter* to his *wretched Politicks*.—That this may never be the Caſe, I will proceed to ſhew the Neceſſity of limiting the Number of *Place-men* in the *Houſe of Commons*.

I took Notice, in my laſt, that 1,200,000*l.* a Year was given, at the *Reſtoration*, for defraying *all Ex-*

pences

pences of the Government. When the *Parliament* began to grow a little troubleſome to his *Miniſter*, and not finding himſelf in ſuch Poſſeſſion of *arbitrary Power* as he flatter'd himſelf with; a Project was ſet on Foot by Lord *Clifford*, in the *Houſe of Lords*, to make *Parliaments* uſeleſs, by increaſing the *Revenue of the Crown.* From this Time the *Parliament* gave no more Money for the *King's own Uſe*, being now ſenſible to what it would naturally tend; notwithſtanding which, Lord *Danby* once try'd to get an additional Revenue of 300,000*l.* a Year, during his Majeſty's Life. This exaſperated the *Parliament* ſo much the more, as they plainly ſaw their *own Deſtruction* intended; that *Parliaments* would be of no longer Uſe; and even the *Corrupt* perceiv'd their own Inſignificancy, for the future. Experience had taught them what farther Sum was wanting to ſupport *arbitrary Power*; and therefore they were the more cautious of giving any Thing; eſpecially ſince it was well known that the Revenues, given for 1,200,000*l.* were ſo greatly increas'd in their Produce, that the clear Revenue of the Crown was then above 1,600,000*l.* a Year. But what put an End to all *theirs*, as well as the *People*'s Confidence in *that Prince*, was the Diſcovery that, notwithſtanding their Advice, as well as the Deſires of the whole Nation, for their own Security, to preſerve the *Balance of Europe*, and join in reducing the over-grown Power of *France*, he was willing they ſhould put themſelves to what Charge they pleas'd; but the real Intereſt of the Nation was to be ſacrific'd to his *own private Views*—He wanted the Aſſiſtance of *France*—He therefore betray'd all *Europe*, and ſold them, upon the additional Conſideration of a Penſion to be paid him by *France* of 300,000*l.* a Year; aſſigning it as a Reaſon to *France*, that he might govern without a *Parliament.* Thus we ſee that about 2,000,000*l.* a Year was then thought ſufficient for the Support of an *arbitrary Government.*

The latter Part of this Reign, as well as the next, is a farther Proof of the ſame Deſign—Upon the Acceſſion of K. *James*, a *new Parliament* was call'd. The illegal Method of taking away the Charters of *Corporations*, in the late Reign, the *Violence* in ſome Places, and the *falſe Returns* in many others, have always made them look'd upon not as a *free*, but a *pack'd Parliament.* They immediately gave the *King* the ſame Revenues for Life, which his *Brother* had. Upon *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, they added to them, by granting *new Taxes* for 8 Years; but when that was over, they ſtopt ſhort. They would not part with their *Religion*, nor ſuffer the *Papiſts* to enjoy Employments, which *Proteſtants* had only then a Right to hold. They would grant no more Money, for enabling the King to keep up a *ſtanding Army*, without their future Aſſiſtance. And, laſtly, they enter'd ſeriouſly into an Examination of the *Petitions* againſt the Elections of great Numbers of their *own Members.* As they could be of no farther Uſe to the *Crown*, whilſt they had any Regard for *themſelves*, or their *own Preſervation*, they met no more; for they were willing to grant every Thing, except making themſelves *uſeleſs.*

From the Inſtances of *theſe two Reigns*, as well as from the Nature of the Thing itſelf, we need be under no Apprehenſions that any *Parliament*, as we are now conſtituted, will ever deſignedly make *their Prince* abſolute, ſo as to govern *without them*, or their having any of the Profits of *that Power.* But we have Reaſon for juſt Fears of *another Nature*; that they will make him as *rich*, as *powerful*, and as *abſolute*, in Effect, as any *arbitrary Prince* can

deſire, whilſt the *Names* and *Forms* continue in *them*; and whilſt they are conſtantly well paid for their Services, to the great Impoveriſhment of the reſt of the Subjects; ſince *Taxes* will be as neceſſary to ſupport *them*, as the Occaſions of the *Crown*.

It was a Maxim frequently deliver'd by Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and ſince look'd upon as a Prophecy, "That *England* can hardly be undone, unleſs it be by her *own Parliaments*." But if it is conſider'd that *long Parliaments* were firſt introduc'd in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. who was an able Politician, there is little Room to doubt that he foreſaw the Conſequences of ſuch an Innovation——To return.

This Parliament, as well as the firſt of *Charles* II. had given enough to ſupport an *arbitrary Government*, without their Help, tho' not with that Deſign. The Grants to King *James* were ſo large, that he thought himſelf in full Poſſeſſion of *arbitrary Power*, and conſequently made Uſe of it in every Shape. His moſt predominant Paſſion was to ſubvert our *Religion* firſt; in which he ſeem'd to think himſelf ſure of ſucceeding, ſince he had a Revenue of 2,119,000*l.* and his whole Expence amounted to but 182,000*l.* a Year, which enabled him to keep a *great Fleet*, a *ſtanding Army* of 19,000 Men, and afforded a vaſt Increaſe of *Penſions*, and *Secret-Service Money*, beyond what was ever heard of before; beſides leaving ſo conſiderable a Saving, after every Expence was anſwer'd—How far the *whole* falls ſhort of what is now call'd the *current Service of the Year*, excluſive of the *ever-growing*, *opulent Civil-Liſt*, and the vaſt Sums annually collected for our *Debts*, may be ſhewn hereafter, as well as what might be ſav'd, if all *uſeleſs Places* and *Penſions* ſhould be aboliſh'd.

Our Hiſtories agree, in general, as to the illegal Practices of *that Reign*, which brought about the *Revolution*. The Declaration of the *Prince of Orange* points them out, and aſſerts that the only Remedy was a *free Parliament*, on which Account he came over to deliver us, with an Army of 12,000 Men, from the Bondage of being *without one*. The mere Name of a *Parliament* would not ſerve the Turn; for K. *James* had, in Council the *Auguſt* before, given Orders for Writs to be iſſued out for the Meeting of a *Parliament* on *Nov.* 27. But Objections were made againſt *ſuch a Parliament*, from the Precedent of the *laſt*, and the corrupt Influence of the *Crown* on the *Members*. Thoſe, who were on the other Side of the Queſtion, reaſon'd for the Freedom and Legality of the *laſt Parliament*, as well as for *that*, which would be choſen, with ſuch cant Arguments as the Poſſeſſion of Power always gives to *thoſe*, who enjoy it, and will for ever be made uſe of by *wicked Miniſters*. But the Truth of the Point in Queſtion, was no longer to be colour'd over by *Words* and *Forms* only. The *Prince of Orange* therefore ſpoke out plainly, in his *Declaration*, what was neceſſary to reſtore our *Liberty*, and to ſecure it hereafter; particularly, in the following Clauſe of it.

"Tho', according to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh Government*, and immemorial Cuſtom, all Elections of *Parliament Men* ought to be made with an *intire Liberty*, without any Sort of *Force*, or the requiring the *Electors* to chuſe *ſuch Perſons* as ſhall be named to them; and the Perſons thus freely elected ought to give their Opinions *freely* upon all Matters, that are brought before them, having the *Good of the Nation*, ever before their Eyes, and following in all Things the Dictates of their Conſcience; yet now the People of *England* cannot expect any Remedy from

a *free Parliament*, legally call'd and choſen. But they may, perhaps, ſee one call'd, in which all Elections will be carried by *Fraud*, or *Force*, and which will be compos'd of *ſuch Perſons*, of whom *thoſe evil Counſellors* hold themſelves well aſſur'd, in which Caſe all Things will be carried on, according to their Direction and Intereſt, without any Regard to the *Good*, or *Happineſs of the Nation*."

Thus we ſee the fundamental Principle of the *glorious Revolution*, and the very Act of our *immortal Deliverance*, were founded on the *free Choice of the People*, and having *their Repreſentatives* uninfluenc'd by the *Crown*, and its *Miniſters*. This reſtor'd us to our *original Conſtitution*, and the very Eſſence of an *Houſe of Commons*. It vacated the Throne for a *worthier Succeſſor*; brought upon us long Wars, at an immenſe Expence of Blood and Treaſure. This involv'd us in the *vaſt Debts*, now owing, and the *heavy Taxes* we now pay. But every *true Lover of his Country* muſt rejoice in it, and think he cannot purchaſe, at too dear a Rate, the real Enjoyment of thoſe Bleſſings, for which all this hath been done; and to ſecure which the *preſent Royal Family* was placed on the Throne. —But no Body can think that the Struggle was, or could be juſtifiable, if the only Deſign was to change the Hands of the *Corruptors* and the *Corrupted*. Had K. *James* he'd *ſuch a Parliament* as was deſign'd; ſhould they have approved all his Meaſures, and enacted every Thing he wanted; would that have been any more binding upon the *People*, or eſteem'd their own *Conſent*, tho' formally *legal*? Would not the ſame Right have ſubſiſted to deliver ourſelves from ſuch *Mock-Juſtice*, as there did to prevent their Meeting, and getting a *Parliament* freely choſen?— Where will the Difference be hereafter, if *Parliaments* ſhould ever be, in a great Meaſure, abſolutely choſen by the *Crown*, and a *Majority* obtain'd univerſally known to be under the direct Influence of the *Miniſter*? To prevent this, there were ſeveral Struggles after the *Revolution*; for the Methods, then taken, to ſecure us from what was moſt apprehended, occaſion'd Fears of *another Nature*.

The Acts of K. *James* were *illegal* and *arbitrary*, and the whole Nation ſaw the Tendency of them; *all Parties* united againſt him. A *free Parliament* was thought the only Remedy, in that Caſe. The Situation of Affairs was ſuch, that nothing but *ſuch a Parliament* was then thought neceſſary. The Remembrance of the *long Parliament*, and their *Corruption*, bore no Part in their Apprehenſions any more. Thus it commonly happens in Conteſts for *Liberty*, when Neceſſity drives the *People* to an *Alteration*. They are always apt to lay hold of a *preſent Remedy*, without correcting the *ſame*, or the *like Abuſes*, for the future; which, inſtead of preventing, rather authorizes them.

This was then the Caſe: We were to have *annual Seſſions of Parliament*, in order to preſerve us from the *Power of the Crown*; and the fatal Error of giving the *King* ſo much as to be able to govern *without Parliaments*, which could only be prevented by ſeparating what was antiently the *Revenue of the Crown*, into a *Civil-Liſt Eſtabliſhment*, and the *current Service of the Year*. By theſe Means, the *Crown* could not have a *Ship*, or a *Soldier*, without the Grant of *Parliament* every Year. —It was thought that they had thus ſecur'd themſelves from what was then their greateſt Object of Danger.

From hence immediately aroſe a *new Form of Government*; which, in ſome Meaſure, ſeparated the Intereſts of the *Conſtituents* and *their Repreſentatives*. The longer *Parliaments* ſhould continue hereafter, and the more Money ſhould be diſtributed amongſt them, the more would they be divided from the *true Intereſt of the People*. The *Crown* and *they* would be united; and pretend that *long Parliaments*, as well as the *Corruption* ſo much complain'd of formerly, were not ſuch dangerous Things as they were then thought.

I always look upon the *Revolution* as an *Æra* that reſtor'd our Conſtitution to the *original Principles*, upon which it was founded, of 3 *ſeparate independent States* compoſing *one Legiſlature*; that it was invading and deſtroying our Government, to make *either*, or *both of them* dependent on the *Crown*; that the Knowledge of *paſt Times*, and the Methods then practis'd for making them dependent, were ſufficient not to truſt our All to them, but ſtrongly juſtify'd the Neceſſity of the *Revolution*; nor hath there ever ſince been but *one Man* ſo proſtitute, as publickly to argue for the *corrupt Dependency of Parliament*. No Body but *he* could aſſert that our Right of a *free Navigation*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, was clear and certain; but that our ſubmitting to the *Spaniſh Depredations*, for ſo long a Time, made it a *new Demand*, which therefore requir'd Examination, Diſcuſſion, and Deciſion, by Way of *Treaty*.

Whoever conſiders that when *ſuch a Dependence* ſhall be created, there is an End of our *Conſtitution*, tho' the *Form* ſhould remain; the *Friends of the Revolution* cannot but think it highly neceſſary to do every Thing, that may poſſibly prevent our being reduc'd to ſo deplorable a Condition. Jealouſies of this Kind are unavoidable, whilſt *all Places* are beſtow'd upon *Members of Parliament*, or their *Relations*, and are encreas'd by the long, fruitleſs Endeavours to prevent them; for, ſoon after the *Revolution*, this Conteſt began, and it became a Sort of Science, or Profeſſion, to be a *Member of Parliament*. An Intereſt in a *Borough* was look'd on as a Maintenance itſelf; or a *Peerage* and a *Borough* an honourable Proviſion for a *Family*. The Practice of

draining

draining and ſupplying *each other* became habitual. A *Vote* gives, and a *Voter* receives ——But this ſhall be farther conſider'd in my next, when the *Laws*, already paſs'd, for preventing *that corrupt Influence*, and how they have been render'd ineffectual, ſhall be examin'd.

HAMPDEN.

Common Senſe, May 19. N° 120.

Of ENTHUSIASM, *and the preſent Practices of the* METHODISTS.

SIR,

FALSE Notions and Schemes of Religion deſerve to be expos'd, in your Paper, no leſs than wrong Management and Corruptions in Government. The Propagators of both are equal Offenders againſt Common-Senſe, and, upon that Account, ſhould be equally ſtigmatiz'd by it.

The bad Effects of an enthuſiaſtick Spirit, and the Injuries that accrue to true Religion and Virtue by its Means, can never be too cautiouſly guarded againſt, by any who have a real Regard for the Intereſt of the Church of *England*, and the Purity of her Doctrine. Libertiniſm in Principles and Practice (which intirely ingroſſes the Care and Watchfulneſs of our Clergy, and, which, indeed, claims their particular Attendance) cannot be more detrimental to her Conſtitution than the mad Frolicks of an overheated Zeal and Devotion. If the former attacks her openly, the latter is, no leſs, her ſecret Enemy.

Indeed, on one Account, the Libertine ſeems to be a much leſs formidable Enemy than the Enthuſiaſt, as there are more Hopes of a Reformation from him than from the other. As he generally acts upon no Principles at all, or elſe upon very unſettled ones, he may, as the Heat of Youth goes off, and after a Fatigue of ſenſual Pleaſures, arrive at his right Mind and a true Notion of Things. But we can have no Room to think ſo of the Enthuſiaſt. He acts upon Notions, wild as they are, which to him appear as certain as Revelations from the Deity, nay, which he oftentimes is poſitively perſuaded in himſelf are Revelations.

That there are now ſuch a Set of Men in the World, who would perſuade us that they are actuated by an extraordinary Influence from Above, that they openly averr their Principles, and are continually ſtriving to gain Proſelytes to them, can be no Myſtery to any one who has conſidered the Tenets and Diſpoſitions of our modern Methodiſts. Tho' they are a Sort of People mean, indeed, in themſelves, both in Condition and Underſtanding, and, upon that Account, ſhould rather claim our Pity than any ſerious Rebuke; yet, as their Pretences come abroad under the ſpecious Veil of Religion, and a ſuperior Sanctity to the reſt of the World, which may give them Countenance with the unthinking Part of it, it cannot be amiſs to throw out ſome Caveat againſt their Proceedings.

What an unhappy Influence their Notions may have upon the Young and Unwary I ſhall prove to you, by a Viſit I made, ſome Time ago, to a Gentleman of my Acquaintance. I had formerly contracted a very particular Intimacy with him at School; where I had obſerved in him an amiable Simplicity of Manners, together with a wonderful Vivacity of Parts. In ſhort, his Capacity and Accompliſhments were ſuch as, I have often thought, could not but one Day make him a Delight to his Friends, an Honour to his Country, and an Ornament to whatever Profeſſion he ſhould engage in. But, alas! how is this glorious Proſpect over-ſhadow'd by the Clouds of Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm!

At my firſt Entrance into his Chamber, I was ſurpriz'd to find myſelf receiv'd by him with a wonderful Coldneſs. Inſtead of warm Expreſſions of Friendſhip, and Propoſals for the Continuance of it, I immediately perceiv'd the Marks of Diſaffection to me on his Countenance. His demure Look and Reſervedneſs of Behaviour quickly told me, that I was no welcome Gueſt. However, I was reſolved to ſtay ſome Time, in order to endeavour the rectifying any Miſtakes he might have entertain'd concerning me. It was not long before the little Diſcourſe we had turn'd upon the Topick of Religion. I now began to perceive the Cauſes of his Diſtemper. He deſcanted to me on the ſtupendous Subjects of Free Grace, Holy Influences, Regeneration, Election, Reprobation, and gave me ſome ſhrewd Hints that I had the Tokens of the laſt of theſe upon me. The many wild Inconſiſtencies he ran himſelf into in the Compaſs of half an Hour's Talk, together with the natural Averſion I have to any Thing of Moroſeneſs in Religion, threw me into the utmoſt Concern for him. Beſides the utter Impoſſibility of perſuading thoſe People by plain Reaſon and Argument, there appear'd to me ſomething ſo ridiculous in the whole Tenour of his Diſcourſe, as intirely forbad my making any ſerious Reply to any Thing he had ſaid. What could I do? To have laugh'd would have been as great a Breach of good Manners in me, as it would have been thought by him, irreligious and profane: I remember'd, likewiſe, the Advice of old *Oſborn* to his Son, *viz.* "Deſpiſe not a Profeſſion of Holineſs, becauſe it may be true: But have a Care how your truſt it, for Fear it ſhould be falſe."

In the Midſt of this Debate with myſelf there enter'd to us a Gentleman, whoſe Face I had a long Time been acquainted with, and to which (as I am apt to build a good deal upon

upon Physiognomy) I had often conceiv'd a particular Averſion: His meagre Countenance, lank Hair, Puritanical Behaviour, and that Stock of Spiritual Pride which domineer'd in every Look of him, gave me the utmoſt Horror at the Thought of his being my Friend's Confident. But, alas! I ſoon found that he had got full Poſſeſſion of the young Gentleman's Soul and Conſcience, and that in every Thing he obey'd him as his Ghoſtly Father and Counſellor.

It was now about 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon, when I obſerv'd my Friend looking very wiſhfully upon a large Plate of Bread and Butter that lay upon the Table. He was reaching out his Hand in order to ſeize a Slice of it, when the Rev. Gentleman, juſt mention'd, cruelly reſtrain'd him, and, in a rough Tone, aſk'd him; whether he could not abſtain for 5 Minutes longer? Telling him, that it wanted ſo much for the Time of Faſting to be expir'd. You may ſuppoſe me, Sir, not a little out of Countenance at the Rebuke my Friend received from his ſevere Confeſſor. It put me in Mind of a Paſſage I had read in *Prudentius*, as follows:

Quoſdam de populo vidit ſacerdos
Libandum ſibi poculum offerentes.
Jejunamus, ait, recuſo potum:
Nondum nona diem reſignat hora.

By this Time my Patience was well nigh ſpent, and I began to conſult with myſelf, whether I had beſt take my Leave quietly, or firſt of all vent a little of my Spleen againſt this religious Seducer. However, deſpairing of doing any Good by the latter, I determined upon the former, and accordingly departed.

Let me aſk you, now, Mr. *Common Senſe*, is this Method of acting, this inculcating ſevere Notions of Chriſtianity, agreeable to the mild and gentle Precepts of the Goſpel? Is it agreeable to the Genius of that Religion, the Founder of which has told us, *that his Yoak is eaſy, and his Burden light?* A Religion whoſe Doctrines are compatible with any reaſonable Enjoyment our Nature is capable of, and are not deſign'd to eradicate, but to lay a gentle Reſtraint upon our Appetites.

To conſider this Evil of Methodiſm any farther in a religious View may, perhaps, be foreign to the Deſign of your Paper; I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to a few Reflexions upon the bad Effects it may have upon Civil Society.

And here, I think, it muſt be own'd by all, that a Multitude of Sects in Religion muſt be very diſadvantagious to the Welfare of any Community. Differences of Opinion in religious Matters not only breed Diſſenſions and Animoſities among the People, but generally carry along with them a Diverſity of Sentiments with Regard to Government. Beſides, that ſuch Diſagreements muſt naturally be very inconvenient to thoſe at the Helm, as they muſt every now and then lay them under a Neceſſity of diſobliging one Party or another. Some late Applications to the preſent M——y, may fully prove the Truth of this laſt Obſervation. I ſhall add what the celebrated Author of *The Sentiments of a Church of England-Man* ſays to this Purpoſe. "I think it clear, that any great Separation from the eſtabliſh'd Church, tho' to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occaſion of endangering the publick Peace, becauſe it will compoſe a Body always in Reſerve, prepared to follow any diſcontented Heads upon the plauſible Pretexts of advancing true Religion, and oppoſing Error, Superſtition, or Idolatry."

The Induſtry of the inferior People in a Society is the great Source of the Proſperity and Wealth of it. But if one Man, like the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, ſhould have it in his Power, by his Preaching, to detain 5 or 6000 of the Vulgar from their Daily Labour, what a Loſs, in a little Time, may this bring to the Publick? For my Part, I ſhall expect to hear of a prodigious Riſe in the Price of Coals, about *Briſtol*, if this Gentleman proceeds, as he has begun, with his charitable Lectures to the Colliers of *Kingſwood*.

If he practis'd thus with the Inhabitants of *Georgia*, I think he ought to be reſtrain'd by the Legiſlature from ever going thither again: Becauſe it is of the utmoſt Importance to a new Colony, that the People of it ſhould be inſtill'd with an early Love of Labour and Induſtry, which, we may be certain, can never be well ſupported by the pious Diſcipline of a Methodiſt.

The laſt ſad Conſequence ariſing from the odd Notions of theſe Gentlemen, is the unavoidable Ruin, and Loſs to the Publick, of as many young People of a liberal Education as ſhall unhappily fall into their Hands. I call it, Sir, a Loſs to the Publick; for, can there remain any Love for one's Country, any true Spirit of Liberty, when ſuch abject Doctrines have once poſſeſs'd the Mind? Slaviſh Principles in Religion, will carry along with them the Principles of civil Slavery. The true *Engliſh* Spirit (whether it be the Gift of Heaven, or the Product of our Climate) is the moſt valuable Bleſſing we enjoy above all other Nations. If this ſhould be filch'd from us, if it ſhould be carry'd off by theſe religious Smugglers, how dreadful may be the Conſequences! May not ſome future Ad——n (for we muſt not ſuſpect it of the preſent) lay hold of ſuch an Opportunity of introducing arbitrary Schemes of Government, when theſe falſe Prieſts may have ſo well pav'd the Way for their Reception. I believe I am not ſingular in this Way of thinking, and flatter myſelf that, Mr. *Common Senſe*, and every ſincere Lover of his Country will join with me in it.

Yours, &c. P. Q.

Mr.

Mr. *Whitefield*'s preaching up and down in the Fields about *London* (as he did before at *Briſtol*, &c.) to vaſt Multitudes of People, as in *Moorfields*, on *Kennington-Common*, *Hampſtead-Heath*, &c. having made a great Noiſe, and been the Subject of much Converſation, that our Readers may ſee ſomething of his Way of Thinking, we ſhall here take Occaſion to inſert the following Account from the *General Evening Poſt*, which was afterwards printed alſo in the *Weekly Miſcellany* of the 12th Inſtant, *viz.*

A Copy of a private Converſation of Mr. Whitefield's *taken down in Writing after his leaving the Room, and brought to him by the Rev. Mr.* T–ck–r, *Miniſter of* All-Saints *in* Briſtol. *And at his Requeſt, ſign'd by Mr.* Whitefield *himſelf.*

BEFORE I went to the Univerſity, I led, as I thought, a very religious Life, I conſtantly attended the publick Service of the Church, received the Sacrament, gave Alms, faſted frequently ſix and thirty Hours, and in ſhort, practiſed every Moral and Chriſtian Duty, inſomuch that all that knew me look'd upon me as a Saint. I then went to the Univerſity, where I began my Studies in the uſual Manner, applying myſelf to the Mathematicks, and Claſſical Learning; and as God had given me a fruitful Genius, a ready Wit, and great Sagacity, the College conceived great Hopes of my making a pretty Scholar. I alſo dedicated proper Seaſons to the reading of the Sermons of our beſt Divines, *Sharp*, *Scuth*, *Calamy*, and ſome of *Tillotſon*'s I have read ſince; Mr. *Weſley* has read him more; but his Works I now look on only as a Syſtem of Moral Ethicks; but think he knew no more of true Chriſtianity than *Mahomet*. During this Time I knew nothing of true Chriſtianity, nor was I informed what it was, till I had read a Book, intitled, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, a Book worth its Weight in Gold. I now began to ſee the Neceſſity of the New Birth, and immediately changed my Manner of Life; and as I had before made the dry Sciences the chief of my Study, I now applied myſelf wholly to the Scriptures, and read other Books only by the bye: The College ſeeing my Courſe of Life thus changed, began to deſpair of me as a Perſon diſordered in my Senſes. For two Years I underwent a Series of Temptations, and continual Buffetings of the Devil, which have, in a high Degree, qualified me for the Miniſterial Office, in that I have experimentally tried all Things, and having ſuffered every Sort of Temptation, can ſuit my Advice to the different States and Conditions of other Peoples Souls, not to mention my being better qualified than other People for the compoſing my Sermons, for I never preach'd any Thing but what I have experimentally felt; and whereas other People are forced to plod and rack their Brains whole Weeks in compiling a Diſcourſe, I am enabled to compile as faſt as I can write.

Mr. *Whitefield* farther affirms, that the Holy Ghoſt firſt appeals to the Underſtanding, then over-rules the Will, that its Experiences are not to be deſcribed to an unregenerate Perſon, any more than Colours to a Man born blind.

G. WHITEFIELD.

From the laſt Common Senſe.

The following Letter coming from a Gentleman of the Blade, I dare not defer the Publication of it.

To the AUTHOR *of* COMMON SENSE.

King's Coffee-Houſe,
Covent Garden, 2 o'Clock, Morn.

Hireling Baſe,

HOW long dare you abuſe the Patience of all *good Men*, with thy vile *Weekly Libels?* Thy Inſolence ſhall be chaſtis'd in your own Manner: I will expoſe all your Faction if, on the immediate Receipt of this Billet, you do not lay down your Paper—I am able to do it:—My Heart is warm in the Cauſe of Virtue, and I have a *Head* capable to execute what my *Heart* ſhall conceive, and a *Hand* ready to defend my Cauſe—You will wonder who I am:—But,—

Read on, and tremble, recreant, coward baſe:
—A miniſterial politician I,
And helter-ſkelter have I ſtorm'd about,
And *Country Correſpondents* have I wrote,
And *Gazetteers* alſo.—A footra for the world,
And worldlings baſe;—I, and my laurell'd *ſire*
Will foil the patriots vile:—I, with my proſe
Political, will damn them,—damn them with
King *Cerberus*, and let the welkin roar:
While he, in odes, ſings all of gentle peace,
And tidings does he bring, and lucky joys,
And golden times, and happy news of price.

Daſtardly Caitiff, as I am a *Gentleman* and a Man of *Honour*, the Publick will pay proper Deference to my Lucubrations. I am not conceal'd under a Maſk, as your Patriot Scriblers are: No, Sir, I am not aſham'd of that *Loyalty* of *Heart* which runs in the Veins of *our Family*; as my *Father* wrote a *Political Play* for a late Adminiſtration, I will write *Political Eſſays* for this:

Fear we broad-ſides?--No:-I will *ſtand ye buff*-
Nor ſtorms theatrick for deſertion
From ſtage to brothels; nor finger pointed out
With deteſtation ſcornful, for branching horns
Expanding wide o'er all my horrid front,
Shall aught avail:—A footra for the world!—
I'll write, fight, rave, lie, ſwear, forſwear,

Do

Do any thing, in *W*——— virtuous cauſe;
And if, from ſome, I ſhould not meet applauſe,
— We'll not lament therefore —
Si fortuna me tormento, ſperata me contento.
PISTOL.

P. S. Obey my Commands, and let me never hear of Common Senſe more.

Craftſman, May 19. N° 671.

The former Subject continued. (*See p.* 234.)

SIR,

ALL Men and Nations, before they are corrupted, have ever ſought after thoſe Forms of Government, which are moſt likely to preſerve their *Liberty*. The *Gothic* ſeems to be the moſt excellent Plan, as it eſtabliſhed ſo many Checks to the *Head of the State*, and the *executive Power*.—A *Prince that could do no Wrong*, an *hereditary State of Nobles*, with Power ſufficient to reſtrain the Enormities of the *Miniſter*, and Wiſdom to counſel the *Prince*, and an Aſſembly of *real Repreſentatives of the People*, who could have no ſeparate Intereſt to ſerve, is what Experience hath ſhewn us to be the beſt Form of Government, that we can wiſh or deſire. But the Nature of all Government is founded on *Neceſſity* and *Protection*; to correct, but not to eradicate all thoſe Motives of Action in Men, which ſet the whole World in Motion; that the Purſuit of *private Intereſt* ſhall not be detrimental to the *publick Welfare*.——No Government therefore can be perfect.——It muſt be liable to what it was form'd to correct.——The Paſſions of Men are the ſame. ——Each endeavours to improve upon another, and ſurmount thoſe Obſtacles, which the Good of the whole Community had raiſed for their general Preſervation; and as the Power of *protecting*, *rewarding*, and *puniſhing* is entirely in the *Crown*, the growing Nature of *this Power* muſt, by Degrees, eat up the *other Parts of the Legiſlature*. Nothing can preſerve us, next to the divine Providence, (which hath ſo often interpos'd in our Favour) unleſs an *Houſe of Commons* be really the *Repreſentatives of the People*.

The *Revolution* made *annual Seſſions of Parliament* neceſſary; but did not correct *thoſe two Abuſes*, which aroſe from their conſtantly meeting in the Reign of *Charles* II. that is, continuing too long the *ſame Parliament*, and ſo much influenc'd by the *Court*, as not to be eſteem'd the *true Repreſentatives of the People*.

The *Nation*, and even the *Parliament*, ſoon became ſenſible of this Error; which was an Evil, that was daily encreaſing, not only from the Nature of the Thing, but from the very Means, that were neceſſary to ſupport the Reſolution of a *free, uninfluenc'd Parliament*; which was the avow'd Cauſe of the *Revolution*. This occaſion'd *great and unuſual Taxes*. The Management and Collection of them added farther Influence to the *Crown*, diametrically oppoſite, in ſome Meaſure, to the very End, for which they were raiſed. Self-preſervation made it neceſſary to begin, at laſt, to correct this * growing Evil, tho' very gently at firſt; for they only inflicted Penalties on *Exciſe Officers*, who meddled in Elections. The *Commons*, next Year, attempted a *Place-Bill*, which the *Lords* refus'd, but ſent them a Bill for *triennial Parliaments*, which was agreed to by the *Commons*, and refus'd the *Royal Aſſent*.

We then got a Step farther, towards preſerving our *Conſtitution*; for no *Members*, except the Commiſſioners of the *Treaſury*, *Cuſtoms*, and *Exciſe*, could be concerned in the Management and Collection of any Tax then granted, or any that ſhould be hereafter granted. A ſmall Progreſs was thus made to check this growing Evil; but the next Year we obtain'd, upon a valuable Conſideration, what was then thought would prove a full Remedy; for which I ſhall quote Biſhop *Burnet*, who ſpeaks thus.

" † With the *Supply Bills*, as the Price or Bargain for them, the *Bill for frequent Parliaments* went on; and to this the *Royal Aſſent* was given. It was receiv'd with great Joy; many fancying that all their *other Laws* and *Liberties* were now the more ſecure, ſince this was paſs'd into a Law. By theſe Means, it was hop'd that our *Conſtitution*, eſpecially that Part of it, which related to the *Houſe of Commons*, would again recover both its Strength and Reputation, which were now very much ſunk; for *Corruption* was ſo generally ſpread, that it was believ'd every Thing was carried by *that Method*."

We have therefore, upon this Point, the Opinion of *one*, who cannot be thought prejudic'd againſt *that Reign*. From hence we ſee the State of Affairs, and what was the general Opinion of *thoſe Times*, with Reſpect to the Neceſſity of a *Remedy*, as well as the Means of procuring it; and it is probable that, in ſome Meaſure, it anſwer'd the Deſign, ſince we know that *triennial Parliaments* were not ſuch certain Followers of a *Miniſter*, in every Thing, as they have been ſince the Repeal of *that Act*, which enlighten'd and enlarg'd the Underſtanding of a *Miniſter*, ſo as never to be in the wrong.

This Law was more effectual than is generally imagin'd, tho' far from being ſufficient to prevent the corrupt Influence on the *Members*. The Shortneſs of Time to practiſe on them, and the quick Returns to *new Elections* are obvious. But the frequent Diſſolutions of them, and their going ſo often contrary to the

* *See* 3, 4 *W. and M. Cap.* 5. † *Vol.* II. *p.* 133.

Views of the Court, are Proofs of another Nature. It was not then thought, that to whomſoever the *Purſe* was given, they ſhou'd ſo implicitly follow *that Standard*, as they did in all *long Parliaments*, both before and ſince. A *new Parliament* was then the certain Conſequence of a *new Miniſtry*. The Majority on *each Side* continued ſteady to *thoſe Principles*, which they thought were for the Good of their Country, and would ſerve only upon thoſe Views.——*Neither Side* durſt go any great Lengths againſt *Liberty*; for *both Sides* were ſenſible how much it would affect their future Elections. *Corruption* was not then the ſingle Principle of Government. The real, or miſtaken Means, of preſerving the *Conſtitution*, was the fundamental Principle of *both Parties*—*Both* were ſometimes in the Wrong; but the *Majority of both* were fixt to their Principle, and united againſt Corruption in the *Houſe of Commons*. The Reaſon was obvious: It was Deſtruction to *both Parties*, who equally thought that they were purſuing the Good of their Country. It was viſible, that *real Party Differences* would be extinct. The *Names* might remain as *Court-Tools*; but the *Parliament*, in Effect, would be only the *Repreſentative of its Pay-maſters*, and be a *miniſterial Party* againſt the *whole Nation*; for there can be no other, if *miniſterial Influence* ſhould ever totally prevail. The Poſſeſſion of Power in the Hands of a *few*, founded on *pecuniary Methods*, and governing againſt the general Opinion and Intereſt of the *People*, is certainly a *Faction*, in the ſtrongeſt Senſe of the Word; and *ſuch a Faction* there muſt be, whenever a *corrupt Influence* prevails over all, under the Direction and Laſh of a *ſingle Miniſter*, who knows by Experience that all his *Dependents* and *Protectors* will forſake him, the Moment he can feed them no longer.—To return.

The Act for *triennial Parliaments* had not all the Effect, that could be wiſh'd. The Change of a *Miniſter* chang'd a *Parliament*, and the corrupt Influence of *Places* gave *either Party* the Superiority; but their ill Conduct, in Oppoſition to the Senſe of the Nation, made Changes of *both*, which ſtill the more evinc'd the Neceſſity of putting an End to *this Influence*.—The King lov'd *Prerogative* too well, tho' he came hither to relieve us from it. What we purchas'd has been already ſhewn. He would not part with any *influencing Power*, for his Life, or the Race of the *Stuarts*. But the *next Family* was to reſtore and preſerve us in our Liberties, better than the *Revolution* had done; and the Nation enter'd into a *new Compact*, as the Condition of receiving them into the Throne.—An Act was therefore paſs'd * *for the farther Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.*——The Preamble ſays;

"Whereas it is requiſite and neceſſary, that ſome *farther Proviſion* be made for ſecuring our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, &c."

The Act is chiefly founded upon the Want of *thoſe Securities*, in his own Reign. But I ſhall conſider them as a *Renewal of our Conſtitution*.——It was a Confirmation of *all our former Rights*, and conſiſted of 8 *expreſs Articles* beſides.

1. *That the King ſhall be of our Religion.* The *Religion* of a Sovereign is certainly very material. It gave a Bias to the Politicks of the *two preceding Reigns*; and we had freed ourſelves from it by *effectual Struggles* and *Laws*. But no *Laws* will cure the *Corruption and Immorality of the People*, firſt introduced by *Charles* II. In ſhort, nothing will do it but the Example of a *great and virtuous Race of Princes*.

By the 2d Article of this Act, *The Nation was not to be engaged in any War for the Defence of Dominions, which do not belong to the Crown of* England, *without the Conſent of Parliament*. This was alſo a wiſe Precaution, to prevent our becoming a Money-Province to *foreign Dominions*; and every Body knows how punctually it hath been obſerved; for nothing of this Kind hath been done *without the Conſent of Parliament*.——The Affairs of *Bremen*, *Verbden*, and *Steinhorſt* are beneath our Notice.

By the 3d Article, *The King was not to go out of the Dominions of the Crown, without Conſent of Parliament*; which was repeal'd in the firſt Year of his late Majeſty's Reign. This Limitation was founded only upon the Notion that our Princes might like their *native Dominions* too well, and endeavour to make them, by *new Acquiſitions*, the Seat of their future Grandeur, as well as the Touch-ſtone of their Politicks, and drain away the Money of *this Country*.

By the 4th Article it was ordain'd, *That all Things properly cognizable in the* Privy Council, *by the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, ſhall be tranſacted there, and all Reſolutions taken there ſhall be ſigned by thoſe, who adviſed and conſented to them.* This Article is likewiſe repeal'd, and a *Cabinet Council* ſubſtituted in its Stead, upon all great Affairs; which is, no Doubt, an Alteration very much to our Advantage, ſince a *Cabinet Council* is eſteem'd, in all our neighbouring Nations, of much more Dignity than a *Privy Council*. Biſhop *Burnet*, indeed, tells us, that it was repeal'd, * *becauſe it was* impracticable; *ſince it was viſible that no Man would be a* Privy-Counſellor, *on thoſe Terms*——Great Advantages would certainly have ariſen from ſuch a Practice, and we ſhould have known who ad-

* 12, 13 *W.* 3. *Cap.* 2. † *Vol.* II. *p.* 434.

vis'd

vis'd and consented to many of our *past Measures*, especially the *late Convention*; but it would, indeed, be very inconvenient to a *Minister*, who will take Nobody's Advice but his own. All *Privy-Counsellors* may now say that they did not advise any Measure, and even blame it afterwards; but the Danger of *signing* their Advice and Consent might be sometimes *impracticable* with their Tenure of the *Minister*'s Favour, whilst he had the *Purse* in his own Hands.

By the 5th Article of the same Act, it was decreed, *That* Foreigners *should have no Employments*, &c.——This was a very right one too, and therefore justly preserv'd; for why should *Foreigners* take the Bread out of our Mouths?

By the 6th Article, *No Person, who hath an* Office, *or* Place of Profit *under the King, or receives a* Pension *from the Crown, shall be capable of serving, as a Member of the House of Commons.* If this had been preserv'd to us, the other Parts, perhaps, had never been repeal'd. To prevent the *corrupt Influence of the Crown* had long been contended for by the *Lovers of their Country.* But here they obtain'd too much; for they could not expect that the Law would be kept, whilst there were even *triennial Parliaments*; since a subsequent Parliament full enough of *Place-men*, tho' probably not half so many as have since had Seats there, were to be incapacitated, when the *new Succession* took Place. Thus all united in the same Interest——It was, to be sure, right Policy, not to make so many Friends of the *Succession* Losers by its taking Place. There was not in any *Parliament* before, a Struggle equal to this; nor where the *Influence of the Crown* was more apply'd. The *Journals of Parliament* are some Proof of it to this Day. I could enter into Particulars; but am loth to disturb the Ashes of the *Dead.* I shall therefore only observe that, in order to obtain the Repeal of *this Article*, they were forc'd to get an *expedient Clause*, as it was always call'd, and soon to take Effect, * *that the Seat of every Member, who accepted of a* Place, *should be vacated, but* might be capable of being *Re-elected. This Act* enumerated several *Places*, more than were mention'd in the *former Laws*, which a *Member of Parliament* was not capable of holding. No Office was to have a greater Number of *Commissioners* than before the first Day of the Meeting of *that Parliament.* The *Clerks of Offices*, in those Days, were so low as not to be thought of as *Representatives*, and therefore no Provision was made against them in the *Act.*

The receiving a *Pension* from the Crown, during Pleasure, and the having any *new Office*, or *Place of Profit*, created since *Oct.* 25, 1705, made every Man incapable of being a *Member.* Were this to be strictly examin'd, there might possibly be found *some Members*, who have sate in *Parliament*, and made *Laws* for us, under *these Incapacities.* The Spirit and Intention of *this Law* was to reduce the Number of *Place-men* even at that Time in the *House.* If *Commissioners* are not to be added, it is trifling with the Nation to supply their Number with *Clerks.* If no *new Places* are intitled to *Seats* there, it is imposing upon the common Sense and Understanding of Mankind to say, that the *House* ought to be fill'd with the Officers of the *Army* and *Navy*, besides *mean, low*, and *obscure Men*, because their *Places* happen to be somewhat *older.* At this Rate, the *Band of Pensioners* and *Beef-eaters* are more honourable, and have a better Right to sit in *Parliament.*

By the 7th Article of this *Limitation Act*, the Commissions of the *Judges* are made to continue, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and removeable only upon the Address of *Parliament.* ——Every Body understood that this was intended to make the *Judges for Life*; but upon his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, (I know not whether by *Law*, or *Prerogative*) *one Judge* was turn'd out. *All* were in the same Condition; and the *other* 11 were certainly glad to hold their Commissions again.

The 8th Article declares, *That no Pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an Impeachment.* But this seems to be growing obsolete, and will probably be of no Use; since *Bills* are now so well authoriz'd, and are a much surer Method of proceeding with Success against *great Offenders.*

To conclude, I cannot help observing, that the Repeal of the *Articles above-mentioned* was procured by the *Whigs*, when they were in Power, and that Nobody can think it was done from the Influence of their *Party-Principle.* It cannot be deny'd that *those Ministers*, who have acted under the Denomination and Sanction of *that Party*, without following the *Principles* of it, have done more real and lasting Mischief to their Country than the *Tories* were ever capable of doing, in their fullest Plenitude of Power. The Absurdity of their *Party-Principle*, carry'd to the Height, fills their Actions with Contradictions. The *Whig-Principle* being more for the Interest and Rights of the *People*, hath made it much more easy to betray us. This sufficiently shews the Errors on *both Sides*, and the Necessity of uniting in *one national Party* against *any ministerial Party*, by what Name soever call'd, which with its *Places, Pensions, Army, Navy, Law*, and the mercenary Part of the *Church*, besides all the other Means of Influencing, thinks itself more than a Match for the *whole People.*

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

HAMPDEN.

* 4 *Anne*, C. 8.

From Old Common Senſe, *May* 19.

I make no Apology to the Author of a Pamphlet juſt publiſh'd, entitled, *Marmor Norfolcienſe*, for inſerting the Introduction to his moſt ingenious Eſſay, together with the Inſcription, which is the Subject of it; ſince it is meant only to recommend it to the Publick to be read with the Attention, and receive the Applauſe it deſerves.

IN *Norfolk*, near the Town of *Lynn*, in a Field, which an ancient Tradition of the Country affirms to have been once a deep Lake or Meer, and which appears from authentick Records to have been call'd, about 200 Years ago, *Palus*, or the Marſh, was diſcover'd, not long ſince, a large ſquare Stone, which is found, upon an exact Inſpection, to be a Kind of coarſe Marble, of a Subſtance not firm enough to admit of being poliſh'd, yet harder than our common Quarries afford.

It was brought to Light by a Farmer, who obſerving his Plough obſtructed by ſomething, order'd his Servants to remove it. This was not effected without ſome Difficulty, the Stone being 3 Feet 4 Inches deep, and 4 Feet ſquare in the Superficies, and conſequently of a Weight not eaſily manageable. However, by the Application of Levers, it was at length raiſed, and convey'd to a Corner of the Field, where it lay for ſome Months intirely unregarded.

A Gentleman well known to the learned World, and diſtinguiſh'd by the Patronage of the *Mæcenas* of *Norfolk*, whoſe Name, was I permitted to mention it, would excite the Attention of my Reader, and add no ſmall Authority to my Conjectures, obſerving, as he was walking that Way, that the Clouds began to gather and threaten him with a Shower, had recourſe for Shelter to the Trees under which this Stone happen'd to lie, and ſat down upon it in Expectation of fair Weather. At length he began to amuſe himſelf in his Confinement, by clearing the Earth from his Seat with the Point of his Cane; and had continued this Employment ſome Time, when he obſerved ſeveral Traces of Letters, antique and irregular, which by being very deeply engraven, were ſtill eaſily diſtinguiſhable.

This Diſcovery ſo far raiſed his Curioſity, that going home immediately, he procured an Inſtrument proper for cutting out the Clay that filled up the Spaces of the Letters, and with very little Labour made the Inſcription legible, which is here exhibited to the Publick:

POST-GENITIS.

Cum lapidem hunc, magni
Qui nunc jacet incola ſtagni,
Vel pede equus tanget,
Vel arator vomere franget,
Sentiet ægra metus,
Effundet patria fletus,
Littoraque ut fluctu,
Reſonabunt oppida luctu:
Nam fœcunda rubri
Serpent per prata colubri,
Gramina vaſtantes,
Flores fructuſque vorantes,
Omnia fœdantes,
Vitiantes & ſpoliantes;
Quamquam haud pugnaces,
Ibunt per cuncta minaces,
Fures abſque timore,
Et pingues abſque labore.
Horrida dementes
Rapiet diſcordia gentes;
Plurima tunc leges
Mutabit, plurima reges
Natio; converſa
In rabiem tunc contremet urſa
Cynthia, tunc latis
Florebunt lilia pratis,
Nec fremere audebit
Leo, ſed violare timebit,
Omnia conſuetus
Populari paſcua lætus,
Ante oculos natos
Calceatos & cruciatos
Jam feret ignavus,
Vetitaque libidine pravus.
En quoque! quod mirum,
Quod dicas denique dirum,
Sanguinem equus fugit,
Neque bellua victa remugit.

Theſe Lines he carefully copy'd, accompanied in his Letter of July 19, *with the following Tranſlation:*

To POSTERITY.

Whene'er this ſtone, now hid beneath the lake,
The horſe ſhall trample, or the plough ſhall break,
Then, O my country! ſhalt thou groan diſtreſt,
Grief ſwell thine eyes, and terror chill thy breaſt.
Thy ſtreets with violence of woe ſhall ſound,
Loud as the billows burſting on the ground.
Then through thy fields ſhall ſcarlet reptiles ſtray,
And rapine and pollution mark their way.
Their hungry ſwarms the peaceful vale ſhall fright,
Still fierce to threaten, ſtill afraid to fight;
The teeming year's whole product ſhall devour,
Inſatiate pluck the fruit, and crop the flow'r:
Shall glutton on the induſtrious peaſant's ſpoil,
Rob without fear, and fatten without toil.
Then o'er the world ſhall diſcord ſtretch her wings,
Kings change their laws, and kingdoms change their kings.
The bear enrag'd th' affrighted moon ſhall dread;
The lilies o'er the vales triumphant ſpread;
Nor ſhall the lion, wont of old to reign
Deſpotic o'er the deſolated plain,

Hence-

Henceforth th' inviolable bloom invade,
Or dare to murmur in the flow'ry glade;
His tortur'd ſons ſhall die before his face,
While he lies melting in a lewd embrace;
And yet more ſtrange! his veins a horſe ſhall drain,
Nor ſhall the paſſive coward once complain.

Craftſman, May 26. N° 672.

The following Letter (ſays Mr. D'Anvers*) fell accidentally into my Hands.*

Cambridge, May 10, 1739.

To NICHOLAS P——N, *Eſq; Muſter-maſter General of all the miniſterial Forces.*

May it pleaſe your Honour,

BEING intirely devoted to the *true miniſterial Intereſt*, and hearing that *your Honour* hath the ſole Nomination and Direction of the *Scribes* in that Service, I moſt humbly beg Leave to make the following Application to you.

I am a poor Fellow of a College in this Univerſity, and in *holy Orders*; but not being able to get any *ſpiritual Preferment*, I ſhall be glad to ſerve my *King* and *Country*, (that is the *Ad——on*) in a *political Capacity*; which cannot be thought unbecoming *our Function*, ſince many Perſons of the higheſt Stations in the *Church* have not been aſham'd to liſt themſelves in the ſame Cauſe.

I may ſay, without Vanity, that I am reputed a Man of ſome *Learning*; and obſerve, with great Grief, that no one *Man of Letters* hath been yet engag'd by *you*, in ſo glorious a Cauſe, except a certain *Hackney Parſon*. Of what *Religion* or *Univerſity* he is, I know not; but I am ſure his Performances are beneath thoſe of a *little Country School-maſter*, or even a *School-boy*. Then as to Sir *A.B.C.* the *Baſtard-Organiſt*, the *mean Bariſter*, Mr. *Algernon Sidney*, and the reſt of the *Gazetteer-Writers*, I will undertake to *out-do* all their *Out-doings*, not excepting even Captain *Piſtol*; who, as we are inform'd, hath lately ingag'd himſelf in your *Honour*'s Service, (ſee p. 240.) tho' he will, no Doubt, be of great Credit to *our Party*, both on *his own*, and his *worthy Father*'s Account.

I will be very ingenuous with *your Honour*; and therefore freely confeſs that I have been heretofore eſteem'd a *Tory*, or *Jacobite*; but I hope that will be made no Objection to my future Services; ſince it is well known, in this Part of the Country, that the moſt conſiderable *Papiſts* did our *noble Patron* very eminent Service, at the laſt Election, tho' I am ſorry to ſay without any Effect.

In ſhort, *Sir*, I ſhall be always ready to obey *your Honour*'s Whiſtle, upon any Occaſion, like your *other Stipendiaries*, and will therefore give you a little Caſt of my Art, in Hopes of your Favour.

We hear that the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter* hath been lately infeſted with a moſt terrible *Apparition*, or *Ghoſt*, which continually haunts the Neighbourhood, and puts them under dreadful Apprehenſions. It often frequents *Weſtminſter-Hall*, crying *Juſtice, Juſtice*; and hath ſometimes the Preſumption to advance higher, crying *Money, Money, Money*. It often talks, in a confus'd and unintelligible Manner, of *Treaties, Preliminaries, Conventions, ſtanding Armies, Civil Liſt, Secret Service*, and *Votes of Credit*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Inhabitants; who, not being the wiſeſt Men in the Kingdom, are apt to be frighten'd with any *Bug-bear*. At other Times, he ſpeaks very freely of *Kings, Miniſters, Ambaſſadors*, and *Politicians* of all Sorts.

Various are the Conjectures about *this Apparition*. Some People ſuppoſe it to be the Spirit of a *departed Stateſman*, by calling ſo loudly and earneſtly for *Money*; but by talking ſo freely of *Kings, Miniſters, Ambaſſadors*, and *Politicians*, I take it to be the Ghoſt of ſome *diſcontented Patriot*, who ſtill haunts the *Place*, where he once reſided, and continues to diſturb it with his poſthumous Complaints.

I am credibly inform'd, that Application hath been made to ſeveral *Right Rev. Prelates* to lay *this Spirit* in the *Red Sea*; but they all deſir'd to be excus'd from taking ſo long and expenſive a Journey, leſt ſomething might happen to their Diſadvantage, during their Abſence, by the Death of their *Brethren*. They likewiſe repreſented, that their Attendance in Town was ſo abſolutely neceſſary, for the *publick Service*, that they had not even Leiſure to take proper Care of *their own Dioceſes*, which had occaſioned great Reflections upon them by the *Mal-contents*.

Since therefore thoſe *venerable Gentlemen* are ſo much engag'd, I will undertake to lay *this troubleſome Spirit*, by the Dint of my Quill, ſo as never to moleſt us any more, if your *Honour* ſhould be pleas'd to retain me in your Service. *I am,*

Your Honour's moſt dutiful,
And moſt obedient Servant,
CANTAB.

§. *To* CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

AS it is always a Mark of Reſpect to follow the Faſhions of our *Betters*, I beg the Favour of you to give the following Queries a Place in your Paper, as long as *Harlequin Horace*'s ſtand in another.

1. By whoſe Authority, from whoſe Inſtructions, or with whoſe Privity, were the *ſix Characters* drawn in a late *Gazetteer? (viz.* of the 18th and 19th Inſtant, where *Britannia* is made to draw the Characters of ſix of the chief in the Oppoſition.)

2. Who

2. Who gave the Author of that Paper Leave to ſtigmatize a *noble Earl*'s Embaſſy? If he was guilty of exceeding his *Inſtructions*, why was he not puniſh'd? If he was not guilty, how dares this Fellow introduce the K—— himſelf to accuſe him?

3. Who hath the Power to transfer the Secrets and proper Buſineſs of *one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State* from *him*, who poſſeſſes that Employment, to *another*; and how far is this conſiſtent with the *Act of Settlement*, or our *Conſtitution?*

4. What does the *ſaucy Scribbler* mean, by ſtyling the *Lieutenancy of Ireland* an *honourable Exile*; or who dares circulate, at the publick Expence, a Paper expreſly calculated to ſhew that we are under the abſolute Dominion of a *Subject?*

5. Whether a *certain auguſt Aſſembly* have not Reaſon to reſent the Inſults of this *anonymous Hireling*; and whether the *Iriſh Nation* may not expect it from every *living Nobleman*, who hath had the Honour to govern that Kingdom, to inſiſt upon an Explanation of the Words, *honourable Exile*, as well as a Declaration who the Man is, who confers *that Office* upon any Nobleman as an *Affront?*

6. What Nobleman of any Merit, Diſtinction, or Virtue, will condeſcend to accept of *this Office*, or continue in it, after *ſuch a publick* and *miniſterial Inſult upon the Dignity of it?*

7. Who will think themſelves ſafe in an Employment; which, whenever they leave, ſhall be call'd *Horſes* (that is, *Beaſts of Burden*) turn'd adrift?

N. B. Theſe Queries are not deſign'd to affront the *M———r*, but to procure Juſtice to an *injur'd Nation*; for if it ſhould ever happen that the very *Perſon* employ'd to perſecute thoſe, whom ſome People eſteem'd *Libellers*, ſhould alſo have a ſecret Commiſſion to employ others in *Libelling*, without Fear of Proſecution, what would become of us, in ſuch a Caſe? We might indeed, like one of the *miniſterial Writers*, ſubſcribe *Freeman*; tho' every Man, who is not a *Courtier*, might actually be a *Bond-ſlave*.

HIBERNICUS.

From the Daily Gazetteer, N° 1211.

AS the Temper of the Age ſeems to have a peculiar Turn to Raillery, I have often thought, a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the falſe Facts invented by the Patriots, digeſted into Chronological Order, under the Title of *Annals* of the *Oppoſition*, would afford a good deal of Diverſion. We might from thence learn the Art of calculating Flams for all Seaſons of the Year. As for Example; how to raiſe the Rumour of an Invaſion in the Summer; how to forge Articles of Enquiry fit for the Notice of Parliament in the Winter; how to equip Fleets upon idle Errands in the Spring; and how to foreſee diſmal Deſigns, to be put in Practice in the Autumn. We might be informed of the true Method of miſcalculating the publick Debts; of the genuine Art of miſrepreſenting Treaties; and of the grand Secret of making Anſwers for crown'd Heads, of which themſelves nor their Miniſters never thought. But ſuch a Work as this muſt not be expected ſoon, ſince the *Craftſmen* are already ſwell'd to 14 *Volumes*, and *Common Senſe* is imitating his Brother *D'Anvers* in this Particular, as faſt as he can. From ſuch voluminous Records, it will be a laborious Taſk to draw out all the *Prophecies* that were never fulfilled, all the *Articles* of *Advice* which were without *Foundation*, and all the *Facts* aſſerted by ſuch as never *believed* them.

Common Senſe, May 26. N° 121.

Obſervations on a late Reſolution of COMMON COUNCIL.

I Don't know any Thing that does more Honour to the City of *London*, than a Reſolution paſs'd in the Court of Common Council, *April* 17. A Diſcovery being made of a Combination relating to Work to be done for the City, (*viz.* Planking and Piling the Manſion-Houſe) in which there were Reaſons to ſuſpect that a Member of the ſaid Common Council was concern'd, after paſſing ſome Reſolutions againſt thoſe engaged in the Combination, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, by which that Court excludes their own Members from doing Work for the City.

By this Act they have ſhut their Doors againſt Corruption; they have not only forbid its Entrance there, but they have taken Care to clear that Court from the very Suſpicion of being corrupt. Such a Reputation, once eſtabliſhed, muſt produce all the Effects which naturally flow from good Government; and I look upon it to be the ſame Thing as if the Houſe of Commons ſhould paſs a Law to exclude themſelves from holding Places of Profit.

The Reaſons for the laſt are much ſtronger than for the other; but yet the Common Council have ſo much in their Power, that this Reſolution cannot fail of giving univerſal Satisfaction:—If Corruption ſhould once creep in amongſt them, the Court of Common Council would be like *Pandora*'s Box, from whence continual Plagues would iſſue upon the City. You would ſee nothing but Combinations and Projects to ſquander away the publick Stock: Expences would be contriv'd, without the leaſt Appearance of publick Uſe, merely for the Sake of giving a good Jobb to ſuch and ſuch Members: The City would be run in Debt: It would be devour'd by Procuration Money and Intereſt: Its publick Stock would be divided by the verieſt Scoundrels in the City: All its Officers would get Eſtates, and the City itſelf be reduced to a State of Bankruptcy.

If a Point of univerſal Concern ſhould be brought before them, the private Intereſt of 2 or 3 Members of that Court would carry it before that of the whole Society without Doors.

The City Chamberlain, for the great Merit of being their Treaſurer, might find Means of erecting himſelf into the Maſter, or rather the Tyrant, of the City: By venal Cabals, and mercenary Aſſociations, a Faction might be form'd in the Common Council, of which he might eaſily make himſelf the Head, that might be ſtrong enough to out-vote thoſe who were attach'd to the true Intereſt of the City: Truth and Reaſon would be borne down, and be obliged to give Way to the Strength of Numbers, and he that kept the Money would direct and controul the Reſolutions of that Court, as abſolutely as if they were his hired Servants.

If this or that Member ſhould be found out in ſome corrupt Practices, would his Brethren condemn him, or ſo much as cenſure him, when a Majority of themſelves had been guilty of the like? In a neighbouring Kingdom, a Man of Quality was lately condemn'd by his Peers for Murder (ſee p. 255.) but does any Body ſuppoſe, that if 12 of the 23, that found him guilty, had committed Murder themſelves, they would not have acquitted him? When thoſe that are to puniſh others, are themſelves the greateſt Criminals, there is nothing dangerous in ſuch a City but Virtue and Honour.

Thieves have authority for their robberies,
When judges ſteal themſelves.

What muſt become of that City which is to receive Laws from a Faction; what can it expect, but to ſee the Good of the Whole ſacrificed to the private Intereſt of a few? Methinks I ſee their impudent Leader giving them Laws with a Nod, preſenting dark and unintelligible Accounts, which are paſs'd without Examination, while the abuſed Citizens without are told, with a Sneer, it is not fit they ſhould know what is done with the publick Money, it being for ſecret Service.

The Chamberlain would be running the City into unneceſſary and expenſive Law Suits; then, not knowing how to manage them, make them up again by ſcandalous and more expenſive Compoſitions; the Common Council, all this While, giving him the Thanks of that Court for every Blunder.

The Chamberlain would ingroſs all the beneficial Offices to his own Family, let them be never ſuch worthleſs Animals.—You would ſee him, perhaps, build a Palace for himſelf, while the City wanted a Houſe for its Lord-Mayor.

As ſuch Meaſures muſt raiſe a Spirit againſt him, he might probably bid his Enemies Defiance, and tell them that, let them threaten as much as they pleas'd without Doors, he was ſure of his Numbers within.

The Members of this honeſt Faction would tell thoſe that complain'd, that they were a ſeditious Rabble; that they muſt ſubmit to whatever the Majority of the Common Council ſhould enact; that their Electors had no Right to call them to an Account; that, tho' what was alledg'd againſt the Chamberlain was true, they were obliged to ſupport him, and would ſupport him; that if they did not quietly ſubmit, they would be given to underſtand that the Chamberlain had the City Militia of his Side, and would make them ſubmit.

You would ſee this ſhameleſs Faction crowding to make him a Levee in a Morning, and hanging about his Office for their Wages when the Common Council was over. I don't doubt but he would have the Impudence to ſummon them every now and then in a publick Manner, and give them Orders what new Laws ſhould be made to encreaſe his Power, and what new Jobbs ſet on Foot to encreaſe his Eſtate.

If ever the City of *London* ſhould be reduced to ſuch a deplorable Situation, what could the honeſt Part of the Common Council, or the few honeſt Aldermen do, when they could no longer be of Uſe to the City, but, in Juſtification of their own Characters, ſeparate themſelves from ſuch an abandon'd Crew, and ſhun *Guild-hall* as if the Plague was there. This Method of proceeding would open the Eyes of the Citizens, and perhaps raiſe ſuch a Spirit againſt the next Election, as might occaſion the excluding ſuch a Gang of Thieves.

If once, I ſay, Corruption ſhould creep into the Common Council, a Chamberlain might bring all this to paſs without the leaſt Abilities.—But we ſee a quite contrary Spirit govern there; their Chamberlain, tho' he is entruſted with the publick Money, is ſtill their Servant; he is not charg'd, or ſo much as ſuſpected of Jobbs, nor is his Family ſet aſtride upon the City, with Reins in their Hands, to ride with Whip and Spur.—As private Intereſt does not govern the Reſolutions of that Court, their Opinions and Debates are free;—no Man there waits for the Wink or Nod of a corrupt Leader, before he knows which Side of a Queſtion he is to take.

Yet this is the City, and this the Common Council, that hath been lately inſulted by a falſe and ſcandalous Liſt, repreſenting them as a contemptible Body of Men: Theſe are the People that are call'd *Rag-Dyers*, a Trade never heard of except in that Liſt. (See p. 136.)

I will venture to promiſe that Man, who, for many Yeas paſt, hath been the avowed Enemy of this City and of this Common Council, that the *Rag-Dyers* will not change Colour; they have declared they will have this Man down, and the *Rag-Dyers* are Men of their Words.

SHALUM

SHALUM *and* HILPA: *Or, The* ANTEDILUVIAN NOVEL. *By Mr.* Price.

E'ER that the flood, with unreſiſted ſway,
Ruſh'd down from heav'n, and ſwept mankind away,
Zilpah (for ſo my author) liv'd on earth,
And from the loins of *Cobu* trac'd her birth.
Thrice fifty beauteous daughters ſhe could boaſt;
But the fair form of *Hilpa* pleas'd the moſt:
And when a girl of ſev'nty (ſuch her face,
So greatly bleſt with ev'ry blooming grace!)
A num'rous train of god-like youths eſſay'd
By various arts to win the matchleſs maid.
With theſe, inſpir'd, two rival-brothers came,
And each in diff'rent terms avow'd his flame.
Harpath, the elder, rul'd with kingly pride
O'er all that vale which runs by *Tirzah*'s ſide:
Tirzah, high hill! whoſe lofty top aſcends
Where op'ning *China* to the ſouth extends.
The neighb'ring ridges *Shalum* crown'd with trees,
Of ev'ry kind, to profit and to pleaſe;
And all that range of mountains call'd his own,
Which by the name of *Tirzah* ſtill is known.
Harpath was proud, by ev'ry paſſion mov'd;
Shalum was mild, by God and man belov'd.
Fame ſays, among the nymphs who liv'd of old
Cobu's fair daughters valu'd only gold;
So that the beauteous *Hilpa* with diſdain
Heard ev'ry vow, and *Shalum* ſigh'd in vain.
Harpath alone the lovely maid beheld
With gracious ſmiles, for he in wealth excell'd:
His ſpreading flocks and num'rous oxen ſtray'd
Thro' ev'ry field, and browz'd in ev'ry ſhade:
Copious they cover'd all the vale which lies
Near where the mountain firſt begins to riſe:
The fruitful vale each flowing ſtream receives,
That from its ſides breaks forth in ſilver waves.
Harpath prevail'd; for ſcarce the damſel told
A hundred years that ſince her birth had roll'd,
E'er ſhe confeſs'd what force is in the charms
Of pow'rful wealth, and yielded to his arms.
But he, by nature inſolently great,
Look'd down with ſcorn on *Shalum*'s humbler fate,
Who durſt, preſumptuous, court the matchleſs dame,
When nought but rocks and mountains he could claim.
Shalum enrag'd, and doom'd in tears to mourn
The much-lov'd fair from his embraces torn,
Pour'd out his curſes from his inmoſt ſoul,
And pray'd the largeſt of his hills might roul
On his inſulting brother's haughty head,
And in a moment ſend him to the dead.
Cautious and fearful, *Harpath* choſe to ſtay
Safe in his vale, and loiter life away.
But when two circling centuries were paſt,
And half the third, the man breath'd forth his laſt.
For as he fought in an unlucky hour,
(But who can fly from death's almighty pow'r?)
To reach a rapid river's fartheſt ſide,
Sudden he ſunk beneath the ſwelling tide.
Still to this day the river bears his name;
And what does moſt our admiration claim,
Iſſuing it riſes, to the ſight diſplay'd,
From one of thoſe large hills, which *Shalum* pray'd
Might cruſh his haughty brother's hated head,
And in a moment ſend him to the dead.
Full eight-ſcore years the beauteous *Hilpa* told;
(Far was that age, in thoſe good days, from old)
And only fifty children ſorrowing ſigh'd
Around their mother, when her *Harpath* dy'd.
How many a youth with conſtant paſſion ſtrove
To gain her friendſhip, and deſerve her love!
But none than *Shalum*, in his flame ſincere,
Was thought more likely to obtain the fair.
Ten tedious years at length were ſpent, and now
Once more he preſt her, and renew'd his vow:
Ten tedious years a widow liv'd retir'd;
For ſo the cuſtom of the times requir'd.
Shalum reſolv'd, and ſtudious to remove
The chief objection rais'd againſt his love,
Soon as her hand with *Harpath*'s ſhe had join'd,
Deck'd his tall hills with trees of ev'ry kind.
He knew the diff'rent nature of each ſoil,
And which wou'd beſt reward and crown his toil:
The valu'd ſecret *Adam* did impart,
And taught him ev'ry vegetable art.
Nor ſerv'd it only to unbend his mind;
Profit at length was with his pleaſure join'd:
For in few years his ſhaded mountains ſtood
All thick and cover'd with a riſing wood;
While verdant walks and flow'ry lawns between
With mingling gardens beautify'd the ſcene:
The country round its ſmiling viſage rear'd,
And like another paradiſe appear'd.
Pleas'd with young *Shalum*'s mild command, the ſwains
In joyful numbers left th' adjacent plains:
High on the mount with him they choſe to dwell;
Some digg'd the trench, while others ſunk the well,
Or bor'd the deſtin'd tree from ſpace to ſpace,
To ſcatter water thro' the ſpacious place.
And now the hills, beneath his righteous ſway,
Look'd every year more beautiful and gay:
Hilpa herſelf with ſilent wonder ſees
Each neighb'ring mountain thick with tufted trees,
That awful ſeem'd to threat the diſtant ſkies;
A glorious ſight to her admiring eyes!
China records a letter *Shalum* ſent,
To tell the widow'd fair his full intent:
Its firſt ſimplicity I ſhall purſue,
And conſtant keep th' original in view.

Shalum, *Maſter of Mount* Tirzah, *to* Hilpa, *Miſtreſs of the Vallies. In the 788th Year of the Creation.*

DAughter of *Zilpah!* how can I reveal
In equal words the mighty pain I feel?
Or how expreſs the torment of my mind,
Since to my rival thou haſt prov'd ſo kind?
No more the ſun with pleaſure I ſurvey;
Dull are his beams, and hateful is the day;

Far

Far from the object of my vows I rove,
And weep and wander in the gloomy grove.
These seventy years (nor hath it ought avil'd)
On *Tirzah*'s tops thy loss have I bewail'd;
And from the raging passion sought for ease,
By raising shades, and planting sacred trees.
Gay as is *Eden*, to the ravish'd eye
My verdant hills in beauteous prospect lie,
With various fruits and annual herbage crown'd,
That shed their fragrant odours all around.
Here op'ning flow'rs their painted sweets display,
To court thy senses, and invite thy stay:
There limpid streams run murm'ring to the sea;
And all the mountain is perfum'd for thee.
Come then, my fair! and be no longer coy;
How will thy heart exult with secret joy,
To view thy sprightly boys and blooming maids
Lead up the dance, in these delightful shades!
Think on the shortness of the life we boast,
Perhaps, an hour,—a thousand years at most:
But in few centuries our limbs decay,
And ev'ry youthful beauty dies away,
Like the tall cedar or the oak, which grow
(Rank above rank) on *Tirzah*'s lofty brow.
These too, my fair! must gradually consume,
And ne'er be known by those who are to come;
Unless from forth their aged roots shall rise
Another wood, and tow'r amidst the skies.
Reflect with coolness on the lines I send,
And think on *Shalum*, for he is thy friend.

She read, and secretly his suit approv'd;
The following answer seems to say she lov'd.

Her Answer, and the Remainder of the Poem shall be in our next.

To Mrs. BELCHER, *on viewing her curious* SHELL-WORK.

WHAT first demands our care, 'tis hard to tell,
Where all are wond'rous, and alike excel:
When diff'rent objects crowd upon the mind,
We with reluctance are to one confin'd.
So, when my eyes thy matchless work survey,
And by itself would every part display,
The finish'd picture rises to my view,
And what I give to all, to each is due.
The florist, thus, with curious eye, beholds
The various colours ev'ry plant unfolds;
Now the *carnation*, now the *ric'lus* charms,
And each by turns th' enamour'd fancy warms;
Till blended beauty ravishes the sight,
Greets ev'ry sense, and gives one full delight.
Who but would think such numbers must require
One age to find, another to admire?
Chose with such judgment, plac'd with so much art,
As beauty, unobserv'd till now, impart;
The lights and shades in such proportion fall,
As if a *Raphael* had design'd them all:
Nor could the scene more dazling bright appear.
Were all *Arabia*'s costly jewels there;
Or had you been possess'd of ev'ry stone,
Which glitters round an eastern monarch's throne. [glows,
Here breathes the *sapphire*, there the *topaz*
What various hue from yonder *opal* flows!
In every shell some precious gem's expreſt,
In one the *jacinth*, one the *amethyst*;
The fiery *granate*, and the *chrysolite*,
In some are temper'd by a *pearly* white;
With equal strength in others you descry
The starry lustre of *chalcedony*:
A thousand diff'rent charms, in diff'rent ways,
Unite and soften in a mingled blaze.
Arduous the task, unrival'd the design!
Such as no wit shall counterfeit, but thine.
O pious work! mankind are taught by thee
To trace the foot-steps of a deity; [wise,
Whilst every shell proclaims him great and
Which on the sunny beach neglected lies.
O wise employ! thy virtue thus made known,
Shall, with thy Maker's praises, blend thy own.
Her trifling conquests let *Clarinda* boast,
Sigh for brocades, be every coxcomb's toast.
Of dress and beaux let *Cælia* still be vain;
And *Coquetilla* lead the wanton train:
Far nobler transports are reserv'd for you,
Who sloth and want by arts and alms subdue,
And lift the wonders of the deep to view!
Behold, and blush, * *Juverna*'s heedless fair;
O think at least whose work your features are.
Shall balls and cards distinguish night and day,
And scandal wing the interval of tea?
Forbid it heav'n! such transient joys despise;
Exert yourselves, and emulate the wise:
Behold, and learn; and while our hearts you warm, [charm.
Extend his praise, who gave you power to

On Capt. L—NDS—Y's *Recovery from a Fit of Illness sometime ago at* Bath.

YE nymphs of *Albion*, cease to mourn,
The shepherd lives for whom you burn
For heav'n, indulgent to your pray'r,
Makes *L———y* its peculiar care.
Each healthful spring, at *Bath*, supplies
With fresher beams his sparkling eyes;
His cheeks with fresh vermilion glow,
Amidst the white of falling snow,
And free from sickness, free from pain,
His well turn'd limbs new vigour gain.
Ye sacred nine, his health proclaim,
And tune your lyres to *L——y*'s name:
L——y, who sends a fatal dart
To ev'ry beauteous virgin's heart;
To him they willing victims fall,
He conquers those, that conquer all.

* *Ireland* so call'd by *Juvenal*, *Solinus*, &c.

The LADY *of the* May: A MADRIGAL, *to* MYRA.

1.

PRETTY *wanton!* come away,
Lovers month is always *May*;
Long have I (too long to ſay,)
Su'd thee, *wanton thing*, to play:
But alas! and well-a-day,
When I *ſue*, you cry me, *nay.*
To requite my ling'ring ſtay,
Pay me now,—or never pay:
Nature ſmiles, and all is *gay*,
All is deck'd in beſt aray:
Pretty wanton! come away,
Let us *love* the *month* of *May.*

2.

Little wanton! let us rove
Thro' the fragrant *myrtle grove*;
There to hear the *turtle-dove*
Cooing *ſonnets* to its *love*:
(Ev'ry *turtle* equals *Jove*,
Tho' the *god* for *beauty* ſtrove.
Let *us* then our *time* improve)
Sonnets may your *ſcorn* remove;
Coyneſs doth not *thee* behove,
Wear the *wreath*, a *ſhepherd* wove;
Little wanton! let us rove
Thro' the fragrant *myrtle grove.*

3.

Prythee, *wanton!* come away,
Slight not *love* with cold *delay:*
Ev'ry *field* is green and gay,
Ev'ry *haw-thorn*'s crown'd with *May*;
Jocund *birds* on ev'ry ſpray
Warble out the live-long *day.*
Ev'ry *ſwain* in *ſhepherd's grey*
Tunes his fav'rite roundelay;
Tender *lambkins* ſportive ſtray,
Bloſſom-buds their *ſweets* diſplay:
Come, my *wanton!* come away,
And *love* all the *month* of *May.*

J. A. H.

PROLOGUE,

Spoken at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden, *on Occaſion of a Monument to be erected, by Contribution, to* SHAKESPEAR.

Written by Mr. *Theobald*, and ſpoken by Mr. *Ryan.*

[*The Curtain drawn up to ſolemn Muſick, ſhews the Stage in Mourning.*

METhinks, to-night, I caſt my eyes around
With awe, and ſeem to tread on hallow'd ground;
The vaulted ſcene aſſumes a gloom of dread,
Like that, where ſleep the venerable dead:
And you, a pious train, in pleas'd array,
Are rang'd—the ſolemn obſequies to pay.
Immortal *Shakeſpear!* we thy claim admit;
For, like thy *Cæſar*, *thou art mighty yet!*
Thy ſpirit walks abroad; and at our hands
The honorary tomb, thy right, demands.—
That debt is paid; and, to thy mem'ry juſt,
We preſs to execute the pious truſt.
Faſt riſe the marble, and long laſt the pile,
O'er which thy venerable buſt ſhall ſmile!
A long reſpect muſt guard the ſacred tomb,
Where flatt'ry's tongue is mute, and envy dumb.
Britons, with virtuous pride your merit know;
You've done, what kings, of old, were fond to do:
Then, when the poet died, the monarch mourn'd;
And, by command, his aſhes were inurn'd.
The due reſpect, you've in this tribute ſhewn,
Beſpeaks the poet's worth, and crowns your own:
And, haply, hence ſhall ſpring new tragic rage,
And diſtant *Shakeſpears* riſe to charm the ſtage.
What muſe can languiſh, who may hope to boaſt
A fame freſh-blooming at the publick coſt?
For the dead bard, receive our thanks and praiſe;
And make us ſharers in the tomb you raiſe.
Ye fair, who have diſtinguiſh'd favours ſhewn,
And made this poet's patronage your own;
Urge thoſe, whoſe gen'rous hearts confeſs your ſway,
To follow, where your virtues point the way:
Then think, this pile his honour'd bones contains,
And frequent viſit—here—the lov'd remains.

The FALSE MORNING.

THE morning roſe bright as a blooming bride,
Fluſh'd with enjoyment, from her lover's ſide;
So warm for winter, and ſo like the ſpring,
I thought to hear the fooliſh cuckow ſing:
But ſee how ſoon the bleſſing turn'd a curſe,
The weather and the ways, grew worſe and worſe;
The clouds look ſullen in the faithleſs ſkies,
And winds, like jealouſy, in murmurs riſe.
Sometimes a flatt'ring minute ſeem'd to ſmile,
But laſted, but a very little while.
Such is the morning of a married life,
But ſuch the dirty journey with a wife.

A SONG.

NOT, *Cælia*, that I'm more ſincere,
Or am leſs apt to rove,
Do I a heart ſo faithful bear,
So conſtant in its love.
'Faith, my *Cælia*, like the reſt,
From fair to fair I'd range,
But that it's more my intereſt
Still to love on than change.
All charms, which others recommend,
In thee alone I find;
Beauty and temper kindly blend
The handſome, and the kind.

Then

Then why ſhou'd I inconſtant prove?
Why other nymphs purſue?
When here I have all I cou'd love,
'Tis prudence to be true.

Upon a BIRD *that died on a young* LADY's *Boſom.*

HAPPY bird, to *Chloe* dear!
Happy, for whom ſhe ſhed a tear!
You alone her heart could move,
With ſweeteſt notes of tender love;
Nor e'er deſir'd to be free,
B eſt thro' the loſs of liberty;
In her ſight to prune thy wing,
O'er her charms to hop and ſing.
When life could no longer laſt,
And thy little ſpan was paſt,
She, ſuch kindneſs to repay,
Grateful for thy pleaſing lay,
Plac'd thee on her downy breaſt,
Softer than the ſofteſt neſt,
There to take thy lateſt reſt.
What more can man himſelf deſire,
Than thus to live, and thus expire!

To FLORELLA, *on her working an Apron, beautifully adorn'd with Flowers, &c.*

HOW great your ſkill! that you can here reſtore,
What your firſt fatal mother loſt before;
Not readier, *Chaos* the dread word obey'd,
You wave your hand, and paradiſe is made.
Your tender plants at firſt appearance bloom;
And all is ſpring, where'er your fingers come.
By this we prove your power truly great,
You kill at pleaſure, as you here create.
Not *Juno*'s bird can brighter glories ſhew;
That nature painted, this is drawn by you,
Bright as the goddeſs, and as pow'rful too.
The birds neglect to ſing their wonted love,
And leave the wood, to warble in your grove,
And as they ſeem to perch upon a ſpray,
With ſhame confus'd they ſwiftly haſte away.
Deluding ſhow! that your exchanting art
Shou'd baffle nature of its chiefeſt part.
So *Zeuxis*' birds ſnatch'd at falſe grapes in vain,
And *L—gl—y*'s flowers play the cheat again;
Thoſe grapes, 'tis true, deceiv'd the birds, but then
Theſe flow'rs deceive, not only birds, but men.
Shou'd fair *Narciſſus* view thy fairer ſkill,
(*Narciſſus* once, but now a *Daffodil,*) [ſtate,
Conſcious 'twould pine, and change its ſecond
As once for love, ſo now 'twould die for hate.
This is a glorious paradiſe to view,
But the true paradiſe is plac'd in you:
O! may no winter to your beauties come,
And may they, like your flowers, ever bloom.

ALEXIS.

To Mrs. BR——KE *of* Norwich.

SOft as thy ſong, could the fond muſe impart
The charms of ſound, or praiſe a ſiſter art,
Paint the gay bliſs, which from thy muſick ſprings,
Or ſpeak the joy, when fair *Chriſtania* ſings,
In ev'ry heart thy pow'r ſhould ſtand confeſt,
And the ſoft tranſport ſwell each feeling breaſt:
No longer *Rome* ſhould brave the *Britiſh* plain,
Nor firſt in fame a *Farinelli* reign:
Tho' great his pow'r, yet rear'd on art alone,
'Tis not for him to fix the vocal throne;
While worth like thine, the grateful verſe ſhall raiſe,
Or *Br——ke* and nature tune the ſoul to praiſe.

J. F

COUNTRY INNOCENCE: *Or, The* RURAL REPAST. [*Continued from p.* 200.]

WHen, in the charming month of *May*,
The proſpect round appearing gay,
Sweet *Flora*, (tho' not clad in ſilk,)
Trips o'er the verdant mead, to *milk*,
With pleaſing air, and nimble tread,
And well-ſcour'd pail upon her head;
What eye can unaffected gaze?
What tongue forbear to ſpeak her praiſe?
Such various charms, ſo void of art,
May juſtly warm a lover's heart.
But, ah!—if thus our boſom glows,
When *Flora* haſtes to milk her cows,
How does the flame more fiercely burn,
When *Galatea* goes to *churn!*
How does her fair and beauteous face
Abound with *bluſhes!*—(ſign of *grace:*)
How, her apparel pleaſe the ſight,
(Emblem of *innocence,*) all *white!*
How, how does ev'ry thing conſpire
To ſet beholders all on fire!
She, firſt, with briſk, repeated da'h,
The *churn*, within, begins to waſh:
(Tho' ſweet before, I'll paſs my word,
And white, without, as any curd,)
Which, now made cool, as well as clean,
The charmer goes to fetch the *ſtean*;—
Large vaſe, that thro' her care and pains,
Good ſtore of clotted *cream* contains.
With lovely, ſtrong, uplifted arm,
(A ſight, that would an hermit charm!)
Into the *churn*, ſhe ſtraight does pour
The clutt'ring, conglobated ſhow'r.
The *lid* pegg'd down, prepar'd ſhe ſtands;—
Her pure, plump, healthful-looking hands
Upon the ſturdy *ſtaff* ſoon ſeize,
And exerciſe the ſame with eaſe.
With graceful air, and good intent,
This analyzing implement,
While, up and down, ſhe briſkly moves,
Unnumber'd *ſylphs*, and little *loves*,
Fly round, and eagerly inveſt
Her beauteous *face*, and *neck*, and *breaſt*.
Some on the *churn-ſtaff* perch:—and ſome,
To ride upon her arms, do come;
(Endearing, ſweet, enchanting woman!)
Which keep, now *triple-time*, now *common*.

Her heaving *bubbies* too advance,
And join in the delightful dance.
And, while her hands the cream thus ſhake up,
Her lab'ring lungs the *concert* make up.
O!—what a curious clitter-clatter
'Midſt all this *flow'r* of *milky matter*,
What a rare, rumbling, jumbling noiſe
Is heard, while thus the work ſhe plies!
A *ſound*—(pray, think me not too partial,)
Than that of *rub-a-dub*, more martial:
Nay,—(not incurring *Argyle*'s anger,)
Than the ſhrill *trumpet*'s loudeſt *clangor*.
A *ſound*,—that does to *love* invite us,
And not, to *murder* folk, incite us:—
Fills not the heart with dire *alarms*;
But, with ſweet *conſolation*, charms.
What wag, that *ſees* ſuch moving ſtrokes,
Can long forbear his am'rous jokes?
What wretch, that *bears* the *ſound*, can mourn?
'Tis ſaid,—*there's comfort in the churn.*
What mortal, now, can longer bear
To hear *Sonnetta* ſcream an air?
Or, who admire—(there's nothing in it!)
Proud *Giga* tinkling on her ſpinnet?
When the pale, town-bred, tawdry laſs,
Is blund'ring at a thorough baſs,
I'm really fill'd with great ſurprize,
That any ſhou'd endure the noiſe.
Compare it with the *churning-art*,
And 'tis not worth one ſingle f—t.
From ſimple words, I can't refrain:
But, (troth!) I love, ſir, to be plain.
When once the charming *churn* appears,
And the clean girl delights our ears,
The *cream* thus nimbly *agitating*,
All other muſick then ſeems grating.
Nor is this all;—(as ſhall be ſhewn;)
Not to our *eyes* and *ears* alone,—
What's pleaſing, too, to other *ſenſes*,
Good *Galatea*'s art diſpenſes.
Our *noſes* of the charms partake,
Of the melodious, manly *ſhake*.
Proceed we therefore now to tell
Of that moſt dear, delicious *ſmell*,
The chearing *churn* in plenty yields,
While ſhe the ſtaff ſo ſtoutly wields.
None can expreſs the grateful *odour*,
That's caus'd by all this pretty pudder,
When thus the cream ſo well is ſhook:
But,—when the *lid* quite off is took,—
O!—what a glorious, ſweet *perfume*
Perceive we up and down the room!
What a rare, aromatick *ſcent*
Riſes,—while ſhe, with finger bent,
Stroaks down the *churn!*--quite thro' the houſe,
How does it, then, itſelf diffuſe!
And, now, the damſel, (never ſlow,)
Follows her ſweet, repeated blow.
So luſtily ſhe lays about,
That we ſecurely may, (no doubt,)
Now promiſe to her *arms* ſucceſs,
And ſoon expect a glorious *meſs*.
Soon may we ſtuff our bleſt abdomens:
Hark, and behold the happy omens!
The *daſher* cloſely now embrac'd,
Sticks, in the clinging cream ſo faſt,
That ev'ry riſe portends a fall,
And lifts up *cream*, and *churn*, and *all*.
A few more ſtrokes the *ſtaff* unfetter:
See!—the brave girl has got the better.
The *buttermilk* begins to plaſh;
And the *new butter* cries,—*come, waſh!*

[*To be continued.*]

The Rev. Mr. De C——R's *Advice to a Clergyman in* S——Y.

YE rectors, vicars, all draw near,
And hear the counſels of *De C——r*:
De C——r, with ſaving knowledge fraught,
Once op'd his mouth, and thus he taught.
Would you, my friend, increaſe your ſtore,
And ſhun the ſin of being poor;
Be your acquaintance very few,
Forſake your old, and ſeek not new:
No ſplendid feaſts to friends afford,
And ne'er let plenty crowd your board:
Nor keep your cellars ſtock'd with liquors,
Leſt that ſhou'd tempt your neighbouring vicars
To come by way of friendly viſit,
To aſk you frequently, *How is it?*
For vicars love, ſir, to reſort
To houſes that are ſtock'd with port,
Like bees about a pot of honey,
Or ſharpers round a cull with money.
But if by chance ſome friends ſhould come,
And catch you unawares at home;
Complain, you unprepar'd are taken,
And let them dine on eggs and bacon.
For liquor when you come to call,
Be ſure your bottles be but ſmall:
One pint at once may well ſuffice,
Nor grudge the pains of calling twice:
For this is done, ſir, with deſign
To ſpend the time and ſave the wine.
So bankers, when men draw too faſt,
That they may make their money laſt,
And find occaſion of delay,
In coin of ſmalleſt value pay:
And this they've often found expedite,
To ſtop their duns, and ſave their credit.
Would you in church advanced be,
And ſoon arrive at dignity;
Shun th' odious name of orthodox,
As ſailors do quickſands and rocks:
For this ſee *W—rl—d* his caſe,
Who for his learning's in diſgrace;
While *C—k*, the eſſay writer, lives
In expectation of lawn ſleeves.
In politicks be alamode,
This to preferment is the road:
Toaſt *W——le*'s health, where'er you dine,
As well becomes a good divine.
Sir *W——m* next does claim the glaſs,
And eke his ſon, who is no aſs:
And may the borough ſtill have grace,
To chuſe theſe two of noble race.

Sure *B—ne* will not preſume t' oppoſe
Such bright, ſuch doughty wights as thoſe.
B—ne has his merit, that is own'd,
Good ſenſe, good nature's in him found;
But then, all's loſt in oppoſition,
And publick-ſpirited ambition:
Armies he'll hate, at place-men flout, ſir,
And with them always make a rout, ſir;
And therefore he will never thrive,
Nor can he ſerve one friend alive.
But here I leave politick ſtrife,
T' inſtruct you in domeſtick life.
If pariſh duty be obdurate,
And you are forc'd to keep a curate,
Before you give the drudge admittance,
Allow him but a ſlender pittance;
His meat and lodging you'll provide,
And give him ſome ſmall ſum beſide:
But let him not be highly fed,
High life may chance to turn his head.
When you and ſpouſe on dainties fare,
For him ſome coarſer food prepare;
And if with wine you ſhould regale,
Let him have nought but humble ale;
And thus you always will be ſure
To keep him fit to ſerve your cure:
If you by chance ſhould be o'ertaken,
Away goes drudge, and ſaves your bacon.
So country 'ſquire, who loves *October*,
Commands his coachman to be ſober:
Thomas, who moderates the reins,
Muſt ne'er intoxicate his brains;
But 'ſquire, who lolls in coach at eaſe,
May get as drunk as e'er he pleaſe.
Wou'd time permit, I cou'd impart
More ſecrets of the ſaving art;
As when to gather tythe, or let it,
Or how, when money's due, to get it.
But lo! the morning wears apace,
Adieu.—I muſt attend his Grace.

To Mr. COMMON SENSE.

Political Club, May the 1ſt, 1739.

SIR,

The following Lines were the Production of a few Hours in this Society; our Hearts being loaded with Care at the reading your laſt Journal, one of the Club produced the third and laſt Heat of the *European Race*, which immediately removed our Melancholy; ſo we agreed to club Couplets by Way of Explanation.

C—t authors may ſcribble and ſcribble agen,
Till they've exhauſted their fire and blunted their pen;
And ſcour and ſcour to obliterate ſpots, [blots.
From paper, like muſick, that's cover'd with
I hope they will own, tho' they ſcribble for hire,
The true *Engliſh* breed has loſt all its fire,
And *B—a*'s neglected the trophy that's nigh her.
The ſword, which has formerly been her defender, [tinder;
May now ſerve as ſteel, and her flags to make
Her ſhips now in harbour, are peſter'd with rats,
Which live upon plunder defying the cats:
Her heart is blown up in the air, like a rocket,
While a *Frenchman* and *Spaniard* is picking her pocket:
Her ſailors not troubled a reckoning to keep,
And boys that were wakeful are now faſt aſleep.
Don *Seb.* to remove the bone of contention,
Adviſes don *B——n* to take down the c——n.
Then drop your complaints, and let enmity ceaſe,
I'm ſure we may ſay, we have purchas'd a p—.

From the Craftſman.

To a LADY, *with Mr.* WALSH's *Defence of* WOMEN.

FAcetious *Walſh* hath here with poliſh'd art,
Defended nature's moſt conſummate part;
Whilſt in his finiſh'd pages ſhine diſplay'd
The prudent matron, and the learned maid.
See where *Chriſtina*, *Sweden*'s crown reſign'd,
With philoſophic gems adorns her mind,
'Midſt *ſycophants* and *fools* diſdains to dwell,
Flies from the *palace*, and enjoys the *cell*.
Here *Boadicia Britain*'s foes purſues, [rues.
And *Rome* in ſanguine ſtreams her vengeance
Now fam'd *Eliza* triumphs on the main,
And blaſts the projects of aſpiring *Spain*;
Aſſerts a real empire o'er the waves,
And *Philip* with unerring thunder braves.
Here, whilſt freſh wreaths immortal *Naſſau* gains,
Queen of all hearts ador'd *Maria* reigns;
Her heroe's toils with manly ſpirit ſhares,
Augments his glory, and divides his cares.
See, *Zara*, ſee what graces women boaſt;
With what bright rays they gild *Britannia*'s coaſt!
Nor decks ſuperior virtue *courts* alone;
A *rural village* vaunts, with pride—*your own*.
Would, copying *you*, our females mend their lives,
The world would view, with envy, *Britiſh* wives;
Reclaim'd mankind would act by wiſdom's rules,
And *women* prove the ſcorn of none--but fools;
Woman, fair angel, of ætherial birth,
No *Walſh* would need to vindicate her worth!

POSTSCRIPT.

The late ingenious Mr. *Walſh*, in the Cloſe of his juſtly celebrated Defence of the *fair Sex*, hath the following Paſſage, which I think not unapplicable to a *certain Gentleman* now living.

" We ought to deſpiſe all thoſe *little Pre-*
" *tenders to Buſineſs*, who thruſt themſelves
" into the Management of Affairs, againſt
" every Body's Will but their own; and having
" neither Virtue, nor Prudence enough to re-
" tire from it, *at the univerſal Murmurs of*
" *the People*, are generally made Sacrifices,
" at the laſt, to the juſt Reſentment of an
" enraged Nation—Theſe are thoſe *blazing*
" *Comets*, whoſe fatal Glories portend De-
" ſtruction to a Government."

SONG,

S O N G.

FORGIVE, my *Silvia*, if I ſtrove
To free my heart from fruitleſs love,
'Twas what your coldneſs made me do;
Be you but kind,
And you ſhall find,
Your faithful ſhepherd will be true.

As ſlaves who fight for liberty,
Oft but confirm their ſlavery;
So tho' I ſtrove to break my chain,
And tho' I ſwore
I'd love no more,
The vain attempt confirms your reign.

Since thus, my fair, you rule my fate,
At leaſt in pity do not hate;
Like a good prince your pow'r employ,
The pow'r you have,
O! uſe to ſave,
Not, like a tyrant, to deſtroy.

M A R C O.

MARCO with ſtarch ſolemnity,
Doth ev'ry thing by rule;
Yet ſpite of forms, and gravity,
All who have ſenſe muſt plainly ſee,
Marco is but a fool.

So, I have known, with widow air,
And dreſt in black all o'er,
Corinna go to ev'ning pray'r,
Yet all who ſaw *Corinna* there,
Cry'd,—look! d'ye ſee the whore.

To Venus, *in the Character of* Florella, *an* ANAGRAM *on mending a* Glove.

IF from the *Glove* you take the G,
It turns to *Love*, the *ſon of thee*:
So L from *Love*, and take in D,
Out flies a *Dove*, the *bird* of *thee*.
To G and D put O between,
Of *that* make *me*, of which thou'rt *queen*.
Shou'd that ſeem vain to wiſh in *me*,
I'll wiſh again, to wiſh for *thee*.
Add D before the O and G,
Still I'll adore, and *bark* for *thee*.
Put H before the O and G,
I'll ſnort, and ſnore, and *grunt* for *thee*.
H ſtands for *H*——, ſuppoſe him prince,
He'll join the — ceſs, and take *thee* hence.
He'll couple *Love* and *Dove* together,
And fly above the L—d knows whither.

From the GREEK.

Στέφος πλέκων πόθ' εὗρον, &c.

AS once a flow'ry wreath I wove
To deck the head of her I love,
Cupid, that urchin god, I found
Aſleep, with bluſhing roſes round:
Straight by the wings I caught him up,
And ſows'd him headlong in my cup,
Then drank him down.—Too raſhly blind!
For ſoon the dire effect I find:
Thro' every part the wanton ſtings,
And tickles with his little wings.

NIGRINUS.

To a LADY, *on her* PICTURE.

MEAN beauties, the kind pencil's aid deſire,
Defects to loſe, and graces to acquire; [ſight.
Their *pictures*, not their *perſons*, charm the
Original and *copy*, here are bright;
Your charms the pow'r of flatt'ring arts tranſcend; [mend.
Nor hand, nor thought, can perfect beauty

P. M—tt—x.

The Orders of his Excellency R—— N——, *Eſq; Governor General of the Diverſions at* Bath.

SOME come here for pleaſure, and others for health; [wealth;
Some come here to ſquander, and ſome to get
To theſe all our ſubjects, here merrily meeting,
We governor *N*—— do ſend out our greeting.
Whereas it to us has been fully made known,
Some queer folks preſume to have wills of their own, [as theſe,
And think, when they come to ſuch places
They've unlimited licenſe to do as they pleaſe;
Whence frequent diſorders do daily ariſe:
To prevent ſuch abuſes whate'er in us lies,
We publiſh theſe rules, conſider'd at leiſure,
And expect due obſervance; *for ſuch is our pleaſure.*

When you firſt come to *Bath*, in whatever condition, phyſician;
Whether ſick or in health, you muſt have a
As they'll equally take inordinate fees;
You are at your own liberty; chuſe whom you pleaſe!
The doctor will find there is abſolute need,
That friend *Jerry Price* muſt be ſent for to bleed;
Next, ſome drops or ſome pills prepar'd with due care,
To prevent all infection from water or air;
Then drink at the pump, or bathe without fear.
When you firſt ſally out there are different calls,
At *Hayes*'s, or *Lovelace*'s, money for balls;
As nought in this world is done without bribe,
Leake, *Sinnot*, or *Morgan*, expect you'll ſubſcribe:
When this part is over, then live at your eaſe;
Game, drink, or fornicate, juſt as you pleaſe:
When your money is ſpent, march off without trouble, [bubble.
Secure, who comes next, will be juſt the ſame

The Motto to the Play of EDWARD and ELEONORA.

SUSPICIONE ſi quis errabit ſua,
Et rapiet ad ſe quod erit commune omnium,
Stulte nudabit animi conſcientiam.

PHÆDRUS.

THE conſcious wretch, whoſe black ſuſpicion raves,
And what is common claims as his, alone,
Invades the general privilege of knaves,
And by his *folly* makes his *knavery* known.

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 27th of laſt Month, came on at *Dublin* the Trial of the Rt. Hon. *Henry Barry*, Lord Baron of *Santry*, for the Murder of *Laughlin Murphy*, a Running Footman, and formerly his Father's Servant, in *Auguſt* laſt at *Palmerſtown* Fair. About 8 in the Morning, his Lordſhip was brought to the Parliament-Houſe, the Ax being carried before him. At 10 the Lord Chancellor, Lord High Steward on this Occaſion, went thither in State, firſt to the Houſe of Lords, and from thence in Proceſſion to the Commons Houſe, the Place appointed for the Trial, which began about 11, and laſted till 6 in the Evening; when the Lords, 23 in Number, unanimouſly pronounc'd him Guilty; after which, Sentence was given for his Execution, and his Lordſhip was guarded by a Company of Soldiers to Newgate. The Lady Dowager *Santry*, with ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction embark'd for *England*, to ſolicit his Majeſty's Pardon for the ſaid Lord: And ſeveral Lords preſented a Memorial to the Lords Juſtices, to be tranſmitted to his Majeſty for that Purpoſe, Lord *Santry* being, it is ſaid, very young, and the laſt of the Family.

The *Weſtern* Mail was robb'd on the 28th of laſt Month, by a ſingle Highwayman, near *Sherbourn* in *Dorſetſhire*. He was apprehended a few Days after in *Devonſhire*, and committed to *Exeter* Goal.

THURSDAY, May 3.

A Meſſage was deliver'd to the Hon. Houſe of Commons from his Majeſty, relating to a Proviſion for his Royal Highneſs the Duke, and the Princeſſes.

'Tis ſaid, that upon the King's Demiſe, a Parliamentary Proviſion will take Place for their Royal Highneſſes, the Duke of *Cumberland*, the Princeſſes *Amelia*, *Carolina*, *Louiſa*, and *Mary*, (in caſe they ſurvive) ſettling on the Duke 15,000*l.* yearly, and on each of the ſaid Princeſſes 6000*l.* yearly.

SATURDAY, 5.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the 8 following receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Abr. Naſh*, for robbing Mr. *King* on the Highway between *Kenſington* and *Knightſbridge*. —*Jane Smith*, for picking the Pocket of Mr. *Spragg* of a gold Watch.—*Rich. Sedgwick*, for Horſe-ſtealing.—*Rich. Tobin*, for robbing *Michael Croſby*, a Drawer, in the Fields near the *London-Spaw*.—*John Trotter*, for ſtealing out of Mr. *Doughty's* Shop a large Quantity of Linen Goods. (He was recommended by the Jury for Mercy.)—*Abr. Wells*, the Butcher at *Enfield* (who was convicted of Perjury on *Bonner* the Highwayman's Trial) and *Daniel Wells*, for Horſe-ſtealing. There were three Indictments likewiſe againſt them for Sheep-ſtealing.—*John Stevens*, for ſtealing a ſilver Tankard, the Property of *Edward Plummer*. Four were burnt in the Hand, and 47 order'd for Tranſportation.

THURSDAY, 10.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majeſty being truly ſolicitous for the Peace and Welfare of theſe Kingdoms, and deſirous to contribute, as far as in him lies, towards preſerving the publick Tranquillity, and the Balance of Power in *Europe*, has concluded with the King of *Denmark* a Treaty, agreeable to that which expired in 1737, and has ordered the ſame to be laid before this Houſe; that he may have their Support, and Concurrence, in making good the Engagements which he has thereby entered into.

And as Events may happen, during ſuch Time, as it may be impoſſible for his Majeſty to have the immediate Advice and Aſſiſtance of his great Council, upon any Emergency, ariſing from the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Europe*, which may nearly concern the Honour, Intereſt, and Safety of theſe Kingdoms; he hopes he ſhall be ſupported by his Parliament, in making ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may become abſolutely neceſſary; and in concerting ſuch Meaſures, as the Exigency of Affairs may require: And whatever Augmentations ſhall be made, or Services performed, an Account thereof ſhall be laid before the Parliament at their next Seſſion.

SATURDAY, 12.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to expreſs the grateful Senſe we have of your Majeſty's Royal Care and Attention for the Peace and Welfare of theſe Kingdoms, and for preſerving the publick Tranquillity, and the Balance of Power in *Europe*.

At the ſame Time, permit us to return your Majeſty our humble Thanks, for having concluded a Treaty of defenſive Alliance with the

the King of *Denmark*, and for having ordered the ſame to be laid before us; and to aſſure your Majeſty of our Concurrence and Support, in making good the Engagements which you have thereby entered into.

We alſo beſeech your Majeſty, to accept the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that we will zealouſly and cheerfully ſupport your Majeſty, in making ſuch further Augmentation of your Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may become abſolutely neceſſary, by Reaſon of any Emergency, ariſing from the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Europe*, which may nearly concern the Honour, Intereſt, and Safety of theſe Kingdoms; and in concerting ſuch Meaſures, as the Exigency of Affairs may require.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I *Take this Addreſs, as a real Mark of your Zeal and Affection for my Perſon and Government. You may depend upon it, that the Confidence, which you repoſe in me, ſhall be made uſe of, with the ſtricteſt Regard to the true Intereſts of my People.*

Came on this Morning, at the Court of *King's Bench* at *Weſtminſter*, a Trial at Bar upon four Iſſues directed out of the Court of Chancery, relating to the laſt Will and Teſtament of *Richard Norton*, late of *Southwick* in the County of *Southampton*, Eſq; deceas'd, * which laſted till between 5 and 6 on Sunday Morning, when a ſpecial Jury, conſiſting of Gentlemen of the County of *Southampton*, found in favour of the Defendants, *viz.*

1. That the Will was not duly executed within the Intent of the Statute of 29 *Charles* II. for preventing Frauds and Perjuries.

2. That the Codicil to the Will was not duly executed.

3. That Mr. *Norton* was not of a ſound Mind at the Time of making his Will.

4. That he was not of a ſound Mind at the Time of making the Codicil.

The Plaintiffs were *Nicholas Paxton*, and *John Lawton*, Eſqrs. on Behalf of the Crown; and *Francis Thiſtlethwaite Whitehead*, Eſq; and others, Defendants. The Counſel for the Plaintiffs were, the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Serjeant *Eyres*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Mr. *Noell*, Mr. *Lloyd*, and Mr. *Talbot*; for the Defendants, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Bootle*, Mr. *Wilbraham*, Mr. *Gundry*, Mr. *Murray*, and Mr. *Denniſſon*.

This Day came on at *Edinburgh*, the Election of a Peer to ſerve in Parliament for *Scotland*, in the Room of the late Earl of *Selkirk*, when the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Morton* was unanimouſly choſen.

THURSDAY, 24.

This being the Anniverſary of the Birth-Day of his Highneſs Prince *George*, eldeſt Son to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, there was a prodigious Concourſe of Nobility, Quality, and Gentry, at *Norfolk-Houſe*, to congratulate their Royal Highneſſes on the happy Occaſion. Sixty Youths, under 12 Years of Age, Sons of eminent Citizens, having formed themſelves into a Lilliputian Company of Foot Soldiers in proper military Cloathing, were brought in Hackney Coaches to *Norfolk-Houſe*; where the Prince order'd them to alight and enter; they march'd in accordingly with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Muſick playing before them; they were admitted into the great Drawing Room, and had the Honour to kiſs the Hands of Prince *George*, Prince *Edward*, and the Princeſs *Auguſta*; the former had a Hat and Feather with a Cockade. After they had perform'd their Exerciſe, their Captain, Maſter *Warman*, (Son of Mr. *Warman*, who was concern'd in the Fire-works at the Chriſtning of the ſaid Prince) humbly requeſted of his Royal Highneſs that Prince *George* might be their Colonel, which his Royal Highneſs, according to his wonted Good-nature, p'eaſantly comply'd with; upon which the Colours were left in the Poſſeſſion of the young Prince. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* ordered them to be entertain'd at the *Glouceſter*-Tavern in *Pall-Mall*, and afterwards to be carefully conducted home to their Parents.

WEDNESDAY, 30.

The Birth-Day of their Royal Highneſſes, the Princeſſes *Amelia* and *Caroline*, was celebrated, when the former enter'd into the 29th, and the latter into the 27th Year of her Age.

Two of the 8 condemn'd Malefactors were this Day executed at Tyburn, *viz. Rich. Tobin*, and *Abraham Wells*. *Trotter* was pardon'd, and the other 5 repriev'd for Tranſportation; *Naſh* but the Day before. *Child* the Highwayman, condemn'd laſt *January*, was alſo pardon'd.

By Letters from the *Weſt-Indies*, dated in *February* laſt, we have an Account, that Capt. *Reddiſh*, commanding one of his Majeſty's Ships of War, ſtanding into Port St. *Piers* in *Martinique*, was haled by the Captain of a *French* Ship, who told him, *That as he had the Honour to command a Man of War belonging to the King of* France, *he muſt not anchor there without his Leave*; to which Capt. *Reddiſh* reply'd, *That as he had the Honour to command a Man of War belonging to the King of* Great Britain, *he would anchor there, when and where he pleas'd; and that if he thought fit to diſpute it, he would fall a long Side of him immediately.* Some *Barbadoes* Gentlemen, then at *Martinique*, coming off to wait on Capt. *Reddiſh*, the *French* Man of War's Boat, that was rowing from the Shore to the Ship, took the

* *See the Copy of his Will, in which he makes the Parliament his Executors, in the* London Magazine *for* February, 1733.

the *Barbadians*, and carried them on board the *French* Man of War; whereupon Capt. *Reddiſh* ſent his Lieutenant to demand inſtant Satisfaction for the Inſult done to the King of *Great Britain*'s Subjects, even under the Noſe of one of his Ships of War. On this the *French* Captain diſown'd any Orders of his to the Officer in the Boat, reprimanded him for meddling with the Gentlemen, and made him aſk their Pardon; and thus the whole Matter ended, intirely to the Honour of our Captain, and to the Satisfaction of us all; who with to hear the *antient Engliſh Language ſpoke on board our Ships.*

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

DR. *Ballard*, of *Steeple-Langford*, *Wilts*, to Miſs *Fanny Goring*, Daughter to Sir *Harry Goring*, Bart.

Sir *Alexander M'Donald* of *Slate*, Bart. to Lady *Peggy Montgomery*, Siſter to the Earl of *Eglinton*.

Mr. *Butler*, of *Braintree* in *Eſſex*, to Miſs *Rogers* of the ſame Place.

Tho. Lennard Barret, Eſq; to Miſs *Anna Maria Pratt*, Daughter of the late L. C. J. *Pratt*.

Mr. *Joſeph Pickering*, of the middle Temple, to Miſs *Freer* of *Lewiſham*.

Capt. *Stapleton*, a *Weſt-India* Commander, to Miſs *Hinckley* of *Poplar*.

Sir *Robert Eden*, Bart. to Miſs *Daviſon*.

Tho. Apreece, Eſq; to Miſs *Endfield* of *Soho*.

Henry Holt Henley, Eſq; to Miſs *Hare*, an Heireſs of 15,000*l*, Fortune.

Dr. *Bedford*, an eminent Phyſician of this City, to Miſs *Smart*.

Mr. *Robert Radcliffe*, an eminent Attorney in *Thames-ſtreet*, to Miſs *Lawrence*, an Heireſs of 10,000*l*. Fortune.

The Lady of *Auguſtus Schutz*, Eſq; Privy-Purſe to his Majeſty, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of the Lord Viſc. *Andover*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Berkſhire*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of Baron *Stambourg*, chief Secretary of State here for the Affairs of *Hanover*, alſo ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

Counteſs of *Drogheda*, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

CHARLES *Forman*, Eſq; who ſerv'd in the War-Office in Q. *Anne*'s and the Beginning of K. *George* Iſt's Reign, and was afterwards Secretary to Mr. *Law*, Comptroller-General of the Finances in *France*. He was Author of ſeveral Political Pieces and Letters, ſign'd CAMILLUS.

Sir *James Elphinſton*, of *Logie*, Bart. Advocate in *Scotland*.

Rev. Mr. *Richard Daniel*, Dean of *Down* in *Ireland*, Author of ſeveral Poetical Pieces.

Rt. Hon. *George Montague*, Earl of *Halifax*, Viſcount *Sunbury*, and Baron *Halifax*, Auditor of the Exchequer, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the *Bath*, Chief Ranger of *Salcey* Foreſts in the Counties of *Northampton* and *Bucks*, and of *Buſhy* Park in *Middleſex*.

Capt. *Brett*, one of the Elder-Brothers of the Trinity-Houſe.

Dr. *Hollings*, Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

Sir *Wilfrid Lawſon*, Bart. a Minor.

Sir *Tho. Moncrief*, Bart. at *Glaſgow*.

Mr. *Tho. Cox*, formerly an eminent Grocer in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, one of the People call'd Quakers, and Father to the Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of *Peterborough*, and the Rt. Hon. the Lady Dowager *Preſton*.

Aged above 80, the Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of *Stafford*, Great Aunt to the preſent Earl.

Humphrey Gore, Eſq; Col. of the King's own Royal Reg. of Dragoons, *&c.*

Sir *Roger Moſtyn*, Bart. for many Years Knight of the Shire for the County of *Flint*. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, now Sir *Thomas Moſtyn*, Bart.

Jeremiah Dummer, Eſq; formerly Agent here for *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay in *New England*.

Joſeph Nutt, Eſq; formerly an eminent Brewer at *Execution-Dock*.

Rev. Mr. *Welchman*, Archdeacon of *Cardigan*, Prebendary of *Litchfield*, and Rector of *Solihull* in *Warwickſhire*.

Rev. Mr. *Sherman*, Rector of *Starton* in *Northamptonſhire*.

Andrew Smart, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the County of *Suſſex*.

Lady *Courtney*, Aunt to the preſent Sir *William Courtney*, Bart.

Capt. *Hamilton*, of the Foot-Guards.

Rev. Dr. *Anderſon*, a noted Diſſenting Miniſter, Author of the *Royal Genealogical Tables*, &c.

Counteſs of *Murray*, Siſter to the Lord *Falmerinoch*.

Lady *Wolſtenholme*, Relict of Sir *William Wolſtenholme*, Bart.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Joſiah Tucker*, to the Rectory of *All-Saints* in *Briſtol*.

Mr. *Francis Blackburne*, to the Rectory of *Richmond* in *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *John Caſtlemain*, made a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of *Briſtol*.

Mr. *Taylor*, Curate of St. *James*'s, *Weſtminſter*, made Chaplain to the Prince of *Wales*.

Mr. *John Carr*, preſented to the Rectory of *Twinſted* in *Eſſex*.

Mr. *Nicholls* choſen Lecturer of *Aldermanbury*.

Mr. *Broughton* preſented to the Rectory of *Stibington* in *Huntingtonſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

RT. Hon. the Lord *Walpole*, eldeſt Son of Sir *Robert*, made Auditor of the Exche-

quer, in the Room of the Earl of *Halifax*, deceas'd. And,

Edward Walpole, Eſq; another of Sir *Robert*'s Sons, made a Clerk of the Pell-Office in the *Exchequer*, in the Room of Lord *Walpole*, his Brother.

Dr. *Peters*, appointed Phyſician-General to the Army, in the Room of Dr. *Hollings*, deceas'd.

—— *Guiſe*, Eſq; Son of Col. *Guiſe*, made an Enſign in the Firſt Reg. of Foot-Guards, in the Room of the Hon. Mr. *Waldegrave*, promoted in the ſaid Regiment.

Rev. Mr. *Colſon* choſe Mathematical Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in the Room of Dr. *Saunderſon*, the blind Gentleman, deceas'd.

A Grant paſs'd the Great-Seal to *W. Cowper*, Eſq; the Younger, of the Office of Clerk of the Parliaments, in Reverſion after the Death of *W. Cowper*, the Elder, Eſq; and of *Aſhly Cowper*, Eſq;

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts.*

MATTHEW *Robinſon*, late of *Eaſt Greenwich*, *Kent*, Brick and Lime-maker.—*Philip Cooke*, of St. *George the Martyr*, Chapman.—*Wm. Latimer*, *Malcom Brown*, and *James Brown*, of *Worceſter*, Chapmen and Partners.—*Charles Dalrymple*, of *Norwich*, Draper.—*Mary Peep*, late of *Briſtol*, Snuff-maker.—*Thomas Parkinſon*, of *Southwark*, Innholder.—*Samuel Harriſon* and *Robert Weare*, of *Shoe-lane*, Brewers.—*Roger Thew*, late of *Ludlam*, *Norfolk*, Taylor.—*Edward Knowles*, of *London-Bridge*, Cutler.—*Andrew Ogier*, of *Spittlefields*, Weaver.—*Rich. Grimſtead*, late of *Briſtol*, Linen-Draper.—*Tho. Geery*, late of *Cambridge*, Vintner.—*Elizabeth Clarke*, of *Newton Abbott*, *Devon*, Mercer.—*Thomas Ryder*, of the ſame Place, Serge-maker.—*John Meredith*, of *Maid-lane*, *Southwark*, Cabinet-maker.—*John Hardman*, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Warehouſe-man.—*Charles Hughs*, late of *Houndſditch*, Brewer. *Thomas Young*, of *Bridgwater-Gardens*, Dealer.—*Richard Webb*, of *Fromeſelwood*, in the County of *Somerſet*, Clothier.—*Rich. Hayton*, of *London*, Hoſier.—*Thomas Blockley*, late of *Hampſtead*, Blackſmith.—*Charles Scott*, late of *Wapping*, Watch-makar.—*George Fone*, of *Chriſt-Church*, *Surrey*, Bricklayer.—*John Blackall*, of *Thames-ſtreet*, Wine-Cooper.—*Andrew Mayers*, late of *Biſhopſgate-Street*, Merchant.—*Thomas Clarke*, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Vintner.—*John Rayner*, of *Spittlefields*, Peruke-maker.—*Thomas Bowlt*, of *London*, Merchant.—*Emanuel Tucker*, of *Hatherleigh*, in *Devon*, Serge-maker.—*John Vaughan*, late of *Lombard-ſtreet*, Apothecary.—*Thomas Cheſhire*, of *Little Kirby-ſtreet*, *Hatton-Garden*, Merchant.—*Thomas Weed*, of *Chriſt-Church*, *Surrey*, Colour-maker.—*Roger Newham*, late of *Burr-ſtreet*, near St. *Catherine's*, Tobacconiſt.—*Richard Aſhby*, of *Wymondham* in *Norfolk*, Draper.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	99 ¾	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 4*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.*	99 ¾
—*Annu.*	111 ¾ a ⅞	*Lon. ditto*	12 ⅛
Bank	nothing done	3 *per C. An.*	105 ⅜
—*Circ.*	2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*	*Eng. Copper*	*none*
Mil. Bank	121	*Salt Tallies*	½ a 1*l.* ½
India	169	*Emp. Loan*	111 a ¼
—*Bonds*	6*l.* 11*s.* a 12	*Equiv.*	113 ¼

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 5 2 ½ a 2	*Bilboa*	39 ⅛
D. Sight	35 2 ½	*Leghorn*	49 ½ a ⅜
Rotter.	35 6	*Genoa*	52 ¼
Hamb.	34 3 2 ½	*Venice*	50 a ⅛
P. Sight	31	*Lisb.*	5*s* 5*d* ⅜ a ¾
Bourdx.	31	*Oport.*	5*s* 5*d* ¼
Cadiz	39 ⅞	*Antw.*	36 3 2 ½
Madrid	39 ⅞	*Dublin*	9 ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 29	*Oats*	11 14 6
Rye	12 17	*Tares*	20 22
Barley	13 17	*Peaſe*	21 28
H. Beans	18 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	16 21	*B. Malt*	17 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *April* 24. to *May* 22.

Chriſtned	Males 623	Females 629	1252
Buried	Males 993	Females 1014	2007
Died under 2 Years old			768
Between 2 and 5			195
5	10		55
10	20		57
20	30		171
30	40		157
40	50		182
50	60		181
60	70		120
70	80		78
80	90		30
90 and upwards			13
			2007

Hay 34 to 40*s.* a Load.

IN

IN the Year 1701, when great Differences ſubſiſted between *England* and *France*, which ſoon after came to an open Rupture, the *French* Court made an Edict, by which it was ordered, that no *Engliſh* Ships ſhould be allowed to import any Commodities into *France*, but ſuch as were of *Engliſh* Produce. This Edict continues yet unrepealed, but was never put in Execution, till within this laſt Twelvemonth, when that Court took the Liberty to revive the Edict, by ordering it to be ſtrictly put in Execution; and from *Paris* we are told, that the Earl of *Waldegrave*, our Ambaſſador at that Court, having lately made Complaints upon this Subject, all the Satisfaction he received was, that the *Engliſh* muſt not expect any Alteration or Favour in that Article, unleſs they leſſen the Duties on *French* Wines exported to *England*; which ſeems a little ſurprizing, conſidering that we have not laid any new or additional Duty on *French* Wines ever ſince the laſt War againſt that Kingdom.

We have an Account from *Macon*, near *Nogent*, upon the River *Seine*, that two Men digging a Grave in a Church-yard there, found a Skull, which they threw upon the Graſs by them, with the common Unconcern of Grave-Diggers; but ſoon after, perceiving it to ſtir, they ran to the Curate of the Pariſh, and told him what they had ſeen. The ſuperſtitious Curate immediately ſuppoſed it was the Skull of ſome Saint, that had been buried in that Place, and therefore poſted thither, where, to his great Surprize and Joy, he found the Skull ſtill moving, upon which he cried out, a Miracle! a Miracle! and reſolved to have the precious Relict depoſited in his Church with all proper Ceremonies; for which Purpoſe, he ſent in all Haſte for a conſecrated Diſh, a Croſs, and holy Water, his Surplice, Stole, and Cap, ordered all the Bells to be rung, and ſent to give Notice of the joyful News to the Pariſhioners, who thronged in Crowds to the Place. Then he had the Skull placed in the conſecrated Diſh, and being covered with a Napkin, it was carried to the Church in Proceſſion; during which, great Debates aroſe among the Pariſhioners, every one inſiſting that ſome of their Family had been buried in that Place, in order that they might aſſume to themſelves the Honour of having a Saint in their Family. Upon their Arrival at the Church, the Skull was placed on the high Altar, and a *Te Deum* was begun; but when they came to the Verſe *Te per Orbem Terrarum*, a Mole unluckily crawling out of the Skull, diſcovered the ſecret Cauſe of its Motion; upon which a Stop was put to the Ceremony, and the Congregation being greatly diſappointed, diſperſed. Now, if this poor Curate had had leſs Credulity, and more Cunning, he might, and certainly would have taken Care, that this Secret ſhould never have been diſcovered by any vulgar Eye; in which Caſe, we ſhould have had yearly a long Liſt of Miracles wrought by this ſanctified Skull, and the Church would probably have become one of the richeſt in *France*.

A moſt extraordinary Fray or Riot has lately happened at *Bourdeaux*, between the Cuſtom-houſe Officers, and the Scholars of the ſeveral Colleges of that City, in which four of the latter were killed, and ſeveral wounded; but tho' the Scholars were properly the Rioters, the abſolute and arbitrary Court of *France* have been ſo far from attempting to puniſh them, that they have ordered one or two of the Officers to be hanged, for occaſioning the Riot by their Severity.

There being at preſent a great Scarcity of Corn in many of the Provinces of *France*, the Duke of *Orleans* has cauſed *two Millions* of Livres (near 100,000 *l.* Sterling) to be expended in the Purchaſe of Corn from this Country, to be diſtributed at a moderate Price among the Poor in thoſe Provinces, where he has any Intereſt; which is a Charity truly worthy of a Prince, and ſhews, that he does not waſte his Revenues in Luxury and Extravagance, or ſordidly hoard them for the Satisfaction of his Avarice. But what is ſtill more extraordinary, ſeveral of the *French* Biſhops, we are told, have upon this Occaſion laid out great Sums in Charity.

By our laſt Advices from *Madrid* we are told, that Mr. *Keene*, the *Britiſh* Envoy at that Court, having ſtrongly ſollicited the Payment of the 95,000 *l.* ſtipulated by the late Convention, for indemnifying the *Britiſh* Merchants, *as far as it will go*, and which ought to have been paid *on or before the 24th Inſtant*, he was anſwered, That before paying that Sum, it was neceſſary to know, whether any of the *Britiſh* Ships had been reſtored, or any Part of either them; becauſe by Agreement the Value of what has been reſtored, is to be deducted out of that Sum. But this we cannot believe, becauſe by the 4th Article of the Convention, it is expreſly provided, *That the Payment of the* 95,000 *l. ſhall not be, for that Reaſon, in any Manner delayed.*

From *Conſtantinople* we have an Account, that the late Prime Vizir has been depoſed, and *Ayvas Mehemet*, Seraſkier of *Widdin*, put in his Room. This new Prime Vizir is look'd on as a prudent and experienc'd General, but more inclined to Peace than War; ſo that from his Promotion, the Concluſion of a Peace is expected: But in this the World may perhaps be diſappointed; for as it is prudent in a General to ſeem inclined for Peace, notwithſtanding his open Profeſſions, his private Inclinations may be as warlike, as thoſe of his Predeceſſor.

HISTORICAL.

1. THE Hiſtory of the Life of *Peter* the Great. By *J. Mottley*, Eſq; Sold by *J. Read*. In 3 Vols. 8vo, price 1*l.* 1*s.*

* 2. The ancient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, &c. Vol. 1. and 2, in 12mo. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 6*s.*

3. Rudiments of ancient Hiſtory. By *E. Button*. Printed for Meſſ. *Ward* and *Chandler*, 12mo, price 3*s.*

4. An Account of the Life and Writings of *Edmund Dickinſon*, M. D. By *W. Blomberg*, M. A. Printed for *R. Montagu*, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

5. The Lives of many illuſtrious Perſons in the eaſtern Nations. Printed for *J. Wilcox*, 12mo, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

LAW.

6. Jus Parliamentarium. In 2 Parts. By *W. Pettyt*, Eſq; Sold by *J. Nourſe*, Folio, price 1*l.* 5*s.*

7. An hiſtorical Account of the Original and Nature, as well as the Law of Deviſes and Revocations. Printed for *J. Walthoe*, 8vo, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

* 8. An hiſtorical Diſcourſe of the Laws, &c. of *England*. By *N. Bacon*, Eſq; The 4th Edition. Printed for *D. Browne* and *A. Millar*, Folio, price 14*s.*

9. The Attorney's Practice in the Court of *King's-Bench*. Printed for *T. Woodward*, 8vo, price 6*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

10. The *Britiſh* Repreſentative; or, a general Liſt of all the Parliaments ſince the Union, including the preſent: Wherein every Member is properly diſtinguiſhed by his Profeſſion, or publick Employment, with the Alterations by Deaths, &c. To which is added, a Liſt of the Speakers of the Houſe of Commons from the 44th of *Henry* III. to this Time. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 6*d.*

11. The *Jewiſh* Spy. Printed for *D. Browne* and *R. Hett*, 12mo, price 3*s.*

12. Miſcellanies in Proſe and Verſe. By the late Rev. Mr. *H. Grove*. Printed for *J. Gray*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

13. An Appendix to Mr. *Whiſton*'s new Diſcovery of the Longitude. Printed for *J. Whiſton*, price 6*d.*

14. An Attempt to explain the Oeconomy of the human Frame. Sold by *G. Strahan* and *J. Stagg*, 8vo, price 3*s.*

15. A Method propos'd to prevent the running of Wool. Printed for *J. Watſon*, pr. 6*d.*

* 16. Principles of Gardening. By *Batty Langley*. The 2d Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Betteſworth*, *Hitch*, *Pemberton*, and *Wood*, price 16*s.*

17. A Courſe of Lectures in natural Philoſophy, by the late *Rich. Helſham*, M. D. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, 8vo, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

POETRY.

18. Guſtavus Vaſa. By Mr. *Brooke*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

19. An Epiſtle to Sir *R. Walpole*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s.*

20. An additional Volume of Mr. *Pope*'s Works. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

21. Three Odes from the 2d Book of *Horace* imitated. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 6*d.*

22. The Methodiſts. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 6*d.*

23. A Canto of the Fairy Queen. Written by *Spenſer*. Printed for *G. Hawkins*, price 1*s.*

24. *Edward* and *Eleonora*. By Mr. *Thomſon*. Printed for *A. Millar*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

25. The Church-Yard. Price 1*s.* And,

26. A Hymn to the Supreme Being. By Mr. *Bridges*. Price 1*s.* Both printed for *T. Cooper*.

27. The unfortunate Dutcheſs. Printed for *T. Read*, price 1*s.*

28. Candor. A Poem. Printed for *M. Watſon*, price 1*s.*

POLITICAL.

29. Three Letters to Sir *R. Walpole*, and Lord Chancellor *King*. By Mr. *Whatley*. Sold by *J. Noon*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

30. Marmor Norfolcienſe. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 1*s.*

31. A congratulatory Letter to the Lord *Walpole*. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 6*d.*

SERMONS.

32. A Sermon preach'd *March* 7. By *S. Wilſon*. Sold by *A. Ward* and *R. Hett*, pr. 6*d.*

33. A Sermon preach'd *March* 17. By *Joſeph* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Printed for *M. Downing*, price 6*d.*

34. Two Lectures delivered at Plaiſterers-Hall. By *P. Anet*. Sold by *T. Cox*, pr. 6*d.*

35. Three Sermons on Repentance. By *B. Holloway*, L. L. B. Sold by *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s.*

36. A Sermon preach'd before the Societies for the Propagation of the Goſpel. By the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol*. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 6*d.*

37. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Bride*'s. By the Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*. Printed for Meſſ. *Pemberton*, price 6*d.*

THEOLOGICAL.

* 38. Bp. *Williams*'s Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm, by way of Queſtion and Anſwer, with Proofs from Scripture. The 24th Edition, now firſt divided into Sections, 12mo, price 4*d.* ſtitch'd, 6*d.* bound. *N. B.* Whoever will compare *Lewis*'s Catechiſm with this, will find it is printed from the Biſhop's for the moſt Part, and in ſeveral Places *changed for the worſe*; a Compariſon of which was made by the Biſhop himſelf.

39. Plain Reaſons for being a Proteſtant. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

40. A Catechiſm for the Uſe of the Deiſts. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 4*d.*

41. An Examination of the Enquiry into the Meaning of Demoniacks. By *S. Pegge*, M. A. Printed for *F. Gyles*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

42. A Treatiſe concerning original Sin. Tranſlated from the *Latin* of Dr. *Whitby*, by *H. Heywood*. Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, pr. 4*s.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 216.

SIR,

AS in this Country we have ſtill the Happineſs to be under a free and popular Form of Government, as the People have ſtill a Right, by their Repreſentatives in Parliament aſſembled, to approve or diſapprove of every Law that may be propoſed to be enacted, and of every publick Meaſure that may have been purſued; therefore our People in general muſt always be curious to know what has paſſed in every Seſſion of Parliament, and to hear and examine the Arguments that have been, or may be made uſe of, for and againſt thoſe Reſolutions which were agreed or diſagreed to by either Houſe.

This is a laudable Curioſity, which every Man that has a Right to vote at any Election, is in Duty bound to ſatisfy as far as he can; becauſe his Behaviour at every future Election, his Voting for one Candidate rather than another, ought to depend upon what he knows of the Conduct of the two Candidates, or of thoſe that recommend them, in former Parliaments. After a Man is once choſen, he has certainly a Right, he is even in Honour obliged to give his Vote upon every Queſtion that occurs, according to the beſt of his Judgment, unleſs it be a Queſtion of an extraordinary Nature, and ſuch a one as will admit of Delay; but as the Repreſentative has a Right, and is in Duty bound, to conduct himſelf according to his own Judgment, ſo every one of his Conſtituents has a Right, and is in Duty bound, to enquire into, and to judge of his Conduct; and if the Repreſentative has approved of Laws or publick Meaſures, which the Conſtituent finds upon Examination he has Reaſon to diſapprove of, or if the former has voted againſt any Propoſitions in Parliament, which the latter thinks were neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Conſtitution, or the Good of the Publick, the Conſtituent is in that Caſe bound to oppoſe him at the next Election; nay, he betrays his Country, if, upon the next Election, he gives his Vote for rechuſing ſuch a Repreſentative, or for chuſing any Candidate recommended by him.

For this Reaſon, the Gentlemen

of our Club think it incumbent upon them, to take Notice of every important Queſtion that has happened in Parliament; and that every Member of the Club may be obliged to conſider it the more thoroughly, we have reſolved, that every ſuch Queſtion ſhall be made the Subject of a Debate in our Club. This obliges every Member of the Club, to inform himſelf as fully as poſſible of all the Arguments that can be made uſe of for or againſt every ſuch Queſtion; and that the Gentlemen of our Club may learn to ſpeak properly, according to their different Spheres, we have reſolved to aſſume different Characters, according to the Nature of the Queſtion then to be debated. As our Club is pretty numerous, and conſiſts of Gentlemen who keep the beſt Company, there is ſeldom any good Argument that eſcapes being made uſe of by ſome one or other of our Members; ſo that an Account of our Debates may be of great Uſe to the People in general, by putting them into a Way of examining thoroughly every Queſtion, in which their Liberties or Properties may be concerned; but as you cannot ſpare Room for all the particular Speeches that are made in our Club, and as by giving ſome of them, and neglecting others, ſome material Arguments may be omitted, therefore I have Directions from our Club, to draw up and ſend you for the future, only the Subſtance of each Debate, by Way of Argument, Anſwer, and Reply; and that I may do this with the more Accuracy, they have been pleaſed to appoint a Committee, to aſſiſt me in collecting and drawing up the Journal I am to ſend you.

This we know, Sir, will not be ſo entertaining to ſuperficial Readers, who give little Heed to what is ſaid, but are mighty fond of knowing who ſaid it: but it will be more inſtructive to thoſe who conſider ſeriouſly what they read, and therefore give themſelves very little Trouble about knowing or inquiring who was the Author; and as we publiſh this Journal rather for the Information, than for the Amuſement of the Publick, we ſhall always take that Method, which we think will contribute moſt to the End we have principally in View. Beſides, we have Reaſon to believe, that this Method will give leſs Offence to thoſe, who have it in their Power to prevent your publiſhing any Sort of Journal of the Debates of our Club, as well as they have prevented your publiſhing any Journal, Extract, or Minutes, of the Proceedings and Debates in Parliament; and we hope the Journal of our Debates will be found of ſo much Uſe, eſpecially to thoſe who live at a Diſtance from *London*, that every wiſe Man would chuſe to have it in the Method we now propoſe to give it, rather than run the Riſk of not having it in any Shape whatever.

After this ſhort Preface, Sir, I muſt acquaint you, that at one of our Meetings in *February* laſt, it was reſolved, that we ſhould ſuppoſe our Club to be the higher Houſe of Parliament, and that, as ſuch, we ſhould conſider, what Sort of Addreſs it would be proper for us to make, upon his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the Throne: Upon this Occaſion, *L. Porcius* propoſed that the Addreſs ſhould be in the following Terms, *viz.*

1. That we ſhould return his Majeſty our humble Thanks for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

2. That we ſhould declare, that amongſt the many convincing Proofs, which his Majeſty has given of his paternal and unwearied Care of the Rights of his People, nothing can fill their Hearts with more grateful Sentiments, than that ſincere and affectionate Concern, which he has

ſo

ſo often declared, for the many Hardſhips and Injuries ſuſtained by his trading Subjects in *America*. That the Honour of his Majeſty's Crown, and the true Intereſt of his People are, and ever will be, inſeparable; and that as his Majeſty has, on all Occaſions, demonſtrated to the World, that he has both equally at Heart, it was impoſſible for us, not to have the firmeſt Dependence on his Zeal and Vigilance, for their real Security and Preſervation.

3. To declare, that the gracious Regard which his Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs, for the Reſolutions and Advice of his Parliament, was a great Inſtance of his Royal Goodneſs: And that though his Majeſty's conſtant Deſire, out of Tenderneſs to his People, to avoid involving theſe Kingdoms in the manifold Inconveniencies of War, muſt have inclined him to approve the Beginning with more moderate Meaſures; yet we never entertained the leaſt Doubt, but that the true Greatneſs and Fortitude, which inſpired his Royal Breaſt, would have induced him to exert his utmoſt Power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted Privileges of Navigation and Commerce; and in doing Juſtice to himſelf and his Subjects, if the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* had made ſuch Meaſures neceſſary.

4. To beg Leave, on this Occaſion, to offer to his Majeſty our unfeigned Thanks for his great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion, in acquainting us from the Throne, that a Convention was concluded and ratified, between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, whereby Reparation was agreed to be made to his Subjects for their Loſſes, by a certain ſtipulated Payment; that Plenipotentiaries were appointed for regulaing, within a limited Time, all thoſe Grievances and Abuſes which had hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation in the *American* Seas; and that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to order the Convention and ſeparate Articles to be laid before us.

5. To declare, that we ſhould fall ſhort of thoſe warm Impreſſions of Gratitude, which we felt in ourſelves, as well as be wanting in our Duty, if we did not return his Majeſty our moſt thankful Acknowledgments for his Royal Care, in making uſe of the Confidence repoſed in him, with no other View, but the general and laſting Benefit of his Kingdoms. That Reparation for paſt Injuries and Loſſes, and effectual Security for the future, founded in Juſtice, and warranted by Treaties, had been the great Views of his Majeſty, and his Parliament, in that national and important Affair; and if thoſe Purpoſes could be attained, without plunging the Nation into a War, it muſt give the trueſt Satisfaction to all his faithful Subjects, who could not but be as deſirous to preſerve the Peace, as they were able and ready to defend and vindicate their Rights, againſt the Incroachments of all Aggreſſors.

6. And laſtly, to declare, that we were deeply ſenſible, how unbecoming and pernicious it would be, at any Time, to ſuffer either Prejudices or Animoſities to mix themſelves with parliamentary Deliberations; and that his Majeſty's gracious Recommendation to us, particularly to avoid them at this important Conjuncture, could not fail to awaken in us a more than ordinary Caution on that Head. That *Great Britain* hath but one common Intereſt, conſiſting in the Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Welfare and Happineſs of his People; and that when his Majeſty was pleaſed to exhort us to Unanimity, it was only calling upon us to unite for our own Preſervation; therefore, to beſeech his Majeſty, to accept the ſtrongeſt and moſt affectionate

fectionate Aſſurances, that we will zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be moſt conducive to thoſe great and deſirable Ends.

As ſoon as this Propoſition was read to the Club, *M. Giganius Macerinus* ſtood up, and propoſed an Amendment, which was, To take only the firſt and laſt Paragraphs of the Addreſs propoſed, and conſequently, to leave out the *four* intermediate Paragraphs; whereupon a Queſtion was ſtated and debated in the Club, Whether or no this Amendment ought to be approved of? The Subſtance of which Debate I ſhall give, in the Method before mentioned, as follows, *viz.*

The Argument in Favour of the Amendment was in Effect thus.

My Lords,

IN antient Times, and I may even ſay, till of late Years, the Addreſſes of this Houſe, by Way of Return to the King's Speech from the Throne, conſiſted but of a very few Sentences. They contained only our Thanks to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, and a general Acknowledgment of our Affection and Duty; but that Method has been entirely altered ſince the Revolution, and we have now fallen into a Way of ecchoing back the Speech from the Throne, Paragraph by Paragraph, I may almoſt ſay, Word for Word. This modern Method I have always thought inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe. In my Opinion, it looks more like the fulſome Addreſs of the States of a Province in *France*, to their abſolute and arbitrary Monarch, than like the Addreſs of either Houſe of a free and independent *Britiſh* Parliament. And for this Reaſon, I cannot but wiſh, that your Lordſhips would return to your antient Method, which I am ſure is more conſiſtent with your Dignity, and which can neither upon the preſent Occaſion, nor upon any future, be attended with the leaſt bad Conſequence.

The modern Method has, 'tis true, my Lords, been practiſed for ſeveral Years: The Speech from the Throne has for too many Seſſions, been punctually ecchoed back from the Houſe in every particular Circumſtance; and great Compliments have generally of late Years been made to the King, upon the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration; but if this be a bad Cuſtom, it can from no Time derive a Right to our future Approbation; and that it is ſo, muſt, I think, appear at firſt View, to every one that conſiders it in its proper Light; for from the Nature of our Government, it is impoſſible for the Majority of this Houſe, to have, at the very Beginning of a Seſſion, any proper Knowledge of what has been lately tranſacted; we can have no ſuch Knowledge, till it has been communicated to us by the Crown, and deliberately examined by every Lord that is preſent, which cannot poſſibly be done the very firſt Day of the Seſſion; therefore, when in our Addreſs of Thanks for his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, we ſay any thing that may look like an Encomium upon what has been lately tranſacted, our Compliments cannot ſo much as be ſuppoſed to ſignify any Thing: Nay, it is always allowed, even by thoſe that propoſe them, that they are not meant to ſignify any Thing; which, in my Opinion, is a tacit Acknowledgment that no ſuch Compliments ought to be made; for in private Life, to make ſuch Compliments, is no Argument either of the Sincerity of him that makes them, or of his Reſpect for the Perſon to whom they are made; and if we ſhould afterwards, upon an Enquiry, cenſure thoſe Meaſures we had be-

fore in our Addreſs approved, or but ſeemed to approve, I am ſure it would be no Argument for ſhewing the Conſiſtency of our Proceedings. Therefore, if we have a due Regard to the Dignity of this Houſe, we ought to avoid entering into any Particulars, or making uſe of any Expreſſions in our Addreſs, that may ſeem to approve of Meaſures, which we may, perhaps in the ſame Seſſion, find good Reaſon to cenſure.

This Caution, my Lords, is, I think, neceſſary at all Times; but upon the preſent Occaſion, I think it is more neceſſary than it ever was upon any former; for we have had nothing yet laid before us, that can give us the leaſt Glimpſe of Light into the Meaſures which the Addreſs now propoſed ſeems to approve of. We cannot pretend to have the leaſt Parliamentary Knowledge of our late Tranſactions; and, I believe, there are but few, very few of your Lordſhips, that can in any Capacity pretend to a thorough Knowledge of them. We muſt therefore now judge by Appearances only; and if we judge from what is publickly known, I cannot think we have from thence, any great Reaſon to run out in Encomiums upon our late Management. It is publickly known, not only in this Kingdom, but through all *Europe*, which I am ſorry to ſay, that the Nation has for ſome Years been inſulted, our Negotiators trifled with, and our fellow Subjects not only plundered, but barbarouſly uſed; and can any of your Lordſhips pretend to ſay, from any Thing that has been laid before you, or from what has been communicated by our publick *Gazettes*, that proper Meaſures have been taken for vindicating the Honour, repairing the Loſſes, or ſecuring the Trade of the Nation? Theſe great Ends may, for what I know, be all fully anſwered by the Convention, which, as his Majeſty has told us, has been lately concluded between him and the Crown of *Spain*: I hope they will appear ſo, when that Treaty, or rather Preliminary, comes to be laid before us. I hope proper Care has been taken by that Convention, to have condign Puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch of the Subjects of *Spain*, as have plundered or abuſed the Subjects of this Nation, contrary to the Faith of former Treaties; for without ſuch Puniſhment, I will be bold to ſay, that no Reparation can be made for our injured Honour, nor any Security given for our future Safety. I hope the ſtipulated Payment, as it is called, will appear to be ſufficient for anſwering fully the Loſſes of our plundered Merchants and Seamen; and, I hope, there is a feaſible Plan laid down for having all our Rights acknowledged by a definitive Treaty, or at leaſt ſuch of them as have been lately conteſted. Theſe Things, I ſay, my Lords, I hope, are all fully provided for by the coſtly Convention, which we are ſoon to have the Pleaſure of having laid before us; but as I yet know nothing of that Convention, and I believe moſt of your Lordſhips know as little of it as I do, I cannot, even in the moſt general Terms, approve of our having tamely ſubmitted to ſo many Injuries, for the Sake of obtaining a Thing called a Convention, before I know what it is.

As Speeches from the Throne, my Lords, are always conſidered in this Houſe as Speeches from the Miniſter, ſo I cannot but look upon the Addreſſes made in Return to thoſe Speeches, as Addreſſes, in ſome Meaſure, made to the Miniſter; and, when ſuch an Addreſs contains an Approbation of what has been done, tho' couched in the moſt general Terms, I ſhall always look upon it as an Approbation of the Conduct of the Adminiſtration.

In

In this Light, I muſt conſider the Addreſs now propoſed, and therefore, I ſhall treat it with the more Freedom; becauſe, in this Light, his Majeſty can be no way concerned, nor can his ſacred Character be in the leaſt affected, by any Thing, I can ſay, againſt our late publick Tranſactions.

Suppoſe then, my Lords, that the Word Miniſter, or Miniſters, were properly inſerted in all thoſe Parts of the Addreſs, which ſeem to contain an Approbation of our late Conduct: Suppoſe we were to ſay, *That amongſt the many convincing Proofs, which your Majeſty's Miniſters have given of their unwearird Care of the Rights of your People:* Would any of your Lordſhips agree to make ſuch a Compliment, till ſome of thoſe convincing Proofs had been laid before you? Or can we ſay, that we have the firmeſt Dependence on their Zeal and Vigilance, for the Security and Preſervation of thoſe Rights, which have been of late ſo often invaded by *Spain*, before we have ſeen what Care they have taken of them, by this laſt Convention? When we conſider what Inſults the Nation has of late met with, and how long, how patiently, thoſe Inſults have been ſubmitted to, can we make any Compliments to our Miniſters upon their Fortitude, till it appears from their Negotiations, and from the Iſſue of thoſe Negotiations, that their Courage has been reſtrained by their Prudence and Fore-ſight? For, I am ſure, if full Satisfaction is not ſtipulated by the Convention they have accepted, we may applaud their Fortitude in patiently ſuffering Inſults and Indignities, but we can ſay nothing of their Fortitude in vindicating and protecting our undoubted Privileges of Navigation and Commerce. Reparation for paſt Injuries and Loſſes, and effectual Security for the future, are what this Nation ought, what we muſt inſiſt on: But, can we ſay, that theſe have been the great Views of our Miniſters, before we know a Word of the Convention, by which that Reparation and Security ought to have been ſtipulated? I hope, my Lords, when the Convention comes to be laid before us, it will from thence appear, that they well deſerve all theſe Compliments; but, till we have ſeen and examined the Convention, I muſt think it a little premature to make any ſuch.

If I were entirely ignorant, my Lords, not only of our late Negotiations, but of all our Negotiations and Treaties for theſe 17 or 18 Years paſt, I might, perhaps, put a little Confidence in what our Miniſters and their Friends have been pleaſed to tell us privately of this laſt Convention; I might, perhaps, believe, that we have obtained all we can wiſh or deſire, as has been confidently reported by ſome Perſons without Doors; but tho' I am ignorant of our late Negotiations, and of the Terms of the Treaty or Convention, in which they have terminated, yet, I am not entirely ignorant of our preceding Negotiations and Treaties, nor of the Succeſs with which they have been attended; and, the Knowledge I have of them is ſo far from furniſhing me with any Argument for blindly approving of what has been lately done, that it renders me ſuſpicious both of the Convention, and of the Meaſures that were taken for bringing it to a Concluſion. I can hardly believe that the Conduct of thoſe who have been ſo long amuſed with Negotiations, and ſo often bamboozled with Treaties, will appear to be without a Flaw in this laſt Step, which they are pleaſed to repreſent as the Maſterpiece of their Politicks.

Let us, my Lords, but take a View

View of the many Negotiations we have carried on, and the many Treaties we have concluded, within theſe laſt twenty Years; and, from them, I believe, we ſhall find but little Encouragement, to expect any great Matters from what has been lately done. In the Year 1721, we put an End to our War with *Spain*, by a Treaty of Peace, in which we acted a moſt generous Part: We gave up to them all the Advantages we had made by the War, I mean, the few Ships we had taken from them; and, that without being obliged ſo to do, by any Sort of bad Succeſs in the War: And tho' *Spain* had, upon the War's breaking out, ſeized *Britiſh* Ships and Effects in her Dominions, to a great Value, contrary to the Faith of former Treaties, by which the Subjects of both Kingdoms reſpectively were, in Caſe of a War, to have had ſix Months to retire with their Effects, yet we contented ourſelves with ſtipulating only a ſimple Reſtitution. Theſe were Terms extremely favourable for *Spain*; and yet, it is well known, they never made good the Reſtitution they had promiſed, nor did they obſerve the former Treaties, which, by that Treaty, were confirmed and ratified; but continued, under various Pretences, to infeſt our Trade in the Bay of *Campeachy*, and other Parts of the *American* Seas, as they had done for ſome Time before; and tho' we had it always in our Power, to enforce the Performance as well as Obſervance of Treaties, yet we truſted entirely to Negotiation, and negotiated at the Court of *Spain* for a free Enjoyment of our Rights in *America*, and for full Satisfaction to our *South-Sea* Company, and other injured Merchants, for four Years, without any Succeſs; for, as we had a Miniſter there, I muſt ſuppoſe he had Inſtructions to take ſome Care of our Merchants, and of our Trade and Navigation; and our bad Succeſs in theſe Negotiations was the more inexcuſable, becauſe, if we had accepted of the ſole Mediation of all the Differences then ſubſiſting between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which was offered us during that Interval, we might have eaſily accommodated all our Differences with the Court of *Spain*; and might have eſtabliſhed the Affairs of *Europe* upon ſuch a Footing, as would have greatly contributed to the Security of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and to the Intereſt and Glory of this Nation.

About four Years afterwards, my Lords, our Miniſters got by Chance an Account of a Treaty concluded at *Vienna*, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and tho' a Conjunction and firm Friendſhip between theſe two Powers, is what this Nation ought to deſire and cultivate as much as poſſible, yet I do not know by what Information, or rather by what Fatality, our Miniſters took it into their Heads that this Treaty was deſigned againſt us; which induced them to enter into that moſt extraordinary Treaty or Alliance concluded at *Hanover*, in the Year 1725; and tho' that Treaty appears to be only a defenſive Alliance, yet we immediately took from thence an Occaſion to fit out powerful Squadrons, and to ſend them in a hoſtile Manner, tho', as has ſince appeared, with peaceful Inſtructions, to the Coaſts of *Spain*, both in *Europe* and *America*, before they had made the leaſt Attempt againſt us, or any of our Allies. As *Spain* was ſtill owing great Sums to our *South-Sea* Company and other Merchants, by Virtue of the Treaty I have mentioned in 1721, and as they had been for ſeveral Years conteſting ſome of our moſt valuable Rights and Privileges in *America*, one might have expected that theſe

theſe Squadrons, ſince we had fitted them out, would have been made uſe of for compelling the Court of *Spain* to make full Satisfaction to our Merchants, and to acknowledge our Rights in *America*; but theſe, it ſeems, our Miniſters thought were Trifles not worth contending for; and as they thought, that our ſending ſuch Squadrons to the Coaſts of *Spain*, was no Infringement of the Peace ſubſiſting between us and that Nation, they gave no Orders to theſe Squadrons, either to begin Hoſtilities, or to attempt to compel the *Spaniards* to do any Thing, for fear of breeding a Rupture between the two Nations. But *Spain* look'd upon our ſending them ſuch unwelcome Gueſts in a very different Light: They conſidered it as an open Rupture, therefore they immediately ſeized all our Merchants Ships and Effects, both in *Spain* and *America*, and began Hoſtilities againſt us both by Sea and Land. This, one would have thought, afforded us an excellent Opportunity for beginning Hoſtilities in our Turn, by which, if they had been carried on in a vigorous Manner, we might ſoon have forced *Spain*, then without any one Ally that could hurt us, to make full Atonement both for the Breach of Treaty ſhe had then committed in ſeizing our Merchants Effects, and for the Non-performance, as well as Non-obſervance, of the Treaty in 1721. But, tho' we had put ourſelves to great Expence in procuring the Acceſſion of ſeveral Princes and States to the Treaty of *Hanover*, and in augmenting our Forces both by Sea and Land, yet, inſtead of beginning to fight, we began to negotiate; and, by our Dexterity in that Way, ſome preliminary Articles were, in about *two* Years, ſettled and agreed on between the *Emperor* and the Allies of *Hanover*, which begot a new Negotiation, in order to obtain the Acceſſion of *Spain*; and that Negotiation, in about *a Year* more, brought forth the Convention between *Spain* and us, ſigned at the *Pardo* in *March* 1728: This again begot a new Negotiation, which, in about *a Year and a Half*, ended in the famous Treaty of *Seville*, by which we not only re-united the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in a cloſe Friendſhip, but joined with them in a Sort of Alliance againſt the *Emperor*; and all this, without having aſk'd the leaſt Re-imburſement for the Charges, we had put ourſelves to, and without obtaining any Satisfaction for our Merchants, or any explicit Acknowledgment of ſuch of our Rights or Privileges in *America*, as had been conteſted by *Spain*.

'Tis true, my Lords, by this famous Treaty of *Seville*, all former Treaties were renewed and confirmed; by which, I remember, it was at the Time of that Treaty pretended, that all our Rights and Privileges were acknowledged; but from the Example of the Treaty in 1721, we might have ſeen, how precarious ſuch a general Acknowledgment would prove, and our Experience, ſince that Time, has confirmed what we had then good Reaſon to ſuſpect; for ſince the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Seville*, the *Spaniards* have been more daring in their Inſults, and more frequent in their Depredations, than ever they were before that Time; which was, indeed, foreſeen by almoſt every Man in the Kingdom, except the Friends of thoſe who negotiated that wiſe Treaty; and I may propheſy that, if ever we make a new Treaty, without having the Privileges of our Navigation and Commerce expreſsly and particularly declared and acknowledged, our Poſſeſſion of them will become more precarious than ever it was heretofore; nay, I do not know but the *Spaniſh* Incroachments and Depredatious may be multiplied in

in *America*, and at laſt extended to *Europe*.

I ſhall likewiſe grant, my Lords, that by this Treaty, the Effects of the *South-Sea* Company, and of our other Merchants, which had been ſeized by the *Spaniards* in their Dominions, when they thought fit to begin Hoſtilities againſt us, were ſtipulated to be reſtored; and Commiſſaries were to be appointed for examining and deciding all Pretenſions upon either Side; but the Treaty in 1721 ought, likewiſe in this Caſe, to have been a Warning to us, not to truſt much to the Performance of ſuch Stipulations; and, Experience has ſince ſhewn, that we ought to have taken that Treaty as a Warning; for, tho' the *Spaniards* themſelves admit, that there is about 300,000*l.* due by them to the *S. S.* Company, and upon a fair Account, I have ſome Reaſon to believe, the Company could make it appear to be treble that Sum; yet, the Court of *Spain* is now, after nine Years Forbearance, ſo far from offering to pay any Part of that Sum, that, we are told, they inſiſt upon the Company's paying a Sum of 68,000*l.* as a Debt which they pretend to be due from the Company to them. Now, if this be the Caſe of our *S. S.* Company, we may eaſily imagine, how far ſhort our other Merchants have come of having thoſe Effects reſtored to them, which were ſo unjuſtly ſeized by the *Spaniards*, upon their beginning Hoſtilities againſt us in the Year 1726, or upon our beginning Hoſtilities againſt them, in the Year 1718. And as to ſuch of our Merchants as had been plundered by their *Guarda Coſtas* in *America*, before the Treaty of *Seville*, few or none of them can be ſuppoſed to have met with any Reſtitution; ſince the *Spaniards* took Care that the Commiſſaries ſhould never come to any Settlement or Deciſion, with Regard to any of the Pretenſions that were referred to them.

And now, my Lords, I have mentioned Commiſſaries, I muſt obſerve, that from that very Article in the Treaty of *Seville*, which regulates the Appointing of Commiſſaries, it appears to me, that thoſe who drew up that Article, either deſigned that the Commiſſaries ſhould never be able to decide any Thing, or otherwiſe that our Commiſſaries ſhould give up a Point, which, indeed, ſeems to be given up by that Article; but it is ſuch a one as, I hope, no *Britiſh* Subject will ever dare to give up in expreſs Terms. In that Article it is ſaid, *That the Commiſſaries ſhall likewiſe examine and decide, according to the Treaties, the reſpective Pretenſions, which relate to the Abuſes that are ſuppoſed to have been committed in Commerce, as well in the* Indies, *as in* Europe, *and all the other reſpective Pretenſions in* America, *founded on Treaties*, (after which follows this remarkable Sentence) *whether with reſpect to the* Limits, *or otherwiſe*. Now, my Lords, I do not remember that, ever ſince the Year 1670, till within theſe five or ſix Years, there has been the leaſt Diſpute between the *Spaniards* and us about Limits at Land in *America*; and if there was then no Diſpute between us about Limits at Land, I am ſurprized how our Negotiators came to allow ſuch a Word to be foiſted into any Treaty; becauſe the *Spaniards* may from thence pretend, that we have acknowledged the Being of ſuch a Thing at Sea, which I hope no *Britiſh* Subject will ever admit of; and yet, if there was at that Time no Diſpute between us about Limits at Land, I do not know how we could get over this Acknowledgment, any other Way than by ſaying, that this Sentence was foiſted into this Treaty by the Artfulneſs of the Negotiators for *Spain*, and the Ignorance or Careleſſneſs of

thoſe that were employed on the Part of *England*.

Thus, my Lords, I have gone through ſeveral of thoſe Negotiations and Treaties, we have lately been engaged in or concluded; and from the few Remarks I have curſorily made, I believe it will appear, that we have no great Reaſon to approve blindly of any Treaty that has been, or can be made by thoſe who had the chief Concern in negotiating or concluding any of the Treaties I have mentioned. By the Treaty in 1721, we made ſome Conceſſions, which, I think, we ought not to have made, and truſted to Promiſes which ought to have been ſtipulated by Preliminaries, and which we ought to have ſeen performed before we concluded a definitive Treaty; but as we had then little or no Experience of the Conduct of the Court of *Spain*, the Confidence we put in their Promiſes was a little excuſable; and our Conceſſions might likewiſe have been excuſed, if we could have thereby reſtored a perfect Harmony between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, as well as between *Spain* and ourſelves. But I cannot ſay ſo much for our future Conduct: During the Congreſs at *Cambray*, we let ſlip, in my Opinion, an excellent Opportunity for reſtoring the antient Amity between the *Empire* and *Spain*, and for rekindling that Animoſity and Jealouſy, which ſo long ſubſiſted between *Spain* and *France*. By our Treaty of *Hanover*, and the Meaſures we took in conſequence of that Treaty, we in a Manner declared War, as I ſtill think, without the leaſt Cauſe, againſt the two Powers of *Europe*, whoſe Friendſhip we ought moſt to cultivate; and by the Treaty of *Seville*, without obtaining the leaſt Advantage for this Nation, we reſtored a cloſe Friendſhip between *France* and *Spain*, and thereby laid the Foundation of that War, which they afterwards, jointly with *Sardinia*, carried on againſt the *Emperor*.

I ſhall ſay nothing, my Lords, of our Behaviour during that War, or of the Obligations we lay under by the Treaty we concluded at *Vienna* in the Year 1731; but this I will ſay, that as we had by our former Meaſures united *France* and *Spain*, while that Union ſubſiſted, it was in ſome Meaſure neceſſary for us to keep up a cloſe Alliance and Friendſhip with the Court of *Vienna*; and if by our Inactivity in that War, for I ſhall never call making Treaties, or augmenting our Forces by Sea and Land, Activity, I ſay, if by our Inactivity in that War, we loſt the Friendſhip and Confidence of our antient Ally the *Emperor*, we thereby gave the *French* and the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of Triumphing firſt over him, that they might afterwards have an Opportunity of Triumphing over us in our Turn; ſo that if *France* and *Spain* are now united againſt this Nation, and we deſtitute of every Ally, or of ſuch an Alliance as may make the Balance equal, which I hope is not the Caſe, it may be alledged, that our unlucky Situation is chiefly owing to our late Treaties and Negotiations.

If this be our Caſe, can we from hence ſuppoſe, my Lords, that an implicit Faith ought to be placed in the Conduct of thoſe, who have treated and negotiated us into ſuch Circumſtances? If we can neither with Honour continue in Peace, nor with any Proſpect of Succeſs engage in a War, can we ſuppoſe that any Treaty we make, can be an honourable or an advantageous Treaty? I hope, my Lords, we are not as yet reduced to ſuch a Dilemma; but if we are not, I am convinced it is more owing to the good Opinion ſome of our Neighbours have of our natural Strength, than to the Wiſdom of our own Conduct; and therefore, I cannot agree to paſs any

Com-

Compliments upon our late Conduct, or upon the Convention now concluded with *Spain*, till I am fully convinced, by Peruſal and Enquiry, that it is an honourable, ſafe, and advantageous Treaty. And even ſuppoſe it were ſo, ſuppoſe, my Lords, A that from ſome private Information, I knew it to be ſo, yet I ſhould be againſt our making uſe of any Expreſſions in our Addreſs, that might look like an Approbation of it, not only becauſe of the bad Precedent, but becauſe it has the Misfortune to B labour under a very bad Character without Doors. We have had ſome pretended Articles of it publiſhed in our News Papers: I hope they are far from being truly the Articles; but whether true or falſe, the World has from thence conceived C a moſt deſpicable Opinion of the Treaty; and therefore, tho' from ſome private Information, I were convinced that there was no Ground for ſuch an Opinion, yet I ſhould be againſt approving it, till the World could have an Opportunity D of being undeceived, by its being printed and publiſhed at full Length; for I ſhall never be for our doing any Thing that may hurt the Character of this Houſe, in the Opinion of the Generality of the People without Doors. At preſent moſt Peo- E ple think, that the Payment ſtipulated by this Convention, is not near ſufficient for making good the Loſſes of our Merchants; and that even the ſmall Sum that is ſtipulated, is ſtipulated in ſuch a Way, that it muſt be all paid by ourſelves: We F muſt pay, they ſay, with one Hand, and receive with the other; and this, they ſay, is all that is ſtipulated; for every Thing elſe, they ſay, is referred to Plenipotentiaries, whoſe Negotiations, every one ſuppoſes, will end in nothing, as thoſe G of our Commiſſaries formerly did. From hence, moſt Men take the Liberty to ſay, that this Convention, this Treaty of Peace, which has coſt the Nation ſo much Money, is nothing but a Scrap of Paper, a Paper Peace, that will be of no Signification, nor put any Stop to thoſe Hoſtilities, which *Spain* has been carrying on againſt us for ſo many Years.

This, my Lords, is at preſent the general Opinion among the People, of the Convention lately concluded, and therefore, out of Regard to the Dignity of this Houſe, and to the Character we ought carefully to preſerve among thoſe without Doors, we ought to ſay nothing in Praiſe of the Convention, or of the Conduct of thoſe who have brought it about, till the People can be undeceived by a Peruſal. For this Reaſon, I ſhall beg leave to propoſe, by Way of Amendment, to take only the firſt and laſt Paragraphs of the Addreſs moved for by the noble Duke, and to leave out the four intermediate Paragraphs.

Even the laſt Paragraph, my Lords, I cannot ſay, I entirely approve of; becauſe I think that Paragraph in his Majeſty's Speech to which it relates, might have been as well left out. When I ſay ſo, my Lords, I conſider the Speech, as ſuch Speeches are always conſidered in this Houſe. I conſider it as the Speech of the Miniſter; and I do not think it right in any Miniſter to recommend to this Houſe, or to either Houſe of Parliament, not to ſuffer any Prejudices or Animoſities to have a Share in their Deliberations; becauſe it may be thought without Doors, to bear an ugly Inſinuation. Some People may from thence conclude, that there is ſome Danger of our allowing Prejudices or Animoſities to have a Share in our Deliberations; which is a Concluſion, that no Perſon without Doors ought to be by any Means induced or encouraged to make. It is, indeed, a Concluſion that a wicked Miniſter may be fond of having made; becauſe he will always endeavour to make People believe,

that the Oppoſition that is, or may be made to any of his Meaſures, can proceed from nothing but Prejudices or Animoſities; but this is an Opinion that is, I am ſure, as much againſt the true Intereſt of the King to encourage, as it is injurious to either Houſe of Parliament to entertain. For this Reaſon, I do not know but there has been a Time when the Anſwer to ſuch a Paragraph in the Speech, would have been an Addreſs from both Houſes of Parliament, to know who adviſed it. However, I ſhall at preſent take no further Notice of it, nor oppoſe making ſuch an Anſwer to it as has been moved for.

To this it was anſwered in Subſtance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

WHATEVER was the Method of addreſſing in antient Times, or whether it was more general, or more ſuccinct than that now practiſed, I do not think the Dignity of this Houſe any Way concerned in the Queſtion. As long as the Addreſs of this Houſe, is ſuppoſed to mean no more than a Compliment to the King upon his Speech from the Throne, and a Teſtimony of our Affection, Duty, and Eſteem for him, it is but a Matter of mere Complaiſance; and the Form or Method of ſhewing our Complaiſance, alters both in publick and private Life, like the Faſhion of our Cloaths, with Times, Seaſons, and Countries. In all ſuch Caſes, a Man of a genteel Education, who has no whimſical Turn, will expreſs himſelf in that Manner, which is moſt faſhionable among thoſe of the better Sort. If he exaggerates very much in his Compliments, and greatly exceeds the uſual Method in which Men expreſs themſelves upon ſuch Occaſions, I ſhall grant, it is no Argument either of his Sincerity, or of his Reſpect for the Perſon he compliments in ſuch a Manner: On the contrary, it may be a Token of his Contempt; for Panegyrick, when carried too high, is ſuppoſed to be meant in an ironical Way, and then it becomes Satyr. But on the other hand, if a Man ſpeaks more bluntly than is uſual in the Times, or in the Country, in which he lives, I hope it will be granted that it is an Argument either of the Speaker's Want of Breeding, or of his Want of Reſpect for the Perſon he addreſſes himſelf to.

In this Light, my Lords, let us conſider the preſent Queſtion, and if the Faſhion has altered within theſe 20 or 30 Years, if the Form or Method of ſhewing our Complaiſance to our Sovereign, has altered from what it was in antient Times, do not let us ſhew either our Want of good Manners, or Want of Reſpect for him, by addreſſing ourſelves to him upon this ſolemn Occaſion, in a Manner more blunt than has been uſual for ſo many Years. I ſhall grant, that his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, is always in this Houſe conſidered as the Speech of his Miniſters; but I cannot admit that the Addreſs of this Houſe, in Return to that Speech, ought ever to be look'd on as an Addreſs to the Miniſters. If, indeed, it contained an expreſs Approbation of all the publick Meaſures tranſacted during the preceding Receſs of Parliament, it might be ſuppoſed to be an Addreſs drawn up by the Miniſters, and it would be inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe to agree to it, both becauſe of the Perſons that might be ſuppoſed to have drawn it up, and becauſe of the Approbation it contained; but the noble Duke has, in my Opinion, been extremely careful in drawing up what he has been pleaſed to offer upon this Occaſion. He has, I think, taken particular Care not to inſert, in what he has propoſed, any Words or Expreſſions that

that can, by any Sort of Interpretation, be taken as an Approbation of any of the Meaſures lately purſu'd by the Adminiſtration. It contains only general Compliments to his Majeſty, upon what he has been pleaſed to communicate to us by his Speech, and upon ſome of thoſe good Qualities, which every Lord in this Houſe muſt allow his Majeſty to be endu'd with to an eminent Degree. Therefore, my Lords, as his Majeſty has made a moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, as he has been pleaſed to acquaint us, that a Convention has been concluded between him and *Spain*, and to impart to us the Subſtance of that Convention; and as he has been pleaſed to tell us, that he will order the Convention itſelf, and the ſeparate Articles, to be laid before us; I think we can do no leſs than return him ſuch an Anſwer, by Way of Addreſs, as the noble Duke has been pleaſed to propoſe.

But, my Lords, that your Lordſhips may the more clearly ſee, that there is nothing in the Addreſs propoſed, which can be underſtood to mean an Approbation of any late publick Meaſures, I ſhall beg Leave to go through and examine it, Paragraph by Paragraph. As to the firſt, I need ſay nothing to it; and as to the ſecond, I do not ſee how it can be ſuppoſed to relate to our Miniſters, or to any Part of their Conduct. It is, as it ought to be, wholly addreſſed to his Majeſty; and, whatever his Miniſters may have done, it is certain, that he has given many convincing Proofs of his paternal and unwearied Care of the Rights of his People; and, I am confident, no Man in the Kingdom has a more ſincere and affectionate Concern for the Hardſhips and Injuries our Traders have ſuffered in *America*; no Man would or could venture further for redreſſing or preventing them. His Majeſty has given ſo many indubitable Teſtimonies of his having equally at Heart the Honour of his Crown, and the Intereſt of his People, as is well known to all thoſe who have the Honour to be near his Perſon, that no Man can doubt of his Zeal, and his Zeal muſt make him vigilant, for the real Security and Preſervation both of the one, and of the other. This is all, my Lords, that is in the ſecond Paragraph. They are properly no Compliments, they are Declarations of what, I believe, muſt be the real Sentiments of every Lord that hears me; but, ſuppoſing they were, they are directed to his Majeſty only, and cannot be preſumed to be directed or meant to all or any one of his Miniſters.

Then, my Lords, as to the third Paragraph: His Majeſty has in his Speech ſaid, he has a due Regard to the Advice of his Parliament; and here, by way of Return, we allow this Expreſſion to be a great Inſtance of his Royal Goodneſs. Has his Miniſters any Thing to do with this? Can it relate to any Part of their Conduct? We do not ſay, that even his Majeſty has had a Regard to the Reſolutions and Advice of his Parliament; we only ſay, that his expreſſing ſuch a Regard, is an Inſtance of his Goodneſs. Can any Thing be more generally or more cautiouſly expreſſed? The other Part of this Paragraph, as it is worded, can be ſuppoſed to relate only to his Majeſty's Inclinations; it cannot be ſuppoſed to relate to any Thing that has been done, or that has been left undone. His Majeſty's Tenderneſs for his People is well known: It is that only which has preſerved this Nation in Peace for ſo many Years; for, if his Majeſty had allowed himſelf to be directed by his natural Courage and Fortitude, it is certain, he would have immediately reſented, in the higheſt Manner, the very firſt Inſult

put upon us; and, we only ſay, that we never entertained the leaſt Doubt, but that his Majeſty will allow himſelf to be directed by theſe Qualities, as ſoon as he finds that the Intereſts of his People can be no other Way preſerved.

As to the fourth Paragraph, my Lords, it only repeats what his Majeſty has been pleaſed to communicate from the Throne, and returns our Thanks for what he has been pleaſed ſo to communicate. This, I think, is the leaſt we can ſay, by way of Return; and, as there is not the leaſt Word or Expreſſion, that can be ſuppoſed to ſignify our Approbation of any Thing his Majeſty has communicated, I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould not agree to it.

Then, as to the fifth, my Lords, his Majeſty has told us, in his Speech, that it hath been his principal Care, to make uſe of the Confidence repoſed in him by Parliament, with no other View, but the general and laſting Benefit of his Kingdoms; and, for this, we here return him our thankful Acknowledgments. We do not ſay, nor ſo much as inſinuate, that his Miniſters have had no other Views. If they have had any ſiniſter Views, we are at full Liberty, upon an Enquiry, to cenſure them; notwithſtanding any Thing propoſed to be ſaid in this Paragraph. But, as to his Majeſty, I believe, no Man will or can ſuppoſe, that he could have any other View, than what he has been pleaſed to declare in his Speech from the Throne; and, if he had, or if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe ſuch a Thing, it will not be pretended, I am ſure, by any Lord in this Houſe, that we have a Power to enquire into or cenſure the Views of our Sovereign.

And, as to the laſt Paragraph of the Addreſs propoſed, as the noble Lord who propoſed the Amendment, was pleaſed to admit that the laſt Paragraph ſhould ſtand Part of our Addreſs, I have no Occaſion to ſay much about it; but, as to the Criticiſm that has been made upon it, I muſt ſay, that I can ſee no Foundation for ſuch Criticiſm. I hope no Prejudices or Animoſities will ever mix themſelves with Parliamentary Deliberations, I believe they ſeldom or never do; but, it cannot be ſaid, that the Thing is impoſſible; and therefore, his Majeſty can be thought only to ſhew his Regard for the publick Good, by recommending to us, not to ſuffer any ſuch to have a Share in our Deliberations, at this important Conjuncture. It is not becauſe there is now greater Danger than at other Times, of our allowing Prejudices and Animoſities to have a Share in our Deliberations, that his Majeſty thought this Recommendation neceſſary; but, becauſe the preſent Conjuncture is of greater Importance than moſt others. When the Nation is upon the Brink, perhaps, of a heavy War, when it is in Danger of being engaged in War againſt one at leaſt, if not two powerful Neighbours, Unanimity amongſt ourſelves is more neceſſary, domeſtick Prejudices and Animoſities are more dangerous to the Publick, than they can be upon other Occaſions; and therefore, it is to be hoped, no Perſon without Doors will draw any wrong Concluſions from the prudent and neceſſary Advice his Majeſty has thought fit to give us.

Thus, my Lords, I have ſhewn, that from what is propoſed in the Addreſs, we have no Occaſion to form any Judgment at all of the Convention juſt concluded with *Spain*, or of any of our late Meaſures; becauſe we are now neither to approve or condemn all or either of them. We have, at preſent, no Buſineſs to trouble our Heads about the Conduct of our publick Affairs for theſe 17 or 18 Year paſt, or for any

any longer or ſhorter Term. We are now only to addreſs his Majeſty, as has always been cuſtomary, by way of Return to his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; and, if the Addreſs propoſed, had been more particular than it is, if it had contained even ſome Sort of Approbation of thoſe Meaſures which his Majeſty has mentioned in his Speech, our addreſſing in ſuch a Manner might have been juſtified; for, we are to ſuppoſe every Thing to be as mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech, till the contrary appears upon Enquiry. By ſuch a Suppoſition, we are no way precluded from enquiring into the Facts afterwards, or from cenſuring what ſhall then appear to be amiſs; becauſe nothing that is ſaid in the Addreſs, can be made uſe of againſt the Opinion of any Lord, or againſt any Reſolution we can come to, upon an Enquiry. Nay, my Lords, if the Propoſition had gone farther, if it had been propoſed to congratulate his Majeſty upon the Concluſion of this Convention, it would not have been without Precedent; for, if I rightly remember, we congratulated his Majeſty upon the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Seville*, before the Treaty, or any Thing relating to it was laid before the Houſe, except what his Majeſty had ſaid of it in his Speech at the Opening of the Seſſion. But as no ſuch Approbation or Congratulation is intended, or can be drawn from any Words in the Addreſs now propoſed, as it contains nothing, in my Opinion, but what ought in common Decency to be ſaid, by way of Return to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, I can ſee no Reaſon for our diſagreeing to any one of the Paragraphs propoſed.

I ſhould not, I believe, my Lords, have troubled you farther upon the preſent Queſtion, if ſo much had not been ſaid againſt the Management of our publick Affairs, for almoſt theſe 20 Years paſt; but as it has been found ſo much Fault with, I hope your Lordſhips will indulge me with the Liberty of ſaying a few Words in its Vindication. To anſwer every particular Objection, that has been made to the ſeveral Negotiations and Treaties we have been engaged in for theſe 17 or 18 Years paſt, would take up too much of your Lordſhips Time, much more than I think neceſſary at preſent, eſpecially as I have already ſhewn, that no Part of our paſt Conduct can any Way relate to the Queſtion now before us; but as to all of them in general, ſo far as I have had any Share in them, I can for my own Part ſay, that whatever Art may have been wanting in the Method of conducting them, they were all undertaken and carried on with a ſincere Heart, and a ſtrong Deſire of doing Service to my native Country; and as to all the other Perſons concerned, I have the Charity to think, that, if any Faults were committed, they were not owing to Deſign or Careleſſneſs, but to ſuch Miſtakes and Overſights, as the wiſeſt of Men may ſometimes be guilty of. With a Treaty or Negotiation, it is the ſame as with a fine Poem; it is eaſy for a willing or ſplenetick Mind to criticize, and find Fault with the beſt that was ever made or carried on. No Nation can in every Treaty get all they can deſire: They muſt get as much as they can, and leave the reſt to the next favourable Opportunity; therefore, every Treaty may be ſaid to be a good Treaty, when upon an impartial Examination, it appears to be the beſt that the then Conjuncture of Affairs would admit of. But the Misfortune is, that thoſe who want to find Fault, generally miſrepreſent the then Situation of Affairs, and at the ſame Time they endeavour to extenuate the Advantages

that

that were obtained, and to exalt the Value of thoſe which were not; even tho' they themſelves were, perhaps, the Cauſe, that ſome of thoſe Advantages could not be obtained.

If in this Light, my Lords, we examine the Treaties now complained of, and the Objections made to them, we ſhall, I believe, find, that moſt of the Objections are either groundleſs or frivolous; and all the Treaties have this Argument in their Favour, they were every one approved of by both Houſes of Parliament; which ſhews, that they were all thought to be good Treaties at the Time they were made, whatever Objections may have ſince ariſen againſt them, from Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe*, which either could not be foreſeen, or could not be guarded againſt. As for the Treaty in 1721, I need not ſay much in its Favour; becauſe the noble Lord who found fault with it, has himſelf anſwered the two Objections he made againſt it. But, I muſt add, that it was owing to this very Treaty, that *Spain* made us the Offer of being ſole Mediator at the Treaty of *Cambray*, of all Differences between her and the *Emperor*; ſo that, if any Honour or Advantage could have been got by our accepting of that Offer, it muſt have been entirely aſcribed to our Treaty with *Spain*, in the Year 1721. However, as our accepting of that Offer, might have involved us in a bloody and expenſive War, in which we could not otherwiſe have had any Concern, and from which, we could propoſe to reap no Advantage, therefore, I am ſtill of Opinion, that it was more prudent in us, to refuſe the Offer at that Time made us by *Spain*.

Then, my Lords, with regard to the Treaty of *Hanover*, I know it has been ſtrongly inſiſted on, that no ſecret Articles were agreed on by the Treaty of *Vienna*, in the Year 1725, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which were any Way prejudicial to this Kingdom; but we have his late Majeſty's expreſs Declaration, that there were ſome ſuch Articles in that Treaty, which, I think, is a better Authority for believing, than any Authority we have for diſbelieving, that there were ſuch Articles. But ſuppoſing there were no ſuch Articles, the very Treaty itſelf ſhews, that it was deſigned for ſupporting the *Oſtend Eaſt-India* Company; and as both the *Dutch* and we were reſolved to deſtroy that Company, it was evident that the *Vienna* Treaty would have produced a War, if we had not prevented it by the Treaty of *Hanover*, and the Meaſuers we took in Purſuance of that Treaty, for preventing the Court of *Spain*'s being in a Condition to begin a War, or to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, in Caſe he ſhould. By the Squadrons we ſent out to the Coaſts of *Spain*, in *Europe* and *America*, we prevented the Return of their Plate-Fleets from *America*, which rendered all the Projects of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* abortive, and ſoon after induced the *Emperor* to give up his Favourite *Oſtend* Company. But as thoſe Squadrons were deſigned only to prevent a War, therefore it would have been ridiculous to have given them any Orders to begin a War, by attacking *Spain*; and after the Concluſion of the preliminary Articles with the *Emperor*, we could ſend no ſuch Orders, becauſe we were every Day in Expectation of coming to a final Settlement of all Differences with *Spain* as well as the *Emperor*, and thereby eſtabliſhing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, upon a ſolid and laſting Foundation.

[*The Reſt of the Anſwer, and the Reply, upon this Subject, to be in our next, when this* JOURNAL *is to be continued.*]

Craſſ-

Craftſman, June 2. N° 673.

The Hiſtory of a corrupt Influence in Parliament. Continued from p. 243.

SIR,

MY laſt concluded with the *Law*, that open'd the Door of the *Houſe of Commons* for an Army of *Place-men*. I ſhall therefore now proceed to what hath happened ſince the Inauguration of the *preſent Royal Family*.

The Nation had great Hopes given them, before their Acceſſion, that even the POWER *of future Corruption* would be very much leſſen'd under their Reigns; for there was an *Account* publiſh'd, in which it was ſhewn how much the Nation would be Gainers by this *new Succeſſion*, even more than would anſwer the Expence of the *late War*; ſince there would be ſo great a Saving upon the *Civil Liſt* alone. It was likewiſe expected that the *Army* and *Navy* were to be managed with the utmoſt Oeconomy, and the Charges of them conſiderably reduc'd. It was ſuppos'd, and made an Argument by Mr. *Addiſon*, in the *Free-holder*, that the Revenues of *Hanover* would be an Eaſe and Strength to us, inſtead of a Burden.——Indeed, the Beginning of the late Reign, and the Tranſactions of *one Year*, correſpond pretty well with theſe Promiſes. The *Miniſtry* even propos'd a * *Bill*, which paſs'd, for enforcing the Law laſt mentioned againſt *Penſioners*, during Pleaſure, ſitting in the *Houſe of Commons*. They carried it farther, and extended it againſt *Penſions*, for any Number of Years, inflicting a Penalty of 20*l.* a Day, to be paid to the Proſecutor.

By both theſe *Acts* it appears, at leaſt, to be the Deſign of the Legiſlature, that our *Laws* ought not to be made, nor the *Meaſures of the Miniſtry* to be ſervilely approved of, by *ſuch Creatures*.

The Defect of this Law againſt *Penſioners* hath ſince been very viſible; for ſuch *high Corruption* being always of a ſecret Nature, who can proſecute and convict but *he*, who gives the *Penſion?* The *Perſon*, who receives it, without acquainting the *Houſe*, ſells himſelf for ever to his *Corruptor*. There is no Purgation on the *Receiver*, nor any Penalty on the *Buyer*.

Lord *Halifax* did likewiſe reduce the Expence of the *Civil Liſt*, as low as the Exigencies of the Publick, at that Time, would admit, and the honeſt Service of the Nation require; on which Account ſome Gentlemen then ſerv'd for *Honour*, and parted with their *increas'd Salaries*. He was therefore ſoon worm'd out of Power by ONE, who was much more liberal of the *publick Money*; by whom an Addition of 100,000*l.* a Yeat was obtained for the *Crown*; who always pleaded for *avow'd Corruption*; who purchas'd Favour by giving to all alike, and of Conſequence made the *Round of Corruption* conſtant and neceſſary for him.

That leſs than 700,000*l.* a Year would have been ſufficient for the *Civil Liſt*, appears, not only from what it coſt before ſo great a Sum was given; (all the Money iſſued the firſt Year for the *Civil Liſt*, being no more than 361,161*l.*) but from what might be expected. when this *additional Grant* paſs'd, and to what *Purpoſes* it would be apply'd; ſince a Motion was made for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, "† that he would be pleas'd to retrench all *unneceſſary Penſions*, and grant no more any ſuch for the future: Hereupon Mr. *R——t W——le*, with his uſual Eloquence, ſhew'd that they ought not to ſtint the *King's Beneficence*, nor debar his *Majeſty* from

* 1 *Geo. C.* 56. *S.* 1.

† *Pol. State, Vol.* 9, *p.* 397.

from the Exerciſe of the *moſt glorious Branch of his royal Prerogative*, which is to beſtow his *Favours* on ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves in his Service."

Here was *a glorious Plan of Power* laid down, which hath been too ſucceſsfully purſued, for ſome particular Ends; how beneficial to the *Nation* I need not ſay; but as this *moſt glorious Branch of the royal Prerogative* was to be without *Stint*, it cannot be ſaid that it hath been reſtrained ever ſince.

The Reaſon therefore for giving *ſo much* conſtantly begets a Reaſon for giving *more*, as well as the *Power* of obtaining it; if it ſhould ever happen that thoſe, who *grant* it, are to *ſhare* it, and nothing ſhould be neceſſary but to gratify their Demands.

This will appear more plainly, by obſerving that, during the firſt Year of his late Majeſty's Reign, there was iſſued for *ſecret Services* (a Service that allows of *no Credit*) Put 7,250*l.* The next Year, under a more *diſtributing Miniſter*, 32,766*l.* —For the *Privy Purſe*, the firſt Year *Nothing*: The ſecond Year, 25,000*l.* —The *Penſions*, to the Amount of about 25,000*l.* which occaſioned ſuch Complaints the firſt Year, were doubled in the ſecond Year.—*This Influence* continued to encreaſe.—*Corruption* begets *Corruption*, and multiplies itſelf under a *Miniſter*, whoſe only Skill conſiſts in a laviſh Profuſion of the *publick Treaſure*; giving Money to every one, who would take it, and looking upon every Body that refuſed it, as an Enemy to *his* and the *Royal Family*; for both *Men* and *Women* would, by *ſuch a Miniſter*, be thought marketable, like *Beaſts*. No *Virtue*, or *Abilities* would be Recommendations to his Favour. *Corruption* would be the only Principle and Foundation of his Politicks. The *Honour* of the Nation, its *Trade* and *Revenues*, muſt be ſacrificed to it; leſt the Money ſhould be diverted into *other Channels*, and not enough left to maintain himſelf in *Power*, and enable him to purchaſe the *higheſt* as well as the *loweſt Tools*.—May this Nation never be puniſh'd with *ſuch a Miniſter*; or may he ſpeedily meet with his juſt Reward!—I hope we never ſhall; but are there no Reaſons to apprehend it, from what we have ſeen already, conſidering how ſmall the *Sums before-mentioned* are, in Compariſon to what was iſſued for the *ſame pious Uſes*, from Lady-day 1721, to Lady-day 1725, for the *Privy Purſe*, *ſecret Service*, *Penſions*, *Bounties*, *and Monies without Account*, which amounted to ſo prodigious a Sum as 2,728,759*l.* which upon an Average for the *four Years*, is 682,189*l.* a Year.

There is likewiſe Reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome other Advantages have been formerly taken of the People, by *anticipating* the Money at the *Offices*, and never *accounting* for it; ſince, notwithſtanding his preſent Majeſty's immenſe *Civil Liſt*, the Sum of 115,000*l.* was demanded as a *pretended Deficiency* for the very firſt Year; and tho' the *Miniſtry* themſelves made a Motion to call for the Accounts of *that Year's Revenue*; yet they would not even truſt the *proper Officers* to make it up accordingly, but gave them private Orders, under their Hands, to do it in a quite different Manner. It was then diſcovered by the *Oppoſition to that Queſtion*, that the *Anticipations* were not brought to Account; by which Means the Publick was to pay double for them. However, the *Money* muſt be had, at any Rate; and therefore, when the Pretence of a *Deficiency* was diſcovered to be groundleſs, it was aſked and granted as an *Arrear*, with juſt as much Reaſon, to be repaid upon his Majeſty's Demiſe. But as the *Civil Liſt* is now *three Quarters* in Arrear, and may poſſibly

bly be ſo again, upon that melancholy Occaſion, we have but very little Hopes of being ever reimburs'd.

It hath been already allowed by a very *great* and *honourable Perſonage*, that 700,000*l.* a Year, *without Account*, is better than a Revenue of 800,000*l.* a Year, which is annually *accounted for to Parliament*. We ſee that the 800,000*l.* a Year, which was then deem'd fully ſufficient to anſwer all the Ends of the *Civil Liſt*, is not thought enough at preſent; tho' it is eſtimated, by ſome Perſons, at about 950,000*l.* a Year; ſince, tho' it was deſigned to make an *honourable Proviſion for* all *the Royal Family*, it is drained ſo low that, inſtead of 100,000*l.* a Year, it can afford but 50,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; inſtead of paying the *Princeſs of Orange*'s Fortune out of it, the *Nation* hath given 80,000*l.* with a Penſion of 5000*l.* a Year, during her Life; and tho' it is now encrea'd by the Demiſe of *her late Majeſty*, 50,000*l.* a Year, and 40,000*l.* was ſaved laſt Year in the Expences of the *Houſehold*; this additional 90,000*l.* a Year is ſo far from being ſufficient to increaſe the *Prince of Wales*'s Allowance, tho' he hath already *three Children* born, or to lay up any Thing as a Proviſion for the *reſt of the Royal Family*, that 39,000*l.* is this Year granted in *Penſions* for Life, to the *Duke* and the *young Princeſſes*, without *any Accounts* delivered in, or any Examination whether the *Revenues* were ſufficient for that Purpoſe. Nay, the *Civil Liſt* is not able to purchaſe even Mrs. *Stevens*'s Receipt for curing the *Stone*; but the *Nation* muſt be at the charge of it, tho' the *Crown* uſed formerly to pay for thoſe Kinds of Things, as his *late Majeſty* did; but it cannot now afford a Farthing towards any *publick Uſe*, or *Expence*.

When the *Gin-Act* paſs'd, we were told *that his Majeſty's prudent Oeconomy was a worthy Example to all his Subjects*; and ſo no doubt it is. He then paid punctually, and was therefore ſerv'd cheaper than any of his Predeceſſors. To what Cauſe therefore can this *great Deficiency* be owing? The *Penſioners*, perhaps, may pretend that it is not their Fault, and impute it to the Expences of a *late Journey*; but I am far from being of their Opinion; for the Purchaſe of the *Poſt-Office* at *Hanover*, valued at 4000*l.* a Year, and the Bailiwick of *Steinhorſt*, together with the Biſhoprick of *Oſnabrug*, and ſomething elſe, will make a tolerable Proviſion for a *young Prince*.

They may likewiſe pretend that *this Arrear* is occaſioned by the Neceſſities of the *M———r*, without his *Maſter*'s Knowledge; and that they are ſupported only by a certain, ſtated, annual Sum out of the *Civil Liſt*, the Diſpoſition of all *Places*, and ſome other private Advantages, by the *modern Method of Accounting*.

But as none but *Penſioners* can reaſon in this Manner, it proves my Argument unanſwerable, of the great Burden they are upon the *Subject*, and the *Uſes*, for which they are paid; ſince they will not leave enough to ſupport *his Majeſty*, and the *Royal Family*, with the common Neceſſaries of Life, without running into *Debt*, which the Nation is no longer able to bear.

Can it be ſuppos'd, now, that any *Miniſter*, who may hereafter raiſe and maintain himſelf in Power, by the *ſole Expedient* before mentioned, will ever grow more parſimonious for the *Publick*, or leſs neceſſitous to ſupport his *ravenous Crew?* What *Approbations* muſt conſtantly follow ſuch a boundleſs Diſtribution of *publick Money?* Can a *Miniſter*, in this Condition, think of any Thing elſe but the *annual Rotations* of it? Tho' he ſhould find the Nation in flouriſhing

riſhing Circumſtances, at home, and *Peace with all Powers abroad*, he would be incapable of preſerving us in it. The Greedineſs of his *mercenary Dependents*, and the poſſible Views of the *Crown*, would drive him into every Scheme of Expence, for his own Protection. He could never think of correcting the *firſt falſe Step*, but muſt go blundering on from Year to Year; till by the Dint of abſurd Negotiations, he deſtroys the *Balance of Europe*, and not only leaves his Country without an *Ally* in the Wold, but makes every State either their *open* or *ſecret Enemies*.

They may have military *Raree-Shews* and *other publick Diverſions*, as long as they pleaſe to pay for them; but *Peace*, during his Time, would be the invariable Rule of his Politicks. *Rumours of Wars* would be his Harveſt, by giving him a Pretence for raiſing *Money*, and getting Provender for his *Faction*. He would ſooner deſtroy the *Nation*, and all *Europe*, than hazard one Year of his Reign; which would certainly be his Caſe, in a *War*, notwithſtanding the common Maxim, *that Times of* War *are the moſt eaſy to an Adminiſtration*. He would therefore be eternally ringing the Changes upon the common School-boy's Theme, *that* Peace *is better than* War, as a full Proof of the beſt Meaſures. It would be impoſſible for any Nation to maintain a *War*, however neceſſary it might be, under *ſuch a Miniſter*; for every Power in *Europe* would ſoon find out the Stretch of his Genius, and the Depth of all his *Politicks*; which at moſt could arrive only at purchaſing a *little Intelligence*; and, perhaps, when it is too late to make any ſolid Uſe of it. A War, manag'd by *ſuch an Head*, would certainly be ridiculous; and, without a Miracle, unſucceſsful; eſpecially if the Nation, who carries it on, ſhould become a laughing Stock amongſt *all their Neighbours*.

War would certainly be the Ruin of a *Miniſter*, who ſhould ever employ all the Sinews of it in a corrupt Warfare againſt the *Liberties* and *Conſtitution of his Country*. The firſt and moſt viſible Fund, for carrying it on, with Succeſs, would be the Saving of what ſhould be appropriated to the Juſtification of *his Meaſures*, and the Pay of *his Faction*, as well as a Reduction upon all the Heads of *Services* and *Management*; which might produce a vaſt annual Sum——But then what would become of the *Government*; by which both the *Miniſter* and the *People* would plainly perceive that he meant *himſelf?* Why truly the *Prince* and the *Nation* muſt be content to have Men ſerve them, who have Abilities to purſue the Intereſts of *both*, and who muſt be ſatisfied with the Credit, that would reſult only from the Rectitude of their Meaſures. Thoſe, who are Maſters of no Arts but that of *corrupting*, cannot ſtand upon ſuch Ground. It is therefore Deſtruction to *ſuch Men*; and they would ruin a whole *Nation* rather than *themſelves*. Whenever the Meaſure of their Iniquity is full, the *People* would not bear it any longer. All Things have naturally their determined Periods. Surely *Corruption* cannot be the only Exception. A *Mercenary*, indeed, might flatter himſelf that the Contention is only who ſhould be his *Paymaſter*; of ſuch Utility he takes himſelf to be, that he does not ſee when the *Candle* is almoſt burnt out, tho' it ſhould burn the Fingers of him who holds it. But every *Penſioner* ought to conſider, that he may give a *Miniſter* ſo much Power as to render himſelf uſeleſs, and ſo become a *Felo de ſe*.

I am, Sir, &c.

HAMPDEN.

Daily

Daily Gazetteer, N° 1227.

The QUERIES *in the* Craftſman *of laſt* Saturday (*ſee p.* 245. F.) *will be beſt anſwered* (*ſays the* Gazetteer) *by aſking others.*

1. BY *whoſe Authority*, from *whoſe Inſtructions*, or *with whoſe Privity* has the *Craftſman* been publiſhed for ſo many Years?

2. Has not the late Lord *B——k* been the Writer of many of thoſe Papers? And has not the ſame Perſon been the chief Adviſer, Director, and Conductor of the Oppoſition to all the Meaſures of the preſent Government?

3. Whether there is any one Man in the Nation, who in his Conſcience believes that Perſon to be a Man of Virtue, Honour, and Integrity, and a Lover of his Country? and, if not, upon what **Motives**, what Views and Deſigns can they imagine ſuch an Oppoſition, begun and carried on by *him*, muſt be founded?

4. Whether *thoſe* who join'd with *him*, and acted under his Influence and Direction in their Oppoſition to the Government, muſt not have been thoroughly acquainted with his Character, and with his Motives, Views and Deſigns? If they were,—What muſt have been their own Motives, Views and Deſigns in liſting under his Banners? If they were not,-What Abilities or Capacity muſt they have for the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Nation, who diſcover'd ſo little Knowledge of Mankind, as to be ſo groſly impoſed upon by him?

5. Whether the Violence they have betray'd thro' the whole Courſe of their Oppoſition aroſe from their Zeal to the Publick? or whether it did not proceed from their Rancour and Malice to particular Perſons?

6. Whether in an infinite Multitude of their Papers, Pamphlets and Speeches, they have not moſt unjuſtly and ſcandalouſly vilify'd and abuſed Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction and Eminence, both in Church and State, who have concurr'd in the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration? Whether they have not, in the moſt indecent Terms, ſlander'd and aſpers'd the Majority of both H—— of P——, and even his M——y himſelf? —nay, whether they have not inſulted even the Aſhes of her late M——y, and purſued her with their lewd Ribbaldry beyond the Grave?

7. Whether it is not contrary to the common Senſe and Reaſon of Mankind to believe, that People who are capable of actiug in ſo outragious a Manner, who are ſo abandon'd, ſo loſt to all Senſe of Shame and Decency, can be really Men of Virtue, Honour, and publick Spirit, and have only the Good and Intereſt of their Country at Heart?

8. Whether, on the other Hand, they muſt not be look'd upon by all the World, who are not run mad with the Diſtemper of the Times, which theſe People have ſo indefatigably labour'd to propagate among us, to be the vileſt of Hypocrites and Impoſtors? and to cloath themſelves under the ſacred Character of Patriotiſm, in order to accompliſh their own wicked Schemes, which portend nothing but Deſtruction to their Country?

9. Whether the Difficulties which we may perhaps be intangled in with ſcme of our neighbouring Nations, are not intirely owing to the Conduct and Behaviour of the principal Perſons in the Oppoſition, and to the Diſſenſions and Diſtractions which they have created in the Nation, if not to the Advices, Informations and Encouragement which the M——rs of thoſe Powers have from Time to Time received from them? and whether, when they themſelves have been the Occaſion of involving us in thoſe Difficulties, they have not thrown all the Reproach

Proach and Odium of it upon the Adminiſtration?

Common Senſe, June 2. Nº 122.

Of a FACTION's *aſſuming the* NAME *of a* PARTY.

AS I was ſitting in the Coffee-houſe, the other Day, I happen'd to caſt my Eyes upon the Table, on which lay neglected the *Gazetteers* of the 18th and 19th of laſt Month. (ſee p. 245 G.) The ſtupid Scandal they contained ſoon ſatisfied my Curioſity concernnig the Author of them. But I could not help reflecting a little on the Apprehenſions he expreſs'd at the Thoughts of a Coalition of Parties. I could not imagine how ſo great a national Bleſſing could affect this poor Scribler.

The Cauſes of the old Diviſion into Whig and Tory have been long ago removed. All honeſt Men have long acted upon Principles of Liberty, and every wiſe Man has agreed to lay aſide the Names of Party, ſince they have no-longer any Meaning. It was ſome Time therefore before I could imagine, from what Motive this low Animal could be ſo extravagantly frighten'd, leſt Names ſhould be forgot that were no longer of any Uſe: But upon farther Reflexion, I diſcovered the Intereſt he had in the Continuance of theſe Party Appellations: I reflected that there are others beſides this mean Hireling, who labour with great Induſtry to revive our Party Diſtinctions; and whoſe Intereſt it evidently is to be called by any Name, that conveys no Meaning to thoſe that hear it.

A Set of Men pick'd out from the Scum of all Parties, hired to ſupport the Power and conſider only the Intereſt of one Man, will aſſume the Name of any Party, and uſe it as a Skreen to conceal the ſlaviſh Labour by which they earn their Daily Bread. Such a Faction, tho' they reſemble a Party in nothing but their Diſregard to the National Intereſt, will be proud to be miſtaken for a Party, from the ſame Cauſe that a Pick-pocket will be proud to be taken for a Highwayman. The only Part of their Behaviour therefore that can ſurprize us, is the Aſſurance with which they claim the Name of a Party. They aſſume it boldly, and ſince every honeſt Man rejects it, they may aſſume it with Impunity.

This Ambition of a Faction to be taken for a Party, has appeared in other Countries. *Machiavel* affords us one Inſtance of it, in his Hiſtory of *Florence*. That City had been divided, like the reſt of *Italy*, into the Parties of *Guelfs* and *Ghibellines*; and we find in *Machiavel* a Liſt of the *Florentine* Families which compoſed each Party; but ſome Time afterwards, the Alteration that happened in the State of *Italy* removed the Cauſes of this Diviſion. A new Diſpute however aroſe in *Florence* from a Quarrel between two Families, and that again divided the City into two Factions, that of the *Bianchi*, and that of the *Neri*. The firſt took its Name from one of the Families, and the laſt called themſelves *Neri*, or *Black*, to expreſs their Oppoſition to the *Bianchi*, or *White*. But the Names of Parties being more honourable, the Faction of the *Bianchi* aſſumed the Name of *Ghibellines*, and the *Neri* called themſelves *Guelfs*. Theſe Appellations, no Doubt, increaſed their Animoſity, and help'd to deceive the Multitude. But *Machiavel* has rendered them deſervedly ridiculous, by giving us another Liſt of the Families which compoſed each Faction, whereby, among the *Bianchi* or *Ghibellines*, we find more original *Guelf* Families, than among the *Neri*, who paſs'd for the only true *Guelfs*. I have more than once had it in my

Thoughts

Thoughts to follow *Machiavel*'s Example, and oblige my Country-men with a Liſt of the Families that can now be call'd either Whigs or Tories. But I have always found, upon Trial, that all the Families that have acted upon any avowed Principle, now act upon one and the ſame: And that thoſe who now affect to diſtinguiſh themſelves by Party Names, were either not known when Whig and Tory ſubſiſted, or have joined with both Parties, at different Times, according as they happened to be in Power. I have view'd theſe in every Light, and have always found them the Tools of a Faction, but never the Members of a Party.

That a Diviſion into Friends and Enemies of a Country will eternally and every where ſubſiſt, is certainly true. But they who mean to deſcribe them, and only them, will call them by their Names; and in this Country we have proper Names for them. From whence then ſhould proceed the Tenderneſs of not uſing thoſe Names? From whence, the Affectation of uſing Words that may miſlead, but cannot deſcribe? What Deſign can be imputed to Men guilty of this, but that of confounding the Friends of the Nation with its Enemies; a Deſign to repreſent one Faction more powerful than it is, in order to govern by another?

They who intend to purſue National Intereſts, will ſeek for National Support; far form affecting to revive antiquated Diviſions, they will labour inceſſantly to heal thoſe which they may find already made. And they who conſult the Security of their King, will deſire to ſee him rely on the whole Body of his People; they will deſire to unite all his Friends, and to divide only from his Enemies; and we are now come to have no other Diſtinction among us.—All who are willing to ſupport the Conſtitution purſue the ſame End: All who would deſtroy it, are Enemies to the Nation, whether they intend to introduce the arbitrary Power of a King, or the abſolute Sway of an all-corrupting Miniſter.

Whatever Opinions therefore may be held upon other Subjects, by the Friends of our Conſtitution, they will be no more conſidered by reaſonable Men, than the different Modes of their Dreſs. It will be as reaſonable to divide them into *Thomiſts* and *Scotiſts*, as into *Whigs* and *Tories*; nay, it will be as ridiculous to clap them under different political Appellations, as it is now to advance, that reviving *Whig* and *Tory* can ſerve any honeſt Purpoſe.

Every honeſt Man, and every wiſe Prince will think themſelves equally intereſted to cruſh all Attempts to revive ſuch Party Diviſions. And that this may appear yet more fully, let us examine a little farther into the Reaſons, why ſo much Art is uſed to preſerve and give a Currency to unmeaning Party Names. We ſhall find, upon Inquiry, that it is done, becauſe they are a neceſſary Cloak to Ambition. A Man who intends to erect himſelf into the Tyrant of his Country, and to aſſume the Power without the Name of an Uſurper, muſt foment Party Diviſions to collect a Faction, and muſt exert all his Artifices to keep alive the moſt abſurd Party Appellations, in order to diſguiſe it.

For the Faction he raiſes muſt be armed with the Name of a National Party, that he may controul his Prince by their Authority. And to effect this, the Prince in this Country muſt be made to believe, that the Body of the People which called him to the Throne, is unwilling to have him reign over them: And that therefore in order to retain his Crown he muſt depend on that Party, under the Name of which the Miniſter conceals his Faction. Thoſe who

who were once the chief Leaders of that Party muſt be ſaid to have deſerted their Principles, if they oppoſe the Miniſter. He muſt be eſteemed the only Man in whom the Party can place their Confidence.

And when a King is, by theſe Means, once brought to ſubmit to this pretended Party, he will find the Leader of the Faction as unwilling to have him govern, as the People can be repreſented to have him reign. His Authority will be proſtituted to advance the ſelfiſh Schemes of the Miniſter, who, whilſt to his Maſter he calls himſelf, like the Pope, *Servus Servorum*, the meaneſt of his Slaves; like him too, he will erect himſelf into the Maſter of his King, and lord it over him. The Intereſt of the King will be as little conſulted as that of the Nation; the Intereſt of the Miniſter ſtands in equal Oppoſition to both. A weak Prince may be allured with the Hopes of enlarging his Power: But it will all be engroſs'd by the Miniſter, and taken from the King, altho' he may vainly imagine it to be torn from his People. The Miniſter may wallow in Wealth, and his Family may enjoy a larger Share of the Civil Liſt, than the King's own Family: But the King will reap no other Benefit from it, than loſing the Love and Confidence of his whole People, while he is amuſed with the Thoughts of being King over one half of them.

Now, as the Uſe of one Party Name enables, in this Manner, an uſurping Miniſter to put his Faction upon the King for a Party; ſo the Uſe of the oppoſite Party Name will ſerve him to diſcipline his Faction. If he has named them Whigs, he will din into their Ears that they are in Danger from the Tories; he will repreſent himſelf as the Giant who alone guards the Palace Gate againſt theſe ſame Tories. As he impoſes his Schemes upon his Prince, for Compliances with the Party; ſo he will dictate his own Projects to the Faction, for the Meaſures of his Prince. And upon the firſt Offer of Reſiſtance, he will benumb them with holding out the Gorgon Head of a Tory. He will be the only Channel between them to the Prince; he will magnify his Intereſt with him, and attribute to his Influence over him, that the Faction is continued in Pay; he will exaggerate the many Difficulties he encounters, to preſerve their Penſions to them, and by iſſuing his own Orders in the Name of the King, he will ſkreen himſelf from the Complaints of his Faction, even when he reduces their Wages. The ſame Neceſſity that firſt liſted them, will keep them obedient, and, like a good Huntſman, he will take Care to keep them always hungry; their Craving will be an Argument for encreaſing the inexhauſtible Demand of ſecret Service, and their Obedience will protect him from any Inquiries into his Manner of diſpoſing of it. The more conſtant Uſe he has for them, in the more conſtant Indigence he will keep them. And by theſe Means both the Prince, for whoſe Intereſt the Faction will be ſaid to be collected, and the Faction which will be ſuppoſed to govern, will, in Reality, be reduced into the moſt ſervile Dependence upon one Man, and into the moſt abject Submiſſion to his Power.

To conclude, Let us unite under a National Name with as much Zeal as our Fathers did under a Party one. And let us diſcountenance all who would revive the Name of Whigs and Tories, in Effect, to conceal their own Venality, and to perſuade the People that they muſt be for ever oppreſs'd by a Faction, and that the only Difference to them will be in the Name of the Man, who ſhall tyrannize over them.

Universal Spectator, June 2. N° 556.

The celebrated Dr. ****** *to the more celebrated Apoſtle* W——d. *(See p.* 240.)

Reverend Greeting Brother,

AS Treaties are the Mode of the Times; and, to ſpeak in the Language of the Vulgar, no one Tub now cares to ſtand on its own Bottom, even I, tho' ſo deſervedly famous for the numberleſs and nameleſs Cures I have performed, tho' poſted up at the Corner of every Street, Lane, and Alley, and for ſo many Years on Record in every News-Paper, even I condeſcend at laſt to propoſe an Alliance between me and my laudable Brethren, the Quacks, on one Side, and you and your Co-adjutors, the Collectors of *Kennington-Common*, on the other.

Si populus vult deſpi deſpitur: I don't know whether that is good *Latin* or no; but if not, I have learn'd of you, that human Wiſdom is no Accompliſhment, and of Courſe, Ignorance no Reproach. However, as I take it, the Meaning is, that *one Fool makes many*; and I muſt needs ſay, that Craft on our Side is not ſufficient, unleſs Folly is on that of our Auditory. Let this then be the Baſis of our future Confederacy: To diſcountenance Knowledge, and cry up implicit Faith in the Doctor; to effect which, I have obſerv'd, nothing is ſo infallible as Myſtery. When Men talk to be underſtood, the very Vulgar themſelves can examine their Principles, and unravel their Arguments: But when we wrap ourſelves round with Obſcurity, who can expoſe? who can reprove? Beſide, the Herd love to wonder, and the *Super-ſublime*, both on the Stage, and in the Pulpit, never fail'd of ſucceeding beyond the moſt ſanguine Expectations.

I was overjoy'd to read your incomprehenſible Journals, and hear your more incomprehenſible Orations; which I foreſaw could not fail of ſeducing our very good Friends the Mob: And then your Journeyings by Land and Water! Your Preachings in the Synagogues! Your Exerciſes in the Fields! But, above all, this notable Expedient of * *collecting Charities*, won my very Heart! Beſide, I found there was the exacteſt Similitude both in our Callings, and in our Meaſures to render them profitable. If you ſet up for a Copy of St. *Paul*, (as 'tis obſerv'd you do, even to the mimicking *Raphael*'s Picture of him at *Hampton-Court*) I do the ſame by the old Stager, *Hypocrites*, I think they call him: If you undertake to purify the Soul, I do the like by the Body; if you are an Enemy to the regular Drones of your Profeſſion, I am as much to thoſe of ours; if you profeſs to ſerve the Publick for the Sake of the Publick, ſo do I: Are the Mob your Cuſtomers, they are mine likewiſe; are you call'd a Quack in Doctrinals, I bear the ſame Reproach in Practice; are you the Jeſt of Men of Senſe, I want but very little of being as much their Jeſt as you: In a Word, if 'tis ſaid that you turn the Brains of your Patients, 'tis affirm'd, with equal Truth, that I deſtroy the Conſtitutions of mine.

From this Parallel, Sir, of our Character and Conduct, 'tis obvious that nothing can be more reaſonable than the Alliance above propos'd. But, perhaps, you will affect to be aſham'd of ſuch an Union, and may inſinuate it will endanger your Reputation. In Anſwer to which, Sir, give me Leave to ſay, that I have Scruples on that Head as well as you; ſuch as, perhaps, are much

* *At all Mr.* W——d's *Field Meetings, great Collections were made, which were ſaid to be for an Orphan-Houſe in* Georgia.

better grounded. Nobody can upbraid me with devouring Widows Houſes, leading captive ſilly Women, ruining the Peace, and confounding the Subſtance of Families; preaching up *Chriſt*, and playing the Devil; blindly recommending Charity, and at the ſame Time guilty of the worſt Oppreſſion, by ſqueezing the laſt Mite out of the Pockets of the Poor, robbing both them and the Community of their Time, and excluding the wholſome Spirit of Induſtry, to make Room for that Fiend Enthuſiaſm; blind, undiſtinguiſhing Enthuſiaſm! a Fiend, that never was let looſe among the Multitude, but to do Miſchief: Yet theſe, and a thouſand Things of the like Nature, are irreverently ſaid of a certain Perſon that ſhall be nameleſs, every Hour of the Day: And thoſe that have Wit and Humour, make him the conſtant Butt of both; when they hear of the prodigious Quantities of Braſs he receives, they ſay he is paid in his own Coin; when they hear of the Crowds that follow him, they immediately take the Hint, and calculate from thence the Number of Fools in *Britain*; and that as minutely and exactly as the *Jews* from a *State Lottery*.

The Proverb ſays, *A Word to the Wiſe is enough*; conſequently, I have no need to apply what has been ſaid: You ſee plainly now your Reputation will run no Hazard by uniting your Intereſts with mine; but, on the contrary, if there's any Danger of Character on either Side the Queſtion, 'tis on mine. I really have ſome Conſcience remaining, and can't help thinking myſelf much more innocent than a modern Saint; but what have we to do with Innocence? Gain, I take it, is your Godlineſs, as it is my publick Spirit; for Gain I practiſe, and you preach: Let Gain then, mutual Gain, be the Cement of our Alliance! Let us fairly divide the Mob between us, as Prize-Fighters do the Houſe: At the Theatre, Muſick and a Prologue introduce every new Play, and keep the Audience in good Humour till the Curtain is drawn up: This Part of the Entertainment is all I deſire for my *Andrew* and myſelf, and when you are ready to mount, we'll inſtantly reſign; unleſs you inſiſt on the aforeſaid facetious Gentleman's ſetting the Pſalm, or one of the Rev. Mr. *W———y*'s or Deacon *S———d*'s Hymns in its ſtead: I can aſſure you, Sir, *Andrew* has an admirable Talent that Way; can twang it thro' the Noſe like a *Scots* Organ, and put on a Face that *Hugh Peters* himſelf would have been charm'd with: By this Means one Stage may do for both. To which let me add, by Way of Hint as to private Practice, that when I perceive my Patients departing, I'll ſend them to you for ſpiritual Conſolation: Converts are eaſily made in the laſt Moments, and a Will may be drawn as *methodical* as you pleaſe. On the other Hand, as one good Turn deſerves another, ſend your Lunaticks, as faſt as you make them, to me; I can bleed, purge, ſhave and diet as well as *M*——, and you ſhall have a Share of the Profits into the Bargain.

But perhaps, in Anſwer to all this, you'll ſay, you are returning to the Brethren in *America*, to enjoy the Fruits of all your Labours: It may be ſo; but will not ſome others ariſe to *collect* in your Room? I don't queſtion but there will: As you have met with ſo plenteous a Harveſt, 'tis not to be queſtion'd but others will be found who will be glad of the Gleanings. To them then let me have the Honour to be join'd, if not to you: For, as I hinted above, our Way lies thro' the ſame Road, and the ſame Set of Patients ſerves for both. I am,

Reverend Brother,

Your Fellow Labourer, R. R.

The

The foregoing Paper will be thought too ſerve by thoſe who think Mr. Whitefield *an honeſt Man, but a great Enthuſiaſt; which ſeems to be the moſt general Opinion: We ſhall therefore give our Readers the following, which is wrote in a ſerious Strain.*

Daily Gazetteer, June 6. N° 1235.

THE Nature and Manner of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Preaching, the Accounts he has given us of himſelf, and the Accounts given of him by his Diſciples, are ſo extraordinary in themſelves, and ſeem to be intended by them to paſs for ſuch new and ſtrange Things, as ſufficiently warrant the Examination of any publick Writer. We are told, that he is another *Moſes*; that he is an *Apoſtolick Man*, and true *Preacher* of *Chriſt*'s *Goſpel*: It therefore imports the Publick very much to be rightly informed, whether he be, or be not ſo? And, therefore, neither he, nor any of his Followers, can be offended with any free Inquiries on this Head, provided they are fair and candid.

The Doctrines of Mr. *Whitefield* are of a very publick Nature, and the Diſcourſes of his Diſciples ſuch as might naturally beget the publick Attention; we ſee that they have alſo had their Effect. The Preacher hath drawn together a numerous Audience; his Journies throughout *England* have anſwered the Ends he propoſed; Multitudes have accepted the Invitations given them by his Friends; and, as Things now ſtand, we muſt either diſbelieve our Ears and our Eyes, or we muſt agree in acknowledging that Mr. *Whitefield*'s Proceedings deſerve the publick Notice; or, in other Words, that it imports the Publick very much to be informed what his true Deſigns are.

There ſeems to be the greater Need of this, on Account of the Variety of Opinions, which are already publiſhed concerning him. Some ſpeak of him as a Perſon *inſpired*, as a Man of great *Abilities* and profound Learning; others as poſitively ſay that he is an *Enthuſiaſt*, one of a very ordinary Capacity, and of very little Learning. We are told by his Diſciples, that he is a true Preacher of Righteouſneſs; that he is a ſincere Labourer in *Chriſt*'s Vineyard; and that his main Deſign is to revive the true Doctrines of the Church of *England*. Thoſe who oppoſe him, ſay the very reverſe of theſe Things; they alledge, that he has imbibed ſome fanatical Notions, which have put him upon diſturbing the Peace of the Church, and that he is engaged in a very pernicious Deſign, *viz.* That of perſuading the People, that unleſs they liſten to his Doctrine, they cannot attain Salvation.

I muſt take Notice, in the firſt Place, that whoever conſiders Mr. *Whitefield*'s Conduct, will be neceſſarily led to inquire on what Foundation it is built? To this, I think, there has not been any ſatisfactory Anſwer given. If it be ſaid, that this Preacher is influenced by ſome Impulſe of the Divine Spirit, then I ſhould think this ought to be accompanied with ſome clear and diſtinct Proof. As God is the Creator of the Soul and Body, he may operate, without Queſtion, if he pleaſes, on the former, in ſuch a Manner as that he who feels the Operation in his Soul, may be convinced that it comes from God. But then another Man can have no Evidence of his Neighbour's Inſpiration but by Miracles, which are the natural Proofs of it, eſtabliſhed by Scripture, and allowed by Reaſon. As to the Veracity of the Perſon who may affirm that he is inſpired, this is no ſufficient Proof, becauſe Men of great Worth have been ſtrangely miſtaken in this Point; and, therefore, tho' others my know that they are not miſtaken, yet their Aſſertion cannot make thoſe to whom they ſpeak, know it; and, without knowing it, they ought not, they cannot believe it. Indeed it may be ſaid, that on the Preaching of ſuch an inſpired Perſon, the Spirit of God may operate alſo on the Minds of ſome of his Hearers; but then theſe are all diſtinct Revelations, and ſo many clear Proofs, that a Man's aſſerting himſelf to be inſpired is no ſufficient Warrant for another Man to think that he is ſo. I do not ſay that Mr. *Whitefield* himſelf claims to be a Prophet, or that he is aſſerted to be ſuch by his Diſciples; but inaſmuch as they have uſed Expreſſions which have a Tendency that Way, and as they cannot but know that all Pretences of this Sort afford much Matter of Triumph to the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith, it is hoped they will either ſpeak explicitly on this Head for the future, or that they will ſay nothing of it at all, but endeavour to juſtify the Conduct of their Leader from Reaſon and the Word of God.

With reſpect to Reaſon: No Man who has read the Goſpel attentively, and conſidered the Evidence for the Chriſtian Religion impartially, but will allow, that it is in all Reſpects rational, and that of Conſequence nothing can be more reaſonable than for a Man duly qualified to exhort others to the ſincere Belief of, and a ſtrict Obedience to the Law given by *Chriſt*. But then this can be done no otherwiſe by a Layman than in occaſional Converſations, or by Writing, which was the Method Mr. *Nelſon* took, and Mr. *Boyle*, with many others I might mention. But it may be aſk'd, why a Layman might not diſcourſe publickly on ſuch important Topicks? To which I anſwer; becauſe it would be apparently improper; it would be invading the Office of others; it would be acting out of Character, and expoſing ſuch Doctrines and Diſcourſes, as might be excellent in their Kind, to Miſapprehenſion and ſtrong Prejudices, by

taking ſo odd a Method in delivering them; becauſe every Man who heard them would be apt to ſay, why did not this Man qualify himſelf, and ſo become a regular Preacher; or, being not regularly qualified, why does he preach? It is no Anſwer to this to ſay, that Laymen among the *Quakers* preach; or that the Teachers in other Congregations, are held A to be mere Laymen by the Members of the eſtabliſhed Church: For the former is ſtill a *Quaker*, and the latter a *Teacher*; ſo that we know on what Principles they preach.

If Reaſon therefore doth not juſtify a Layman in exerciſing his Gifts in this Manner, then it ſhould ſeem that it will not juſtify a Clergyman in preaching in any other Way B than that Church allows, from whence he derives his Orders: For if its Diſcipline is unreaſonable, why did the Preacher ſubmit to it? If it is reaſonable, why does he revolt from it? If the former was an inconſiderate Action, may it not be doubted whether the latter is not ſo too? Some of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Followers have been very free with the Clergy; they treat them in general as Men not over careful C in their Callings, and who do not always pay a proper Regard to their Function. Shall we believe this becauſe they ſay it? What then muſt we ſay to the Clergy? They tell us, that Mr. *Whitefield* promiſed Obedience to his Dioceſan, and all his legal Superiors, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, in the Face of God and his Church. Mr. *Whitefield*'s Practice does not ſeem to tell us this. He certainly preaches D without a Licence, againſt the Rules of the Church; and, which is ſomething too among conſiderate Men, againſt the Laws of the Land.

With reſpect to the Word of God; there hath been a great deal ſaid in Defence of this new Preacher, as if his Conduct was perfectly conſiſtent therewith; but, even on this Head, E there remains ſome Doubts, even ſetting aſide that Obedience which, in Conſequence of his Ordination to the Prieſthood, he owes to the eſtabliſhed Church. For, tho' it be true, that the Scripture furniſhes us with many Examples of Preaching on *Commons*; for the Deſerts in *Judea* were no other; yet, it is not clear, that any one of theſe Examples comes up to Mr. *Whitefield*'s Caſe. The *Prophets* F under the *old Law*, *John* the *Baptiſt*, the Fore-runner of the *new Chriſt*, and all his Apoſtles, taught by Divine Commiſſion, and did not teach till they had given Evidence of their having ſuch a Commiſſion. Beſides, the latter taught a new Religion, and openly profeſs'd that they came to aboliſh the old one. Such Profeſſions requir'd an extraordinary Commiſſion. As for Mr. *Whitefield*, he does not pretend to any ſuch Deſigns; he affirms, he teaches no new Religion; he aſſerts, that he is a true Member of the Church of *England*: How then comes he to find ſuch Powers in the Word of God as other Members of the Church of *England* cannot find? Or how come his Followers, if they are indeed his Followers, to think themſelves at Liberty to maltreat the Clergy of the Church of *England* in a Body, to repreſent them to their reſpective Flocks, and to the whole World in general, as wicked and irreligious Men? Sure there is ſomething very ſingular in this; and, to ſpeak plainly, ſomething inconſiſtent. If the Church of *England* is a true Chriſtian Church, why do theſe Men treat her thus? If ſhe is not ſo, how comes the enlighten'd Mr. *Whitefield* to boaſt of his being a Member of this Church?

Craftſman, June 9. N° 674.

The former Subject continued (See p. 277.) *with the Difference between a* PARTY *and a* FACTION, *&c.*

SIR,

BY *Party*, as I underſtand the Word, and think I could prove it from the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, was always meant a national Diviſion of Opinions, concerning the *Form* and *Methods of Government*, for the Benefit of the *whole Community*, according to the different Judgments of Men; that their Conformity to *thoſe Principles*, as the Motive of their reſpective Actions, diſtinguiſh'd the Party; and that *by the Fruit we might know the Tree*; that from the Moment this Contention for the real Service of their Country was given up by Men inveſted with *Power*, and a *corrupt Influence*, upon which only they united, they became a *Faction*; for I conceive a *Faction* to be a Set of Men arm'd with *Power*, and acting upon no one Principle of *Party*, or any Notion of *publick Good*, but to preſerve and ſhare the Spoils amongſt *themſelves*, as their only Cement; that they may be able to do every Thing contrary to the Intereſt of the *Nation*, and the Bent of the *whole People*. This is properly a *Faction*; and tho' ſome Perſons may take it ill to be call'd by *that Name*; yet it is doing them too much Honour to give them even ſuch a Rank of Diſtinction, which ariſes only from the Politeneſs of the preſent Age.——*Faction* is founded upon a Share of *Power*, as well as *Plunder*. Many Perſons may partake of the *latter*; but if *one Man* alone ſhould ever engroſs the whole Power and Diſtribution of all *Places*, *Honours*, and *other Court Favours*, in order to create an abſolute Dependence upon *himſelf*, without ſuffering even his *Prince* to participate any Power with him, in *that Reſpect*; what would his *Fellow Servants* be, however dignify'd by *Birth*, *Titles*, *Employments*, or *Abilities*, but the abject Tools an Partizans of *that Man*, and his *illuſtrious Houſe*?

Whenever a Nation is reduced to ſuch a wretched

wretched State, every Man would ſee it, and feel it; the *Corrupt*, as well as the *Uncorrupt*--*Taxes*, *Oppreſſion*, *Poverty*, and *ill Conduct* in every Branch of Government, would open the Eyes of the *latter*; and the *former* muſt not only know it, but bear their Teſtimony of it; for if ever *one Man* ſhould, for many Years together, have the ſole Diſpoſition of every Thing in the *Army*, the *Navy*, the *Law*, the *Church*, and the *Revenue*, without ſuffering any Perſons to ſhare with him, even in their *proper Departments*, would it not occaſion Murmurs and Complaints from his *own Creatures*, tho' he ſhould have aſſum'd to himſelf an *arbitrary Power*, for a long Courſe of Years? Would not *thoſe*, who bear the Names of the *greateſt Poſts of Honour and Truſt*, when they are us'd only as *Ornaments of Advice* and *Names of Power*, ſometimes lament their *own Condition*, and the *State of the Nation?*—Give Men the Pay of *great Places*, and their Pride will be always reproaching them with the Contempt, which their Want of Power creates.—Reduction of *Taxes*, *Liberty*, and every Thing elſe that is dear to Mankind, would be very agreeable to them, provided they could keep their *purchaſe Money*. They would ſtill *ſell*, and have ſomething *worth ſelling*; the Dangers of which they would often burſt forth, and explain their *private Opinions*, directly contrary to their *publick ones*—The Spirit of *Liberty* would force its Way thro' all Oppoſition, and give the Soul a Breathing, by the Hopes of a better Change. The Penance they do, and the Sacrifices they make to the *Manes* of their Country would be Evidences againſt them.—But whenever they feel themſelves actuated by *national Motives*, they would be told in an inſolent Manner, *that they had not ſo much given them to feel* themſelves *the very Dangers, to which they would be expos'd, and the Fear of being of no longer Uſe*; for *Corruption in Practice* can be carried only to a certain Height, before it muſt be loſt in *Reformation of Abuſes*, or *arbitrary Power*. The more expenſive a *Miniſter* is, the more he deſtroys the *Means of Corruption*. If the *more Pay* created the more Honour, how many are more honourable than a *Smugler*, and a *Smugler* more than a *common Soldier*, who is oblig'd to fight for his Country, at *ſix Pence* a Day? Yet we ſee that the *laſt*, from the Effect of *good Diſcipline* and *Pay*, is ready to march upon the moſt deſperate Enterprizes, at the Word of Command. But if he happens to eſcape, he will complain to all the World of the raſh and ill Conduct of his *General*. This is exactly the Caſe of every *mercenary Band*; for tho' they are oblig'd to obey their *Commander*, for the Sake of their Pay; yet when he puts them upon unneceſſary and dangerous Services, they will endeavour to juſtify themſelves, by expoſing his Miſmanagement, and can never love him afterwards.

Some Things are beſt proved and illuſtrated, by putting them into oppoſite Lights, and comparing *ſmall Things* with *great*. As ſuch may be conſider'd the Adminiſtration and Impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Time of K. *Charles* I. From thence we may learn, that *Places*, when once given, were look'd upon as granted *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*; which is at length obtain'd for the *Judges*. The Nature of the Thing alone implies it; for what is the Intention of creating *Places*, but to do the Buſineſs of the Publick, as long as they act according to Juſtice and Equity? Indeed, long before theſe Times the *Judges* had been made more uſeful to the *Crown*, and detrimental to the *People*, by Commiſſions *during Pleaſure*. But we find that all *other Places* were look'd upon in another Light at that Time, from the very Articles of *this Impeachment*, by ſelling and even buying *Places* for himſelf. The Article for ſelling the *Lord Treaſurer*'s Place to the Earl of *Middleſex*, for 20,000*l.* in the Reign of K. *James* I. may ſeem very odd at preſent. *The* King *can do no Wrong*, and therefore it was laid upon the *Miniſter*; but Hiſtory informs us, that the *King* had the *Money*, and ſold the *Place*. This is probably the firſt Precedent of a *King*'s ſelling his *Treaſurer*'s Place.—I leave the Reader to judge whether this hath not been finely improv'd ſince, to the great Emolument of the *Crown*, and Eaſe of the Subject.

This Treaſurer being fallen into Diſgrace, could not then be remov'd but by an *Accuſation in Parliament*.--I will quote only that Part of Sir *John Elliot*'s Speech, in which he ſums up the Impeachment againſt the *Duke*.

" * I obſerve a Wonder in Policy and in Nature, how *this Man*, ſo notorious in Evil, ſo dangerous to the State in his *immenſe Greatneſs*, is able to ſubſiſt of *himſelf* and keep a Being—To this I anſwer, that the *Duke* hath us'd the Help of *Art* to prop him up. It is apparent that, by his *Skill*, he hath rais'd a Party in the *Court*, a Party in the *Country*, and a main Party in the *chief Places of Government in the Kingdom*; ſo that all the moſt deſerving Offices, which require Abilities to diſcharge them, are fix'd upon the *Duke*, his *Allies* and *Kindred*; and thus hath he drawn to *himſelf*, *his Family*, and *Dependents*, the Power of *Juſtice*, the Power of *Honour*, and the Power of *Command*; and in Effect the *whole Power of the Kingdom*, both for *Peace* and *War*, to ſtrengthen his *Allies*; and in ſetting *himſelf* up, hath ſet upon the *Kingdom's Revenues*, the Fountain of Supply, and the Nerves of the Land.

He intercepts, conſumes, and exhauſts the *Revenues of the Crown*, not only to ſatisfy *his own luſtful Deſires*, but the *Luxury of others*; and by emptying the Veins, in which the Blood ſhould run, he hath caſt the Body of the Kingdom into an *high Conſumption*."

This

* Ruſhworth's *Collection*, *Anno* 1626, *p.* 354.

This was the Language of *Parliament*, at that Time; and ſufficiently ſhews to the Nation, at preſent, that in ſuch a Situation, all the *Under-Actors*, with their *Pay-Maſter* at their Head, can be only call'd *his Party*.—I do not mean to draw any Parallel; for, the *Duke of Buckingham* was but a Novice in Politicks, and had not learnt the Art of traf- A ficking with all the *three legiſlative States*; which, tho' it is ſafer for a *Miniſter*, deſtroys all Hopes of Relief to the *People*.

Our Hiſtory, were we to trace it down farther, would fully ſhew the Diſtinction between *Party*, with Regard to *national Opinions*, as well as *Faction*, and the *Party of* one Man *againſt the Whole*. The Miniſters B of *Charles* II. were ſometimes call'd a *Faction*; and during one Period of Time, a CABAL, by a Witticiſm alluding to their Names. Lord *Danby* was a more abſolute Miniſter than any before him; and, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, purchas'd *Numbers* rather than *Heads*. The particular Situation of Affairs at that Time, with Reſpect to *Religion* and the C *Court*, occaſion'd the Diſtinction of a *Court* and a *Country Party*. The Names of *Whig* and *Tory* have fatally divided us ever ſince, and enough hath been ſaid upon that Subject already. But it is impoſſible that the Nation ſhould preſerve its Liberties, or even its very Being, whilſt their *Laws* and their *Wealth* are given up for the Subſiſtence of a *miniſterial Party* only. Nothing can make a Stand D againſt them, unleſs the *whole People* unite, when they feel the Effects of it in *one national Party*. — The Deſires of all People as a Body, ſhould be to preſerve the Nation free and flouriſhing, ſo as neither to be enſlaved by *Tory Prerogative*, or *Whig Corruption*.

It is in vain to think that this Nation can E ever preſerve itſelf from the Exceſs of *either of theſe Means*, eſpecially of *both united*, as long as they continue a divided People, by *idle Names* and *abſurd Diſtinctions*. The Practices of their *Leaders* have too often ſhewn, that the Contention is only about different Means of obtaining abſolute Power for *themſelves* and their *Maſter*. The Good of the Whole hath been often entirely neglected by the Miniſters F of *both Denominations*, and all their Court made by encreaſing the Power and Riches of the *Crown*. This ought, at laſt, to convince the whole Nation, that our *unhappy Diſtinctions* are the different Means, as Power prevails, by which a *Miniſter* does whatever he pleaſes, and the Cloak that diſguiſes it to his *own Party*—Have we not ſufficiently experienc'd and felt the Misfortunes of our unG happy Diviſions?—Can any Thing elſe, but a *national Unanimity*, preſerve us from ſuch a Deluge of *Corruption*? Have not all, who are not immerg'd in it, given the ſtrongeſt Proof of their Endeavours to prevent it, and the beſt Aſſurances that Men can poſſibly give for their future Actions?—They have quitted the *Place*, &c. It is in vain for them to oppoſe any longer. Nothing can ſtem the Torrent, but an utter Abolition of all *former Party Diſtinctions*, and the whole People uniting for their own Preſervation. In ſuch a Caſe, a *Reformation* muſt ſoon follow; and we ſhould become *one People*, too powerful for any *miniſterial Party* whatſoever.

To undeceive thoſe, who think that becauſe they were once called *Whigs*, they muſt always be *Whigs*, and that they now govern, becauſe ONE actually governs, who was formerly eſteem'd ſo; I would aſk, Is it the Principle of *Whiggiſm*, that hath the Aſcendency? If it is, let it be ſhewn; and that any late Meaſures are founded on, or conſiſtent with *that Principle*.—Does any *old Whig* retain thoſe Principles of his younger Days, and ever give one Vote, according to what was the fundamental Principle of the *Party*, and the Touch-ſtone of *Whiggiſm*, but the Loſs of his Employment immediately follows, and the Perſon is *un-whig'd*?—Where is *Whiggiſm* now, but in the Head and Pockets of *one Man*?—Does any Body ſuffer, or loſe his Place, let his Actions or Character be ever ſo bad, if he ſticks by *him*?—But is any Man forgiven who once votes according to his Conſcience?—To do him Juſtice, he makes no Secret of the Principles and Rule of his Government, &c.

HAMPDEN.

Common Senſe, June 9. N° 123.

Of Corruption, and Place-men and Penſioners in Parliament.

IF Miniſters of State once come to avow Corruption, if they declare it a Meaſure abſolutely neceſſary, and aſſert that Government cannot be carried on without it, we may gueſs at the Peoples Happineſs under ſuch a virtuous Adminiſtration.

Corruption is the miſerable Expedient of thoſe, whoſe Actions will not bear a fair Examination; it is the laſt Refuge of Cheats, Impoſtors, and Knaves: Miniſters who have multiplied Crimes upon their own Heads, will certainly have Recourſe to it, if they have the Means in their Hands of employing it: For this, every publick Act will be turn'd into a Jobb; the beſt Laws will be clog'd with Clauſes, to render them Grievances in the Execution; Employments will be ſplit and multiplied; Salaries will be encreaſed: I ſay, to make Miniſters ſafe in their Crimes, Parties will be reviv'd, Combinations form'd, Threats, Flattery, Lies, nay even Pimping will be employ'd: In fine, a private Intereſt will be thrown in every Man's Way, to draw him off from that of the Publick.

Thoſe

Thoſe wiſe Men who firſt conſtituted Commonwealths, ſtudied human Nature, and, knowing it to be liable to Corruption, laid ſuch Reſtraints upon thoſe that were to govern, as to oblige them to act right, whether they would or not. Whenever the People ſuffer thoſe Reſtraints to be taken off, they conſent to their own Ruin; for there ſcarce ever were Men in Power that might do what they pleaſed, but did what they ought not to do.

I would aſk theſe Gentlemen that argue for Corruption, what they would think of a Man who, having the Charge of a Fort or a Cittadel committed to him, ſhould give it up thro' Fear, or betray it for Gold; will they allow that he ought to be hang'd by the Laws of all Nations? If ſo, what muſt we think of thoſe that ſell the whole Country, and give up Poſterity itſelf? *Virgil* places the Betrayer of his Country in the loweſt Part of Hell, *vendidit hic Auro Patriam*; but could this great Poet have invented a Hell bad enough for the Man who, not content with betraying his Country himſelf, made it the Study of his whole Life to corrupt others to betray it alſo?

All our Writers upon Government have told us, that *England* can never be enſlaved but by Parliament; and I think there are but two Methods of fitting Parliaments for this pious Work; one is by purging, the other by poiſoning the Houſe. *Oliver* took the firſt of theſe two Methods, not thro' the Neceſſity of his Circumſtances, for he might have had Money, had he reſolv'd upon it; but becauſe it ſuited beſt with his martial Genius, which made him ſcorn the ſneaking and treacherous Method of Bribing. As he underſtood human Nature, he muſt know that it would, in Time, deſtroy the natural Courage of the People; and, whatever he did at home, he was reſolved to keep up the Reputation and Honour of the Nation abroad.—Let us ſpeak Truth of the Devil.—This baſe and cowardly Method of doing Miſchief, was below even a Villain of any Spirit.

If ever the Repreſentatives of the People, or a Majority of them, ſhould, for Places, Penſions, and occaſional Sums of Money, devote themſelves to a Miniſter, Poverty, Oppreſſion and Miſery will follow all their Reſolutions; nothing good can ever be expected from ſuch, and without doubt, they will be no more looked upon or conſider'd as the Repreſentatives of a free People, than *Oliver*'s Rump was.

It is therefore the Buſineſs of the whole Nation, to require of their Repreſentatives, that a Law ſhould be paſs'd to exclude not only Penſioners, but Place-men, from ſitting in either Houſe, at leaſt to limit the latter, and confine them to ſuch a Number as may not be dangerous to Liberty. No other Expedient can be found out to hinder Miniſters from modelling Parliaments to their own Purpoſes, and making them the Inſtruments of the Peoples Slavery.

Such a Law may be neceſſary at this Time, when Employments are become very numerous, and many of them infinitely more lucrative than heretofore; beſides, it is viſible to all the World that Place-men are lately become extremely unpopular, and begin to be conſider'd as ſo many Enemies to publick Liberty.

It will be proper to apply for it at this Time for another Reaſon, becauſe the preſent Parliament, being free from all Suſpicion of Venality themſelves, will paſs it, not only to keep themſelves ſtill from the Suſpicion, but alſo to prevent Corruption from entering into future Parliaments; and good Laws muſt be puſh'd for, when they can be eaſieſt obtained.

Some of the wiſeſt and beſt Men in this Nation have not been without Apprehenſions, that Corruption might ſome Time or other enter into thoſe auguſt Aſſemblies.—In a Parliament of K. *Charles* II. that was called the Long Parliament, there were ſome Members whoſe Behaviour gave Cauſe to ſuſpect, that the Love of their Country was not the Motive that influenced their Opinions and Votes; it occaſioned Uneaſineſs to the whole Nation, and then it was that the World began to have a Notion of Penſioners in Parliament: (See p. 228 E.)—I cannot illuſtrate this Subject better than by giving Sir *Francis Winnington*'s Speech in Parliament, in the Year 1680, upon this Subject.

Mr. Speaker,

"The laſt Houſe of Commons, being ſenſible how narrowly this Nation eſcaped being ruin'd by a Sort of Monſters, call'd Penſioners, which ſat in the long Parliament, had entered into a Conſideration how to prevent the like from coming into future Parliaments; and, in order thereto, reſolv'd, that they would ſeverely chaſtiſe ſome of thoſe that had been guilty, and make the beſt Laws they could to prevent the like for the future; and for that Purpoſe a Committee was appointed, of which Mr. Serjeant *Gregory*, now Judge *Gregory*, was Chairman, by which many Papers relating to that Affair came to his Hands. Sir, I think it a Buſineſs of ſo great Importance, that it ought never to be forgotten, nor the Proſecution of it deferr'd.—I have often heard that *England* can never be deſtroy'd but by itſelf: To have ſuch Parliaments was the moſt likely Way that ever was invented. I remember a great Lawyer ſaid in this Houſe, when it was debated in laſt Parliament, that it was *Treaſon*, and he gave many learned Arguments to prove it.—Whether it be ſo or no, I will not offer to debate, but I think that for thoſe that are Legiſlators of a Nation to take Bribes,

Bribes, to undermine the Laws and Government of this Nation, that they ought to be chaſtiſed as Traitors. It was my Fortune to ſit here a little while in the long Parliament; I did obſerve, that all thoſe that had Penſions, and moſt of thoſe that had Offices, voted all of a Side, as they were directed by ſome great Officer, as exactly as if their Buſineſs in this Houſe had been to preſerve their Penſions and Offices, and not to make Laws for the Good of thoſe that ſent them here. How ſuch Perſons could be any Way uſeful for the Support of the Government, by preſerving a fair Underſtanding between the King and his People, but, on the contrary, how dangerous to bring in abitrary Power and Popery, I leave to every Man's Judgment? They were ſo far from being the true Repreſentatives of the People, that they were a diſtinct middle Intereſt between the King and his People; and their chief Buſineſs was to ſerve the End of ſome great Miniſter of State, tho' never ſo oppoſite to the true Intereſt of the Nation. Sir, this Buſineſs ought never to fall, tho' there ſhould be never ſo many Prorogations and Diſſolutions of Parliament, before any Thing be done in it:——I think it is the Intereſt of the Nation that it ſhould be proſecuted from Parliament to Parliament, as if there were an Impeachment in againſt them. And therefore, Sir, I would humbly move you to ſend ſome Members of this Houſe to Judge *Gregory* for the Papers he hath taken in his Cuſtody relating to this Affair, that ſo you may in convenient Time proceed farther therein, as you ſhall think good. And, Sir, being there is a Report, that ſome of this Houſe have made a Bargain at Court for great Offices, in order to vitiate and corrupt their Votes in this Houſe, which, tho' but a Project to caſt a Reflexion on ſuch Members, however, to ſatisfy the World, I pray let there be a Vote paſt,—*That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of any Office under the Crown, during ſuch Time as he continues a Member of this Houſe.*"

Had this Gentleman left Iſſue, we might perhaps ſee ſome of his Deſcendants to Day aſſerting the Independency of Parliament, with the ſame Spirit, in Oppoſition to the ſlaviſh Doctrines that are now advanced; but, I am ſorry to ſay it, the Family is extinct.

The LORDS PROTESTS.

Die Jovis, 1° Martii, 1738.

THE Order being read for taking into farther Conſideration the *Convention* lately concluded between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and the ſeparate Articles belonging thereunto;

It was mov'd, that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to return the Thanks of this Houſe, &c.

After long Debate,

The Queſtion was put upon the ſaid Motion.

Content 71	95	Not Content 58	74
Proxies 24		Proxies 16	

Diſſentient, *Bedford.*

1. Becauſe we conceive that this Reſolution, under the plauſible Pretence of a reſpectful Addreſs to the Throne, carries with it an Approbation of the Convention concluded at the *Pardo* the 14th of *January* laſt, which, as we apprehend, may be a moſt fatal Compliment, if it ſhould induce his Majeſty to believe, that this Convention is agreeable to the Senſe and Expectation of the Nation.

2. Becauſe this Reſolution hath rather weaken'd than enforc'd the Addreſs of the laſt Year, having omitted that Part of the ſaid Addreſs, which declares, that no Goods being carried from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions to another, are to be deem'd contraband or prohibited Goods; and that the ſearching of Ships, under Pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited Goods, is a Violation and Infraction of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

3. We think the ſaid Reſolution doth not ſufficiently aſſert our Right, by ſaying only, that we ſhall not be liable to be ſtopp'd, ſearch'd or viſited upon the open Seas; the Merchants having prov'd, at the Bar of this Houſe, that Currents and Winds unavoidably drive Ships out of their Courſe, and that Obſervations of Land-marks, upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, are abſolutely neceſſary for their ſteering a ſafe Courſe through thoſe Seas, we apprehend, that their being obliged to keep a direct Courſe, without coming near the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, as lately inſiſted upon by the *Spaniards*, would render them ſole Judges of our Navigation, and their being permitted to viſit or ſearch our Ships within any Limits whatſoever, would render our whole *American* Trade precarious and impracticible.

4. Becauſe we ſee no Reaſon to believe, that the future Negotiation of the Plenipotentiaries will, in the next eight Months, obtain the Admiſſion of thoſe Rights inſiſted upon in our former Addreſs, which the Inſtances and Repreſentations made to the Court of *Spain* laſt Year, ſupported by the Reſolution of Parliament, and a powerful Fleet, have not been able as yet to procure.

5. Becauſe we apprehend the *Spaniards* do not think themſelves bound by this Convention to abſtain from their unjuſt Methods of Proceeding; ſince it was prov'd at the Bar of this Houſe, that Capt. *Vaughan*, a Commander of a *Britiſh* Ship, having been unjuſtly taken by a *Spaniſh* Man of War, his Ship confiſcated, and he impriſon'd at *Cadiz*, was, at the Time of ſigning the Convention, detain'd

detain'd in Priſon there, and not releas'd in ſeveral Weeks after, notwithſtanding the Repreſentation of the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiary at the Court of *Spain*.

6. Becauſe we conceive, that the Reparation pretended to be made to our Merchants, by this Convention, for the grievous Loſſes they have ſuſtain'd during a Courſe of many Years, is inſufficient; the dark Accounts of this Tranſaction, laid before us, have not been fully explain'd, nor any ſatisfactory Reaſons given us, why their Demands, ſtated in an Account ſign'd *June* 14th. 1738, by Mr. *Stert*, one of the Commiſſaries, at 343,277 *l.* ſhould be ſo greatly reduc'd.

7. Becauſe, as we apprehend, we are to allow 60,000 *l.* to the King of *Spain*, chiefly on Account of the Ships taken near *Sicily* in the Year 1718; tho' it hath appear'd to the Houſe, from the Inſtructions given to the Commiſſaries after the Treaty of *Seville*, ſign'd by his Majeſty, now lying before us, that the Articles of the Treaty concluded at *Madrid* in 1721, upon which that Claim of the *Spaniards* is founded, had been fully executed on the Part of the Crown of *Great Britain*.

8. Becauſe the referring the Limits of *Florida* and *Carolina* to the Plenipotentiaries, ſeems to call in Queſtion our Right to Poſſeſſions, which we have ſo long uninterruptedly enjoyed, ſeven eighth Parts or Shares of which the Nation, at a conſiderable Expence, hath, not long ſince, purchas'd of the Proprietors under the two original Grants of King *Charles* the IId, a certain Diſtrict whereof, call'd *Georgia*, in Honour to his preſent Majeſty, hath been erected into a new Colony, and granted to Truſtees for laudable Purpoſes, for the Eſtabliſhment and Improvement of which conſiderable Sums have been granted by the Publick; and moreover it being ſtipulated by the preſent Convention, that no Fortifications there ſhall be encreas'd, during the Term of eight Months, we apprehend, that the Regiment lately rais'd for the Defence of that Colony, and alſo the Engineers and Stores, which, at a conſiderable Encreaſe of the publick Expence, have been ſent thither, will not only remain uſeleſs, but if a Peace ſhould not be procur'd within that Period, will, at the End of it, be expos'd, together with the Colony, to the Violence and Irruption of the *Spaniards*.

9. Becauſe we apprehend the *Britiſh* Miniſters Acceptance of the Declaration ſign'd by Monſ. *De la Quadra*, *January* 10, 1738-9, ſaid to be agreed with reciprocal Accord, hath allow'd his Catholick Majeſty to reſerve to himſelf in its full Force, the Right of being able to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento* of Negroes, in caſe the *South-Sea* Company doth not ſubject herſelf to pay, within a ſhort Time, the Sum of 68,000 *l.* pretended to be owing on the Duty of Negroes, and Profits of the Ship *Caroline*, tho' that Sum was never otherwiſe acknowledg'd to be due, than as Part of a Plan of Accommodation, wherein a much larger Sum was admitted to be due to the ſaid Company, whereby we apprehend the King of *Spain* may think that great Company is put out of the Protection of his Majeſty as to this Point, and left to his own Mercy and Equity; whereas if the Convention, as it now ſtands, had been ſign'd without the Acceptance of the Declaration, the King of *Spain* would have had no Pretence, as we conceive, to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento*; and therefore we apprehend, that the ſaid Declaration will be look'd upon as a Defeazance of the ſaid Treaty, as far as it relates to the *South-Sea* Company, which appears to us a diſhonourable Colluſion, hurtful to publick Credit. (See p. 86 B.)

10. Becauſe we don't find any Satisfaction hath been obtain'd by the Convention for the frequent Cruelties and Barbarities exerciſed on the *Britiſh* Sailors, nor for the many Inſults offer'd to the *Britiſh* Flag; which we are apprehenſive may be thought an Inſenſibility of the Sufferings of a Body of Men, highly uſeful to the Trade, and neceſſary to the Defence of theſe Kingdoms, and a great Neglect of the Honour of the Nation.

Graham	*Thanet*	*Clinton*
Huntington	*Bruce*	*Foley*
Burlington	*Gainſborough*	*Haverſham*
Cheſterfield	*Beaufort*	*Shafteſbury*
Montjoy	*Cobham*	*Litchfield*
Macclesfied	*Abington*	*Gower*
Stanhope	*Maſſam*	*Suffolk*
Northampton	*Strafford*	*Maynard*
Clifton	*Weſtmoreland*	*Coventry*
B. *Lincoln*	*Ker*	*Boyle*
Briſtol	*Aylesford*	*Carteret*
Raymond	*Greenwich*	*Talbot*
Winchelſea	*Oxford*	*Bathurſt*.

Die Lunæ, 4° *Junii*, 1739.

ORDER for the State of the Nation read;——

Mov'd to reſolve, that the Non-payment of the 95,000 *l.* agreed by Treaty to be due from the Crown of *Spain*, as a Balance to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, and expreſly ſtipulated to be paid in Money in *London*, within four Months after the Exchange of the Ratification, which Time is now expir'd, is a manifeſt Infraction on the Part of *Spain*, of the *Convention* lately concluded between the two Crowns, an high Indignity to his Majeſty, and an Injuſtice to the Nation.

Which being objected to,

A Queſtion being ſtated thereupon,

The previous Queſtion was put, Whether the Queſtion be now put.

It was reſolv'd in the Negative,

Content 44
Not Content 63

Diſſentient,

Becauſe we think the main Queſtion ſhould have been put and paſs'd in the Affirmative, ſince every Lord who ſpoke in the Debate, agreed, That it was ſtrictly true.—And we don't apprehend, the leaſt Inconvenience could poſſibly have ariſen from it; but on the contrary, we conceive, That the Stating of the Fact of the manifeſt Infraction of the *Convention*, was a neceſſary Foundation for the ſubſequent Advice of this Houſe to his Majeſty, which Advice we think the more neceſſary, ſince we are convinc'd, by the Experience of many Years, that the Councils of the Adminiſtration, far from procuring any Reparation or Satisfaction for the Inſults and Injuries this Nation has reciv'd, have only expos'd it to further Diſhonour and Contempt.

Cheſterfield *Shaftſbury* *Foley*
Suffolk *Gower* *Cobham*
Northampton *Bathurſt* *Weſtmoreland*
Maſſam *Coventry* *Litchfield*
Boyle *Stanhope* *Winchelſea* and
Strafford *Aylesford* *Nottingham.*
Carteret.

The SPEECH *of the Right Hon. the L—d V—ſc—nt* G—ge, *againſt the* CONVENTION *with* Spain.

SIR,

AS incapable as I am of entering into a Debate of this Nature, I can't with that Duty I think I owe to my Country, and thoſe I have the Honour to repreſent, ſit ſtill and only give a Negative to the Queſtion before us: For I look on this Addreſs, that is propos'd to be made his Majeſty, to be no more than a Vote of Approbation of the Meaſures taken by the Adminiſtration, and of Thanks for the Bleſſing the Nation has obtain'd by this Convention with *Spain*, of which, I once ſaid before, had a Meſſenger with proper Inſtructions been ſent over in a Fiſher-Boat, he would have brought us back a better, than that we have got.

As to any Compliments that are to be paid his Majeſty, no one is more ready to join in them than myſelf; but as by the Laws of this Land the King can do no Wrong, ſo I look on this Convention as the Work of the Miniſter, and as ſuch I ſhall ſpeak of it; and that it is ſo, is clear; for every Body, let him be never ſo dim-ſighted (that has not had Duſt thrown into his Eyes) muſt ſee, that this glorious Convention, that has coſt the Nation not above half a Million of Money, is more a Miniſterial Expedient to get over this Seſſion of Parliament, than a Thing calculated either for the Dignity of the Crown, the Satisfaction of the Merchants, or Reparation for the repeated Inſults on the Honour of the Nation.

When I firſt read the Convention, I was ſurpriz'd to find, that our indiſputable Right to free Navigation, and no Search at any Diſtance from Land, was to be referred to Plenipotentiaries at a future Congreſs: The referring an indiſputable Right, is in a Manner weakening the Title; not that I apprehend, that any Miniſter at home or abroad will ever dare give up this Right of ours.

But why is this to be diſcuſſed in a future Treaty? Why, after the Reſolutions the Parliament laſt Year came into, was not this the firſt Article in the Convention, *ſine qua non*, as to any Treaty with *Spain*? Can there be any one weak enough to imagine, that Plenipotentiaries, ſitting at a round Table, with Pen, Ink and Paper before them, can procure for this Nation, what our Fleet could not have done laſt Year, with Cannon, Powder and Ball?

Beſides, by having deferr'd doing ourſelves Juſtice, *England* may have loſt a very lucky Juncture: *France* and *Spain* was not then on ſo good Terms, as I am afraid they are at preſent. Had the *Spaniards* been attack'd laſt Year in *New-Spain*, we ſhould have found them unprovided, their Gariſons without Men, and their Fortifications out of Repair. But this they have taken Care to remedy for the future, by the great Number of Troops they have ſince ſent thither, and by working Day and Night at their Fortifications.

But, as on the one hand they are grown ſtronger, ſo we on the other are grown weaker and poorer: We, Sir, laſt Year threw away a vaſt Sum of Money to no Purpoſe, but to be laught at by all Nations; and they, by our Leave, are bringing home, in their Galleons, vaſt Sums of Money to be employ'd againſt us.

What have we been doing for theſe laſt twenty Years, but negotiating to no Purpoſe? What is there in this Treaty more than in all former ones? Did not *Spain* by the Treaty of *Madrid*, in the Year 1721, which Treaty was confirm'd by another in the ſame Year, call'd the triple Alliance, ſtipulate that all former Treaties ſhould be confirm'd, and expreſly promiſed that all Goods, Merchandizes, Money, Ships, and other Effects, which have been ſeiz'd as well in *Spain* as the *Indies*, ſhould be ſpeedily reſtor'd in the ſame Kind, or according to the juſt and true Value of them, at the Time they were ſeiz'd? Has there been a Tittle of this perform'd? Have our Merchants ever had any Satisfaction made them for their Ships, their Effects and Money, they were plunder'd of? Why, no.

But yet every Man, that at that Time did not believe they ſhould, was look'd upon

as

as a Jacobite, a Man diſaffected to his Majeſty, or at leaſt to his Miniſter, which was as bad, if not worſe. So far were the *Spaniards* from performing one Article of this Treaty, that they us'd us worſe than ever, and ſo continued doing till the Merchants came with freſh Complaints, which they laid again before the Houſe of Commons, where I can't ſay they were very civilly us'd by ſome; however, they made out very clear the Allegations of the Petition, and proved their Loſſes beyond Contradiction.

Upon this, vigorous Reſolutions were again enter'd into by the Houſe of Commons, to obtain Juſtice and Satisfaction for the Merchants; and in order to obtain it, our then and preſent Miniſters, finding that they had not ſucceeded in any one Treaty they had yet made, enter'd into another, called the Treaty of *Seville*, ſign'd in the Year 1729.

By the firſt Article of this Treaty, all former Treaties of Peace, Friendſhip and Commerce, are again renew'd and confirm'd: And *Spain* expreſsly promis'd not to do any Thing, nor ſuffer any Thing to be done, that might be contrary thereto, directly or indirectly.

In the 4th Article of this Treaty it is particularly agreed, that the Commerce of the *Engliſh* Nation in *America*, ſhould be exerciſed as heretofore: And that Orders ſhould be diſpatched without any Delay to the *Indies* for that Purpoſe.

By the 6th Article of it, Commiſſaries were to be named, who were to ſettle the Limits, and Pretenſions of the Merchants: And *Spain* promiſed to execute punctually and exactly, within ſix Months, what ſhould be decided by the ſaid Commiſſaries, who were to make their Report in 3 Years; but there being nothing done in the firſt 3 Years, the Term was renew'd for 3 Years more, in order to do nothing——which ſucceeded accordingly.

And I remember very well, that an Hon. Gentleman on the Floor * oppoſite to me, did at the Time of making this Treaty often ſay, that he was ſure, if the Government would give the Merchants the Money that was to be allow'd the Commiſſaries, they would get more by that, than from the Treaty; which, I think, has proved but too true: For thoſe Gentlemen for themſelves, have not received leſs than 20,000*l.* whereas the Merchants have not received 20 Pence.

But yet at that Time, this Hon. Gentleman, as well as myſelf, and all thoſe who thought as we did, were look'd upon as a Set of diſaffected People, as they are now, who don't like this Convention, and expect no more Good from it, than from all the former Treaties.

And, as for my Part, I own, I expect no Good from it, but apprehend much Hurt: Our Right to free Navigation, and no Search, not being inſerted in it, but left to Commiſſaries.

I find alſo, by what I call the preliminary Article, the King of *Spain*'s Proteſt, that the *South-Sea* Company's Aſſiento Contract will be anulled, by the Company's having refuſed (a few Days ago, in a full Court) to pay the 68,000 *l.* the King of *Spain* demands of them by that Proteſt deliver'd to Mr. *Keene*. (See p. 86 B.) What Authority Mr. *Keene* could have, to make this Bargain for the *S. S.* Company, and give up a Property they are entitled to, by Virtue of Treaties and Acts of Parliament, I can't apprehend. And tho' their Loſs may be no national Point; yet, ſo great a Body of *Engliſhmen*, whoſe Property is concern'd, deſerves at leaſt the Protection of Parliament.

The next Thing, that I have good Reaſon to believe will be given up, or at leaſt taken from us, is *Georgia*, tho' hitherto ſupported by great Sums of Money given by Parliament, and granted by a Royal Charter to the preſent Truſtees: For you'll find by the 2d Article of this Convention, that the poor People, who, under the Protection of this Government, have tranſported themſelves thither, are to be left naked and defenceleſs, expoſed to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*, whenever they pleaſe to attack them, by being reſtrain'd from the Means of Self-preſervation. For, by that Article it is agreed, that neither the *Spaniards*, nor they, ſhould raiſe any Fortifications.

Now, Sir, I can ſee but one Reaſon, why this was ſtipulated in the Manner I have mention'd, for it regards only us (we demanding no Part of the King of *Spain*'s Territories) and that is this; our Miniſters finding that *Spain* did not much like our Settlement at *Georgia*, and they not daring, by a ſolemn Treaty to yield it up, they might whiſper the *Spaniſh Miniſters*, and tell them, we are ſorry we don't dare give it you up, but we will agree it ſhall be left defenceleſs, and then you may eaſily take it, and we not ca'll'd to an Account for it: This is not at all improbable, when we conſider how induſtrious our Miniſters have been to find out Expedients to be well with *Spain*, for the Good of their Country.

Now I have been ſhewing you, what I apprehend we ſhall loſe, let us ſee a little, what it is we have a Proſpect of getting: That of no Search, free Navigation, and Satisfaction to our Merchants, I am ſure it won't be, for the Reaſons I have mention'd before, as well as from what fell from the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt; for it is not to be ſuppos'd, but what, as far as fair Means would go,

* *Mr.* P-lt—n-y.

go, every Method has been already try'd: And he juſt now as good as told us, we could proceed by no other, for that we had neither Money to go to War with, nor Friend, nor Ally in the World to ſupport us; and he muſt know, who has been our grand Negotiator for theſe laſt 20 Years; a pretty Account, I muſt own, he has given us, of the Succeſs of his Negotiations, as well as prudent Declaration from one in his Poſt!

But by this Treaty he tells us, there is to be ample Satisfaction given to our Merchants. How far they are ſatisfy'd with the Convention, the Houſe may judge, from what they have heard them declare at the Bar.

He ſays, they are to receive 155,000*l.* which will be in full Satisfaction of their Loſſes; tho' by the bye, their Demands on *Spain* were for 340,000*l.* but our Commiſſary, by a Stroke of his Pen, reduced them to 200,000*l.* being, as he thought, full enough for our Merchants; and then to induce *Spain* to Prompt-Payment, 45,000*l.* more was ſtruck off, which brings it to the Sum the Hon. Gentleman has mention'd, *Spain* is certainly to pay us: And upon this Point, I find, he chiefly ſeems to extol the Goodneſs of the Convention, and the Ability of the Miniſters, in bringing *Spain* to this Condeſcenſion; for that *Spain* paying the Money was owning her Fault, and declaring the Illegallity of her Proceedings. In anſwer to this, in the firſt Place, I don't believe *Spain* will ever pay us a Farthing of the Money; and, in the next Place, ſuppoſe the Money mention'd ſhould be paid the Merchants, let us ſee how much *Spain* is to pay us of it.

Why, in the firſt Place, towards making up the 155,000*l.* for the Satisfaction of the Merchants, *Spain* inſiſts on *England* allowing her 60,000*l.* as the remaining Part of a Debt due to her for having deſtroy'd her Fleet in the Year 1718. Very gracious indeed, that they did not carry her Demands as far back as Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, for the Fleet then deſtroy'd!

But as ſtrange as this Demand of *Spain* may ſeem from her, it is much more ſo in thoſe who have agreed to it; for it has been already once ſatisfy'd, as appears by thoſe Papers on your Table, which are Copies of the Inſtructions ſent to our Miniſters in *Spain* at the Treaty of *Seville*, wherein is mention'd as follows: "In Caſe *Spain* ſhall make any further Demands of you for the Loſs of their Fleet, deſtroy'd by Sir *George Byng*, afterwards Lord *Torrington*, you are to tell the *Spaniſh Miniſters*, that *Spain* has been already amply ſatisfy'd, and you are not to enter into any farther Diſcuſſion with them on that Head."

Another Time *Spain* paid themſelves this Demand by ſeizing the South-Sea Company's Effects, *Spain* at that Time declaring, that they were ſeiz'd and kept on that Account: But what does it ſignify, if for the Sake of obtaining this moſt advantageous Convention, we ſhould pay it her a third Time? And then it reduces what *Spain* is to pay us, to 95,000*l.*

In the next Place, towards paying the 95,000*l.* the King of *Spain* inſiſts, by his Proteſt, as I mention'd before, that the South-Sea Company ſhall immediately pay him 68,000*l.* being a Debt due to him from the Company, on one Head of Accounts; tho' at the ſame Time, on other Heads of Accounts, his Majeſty is indebted to the Company a Million over and above, as appears on your Table, for which they are to ſtay his Time.

Now theſe two Sums make 128,000*l.* that I think *England* is to pay our Merchants inſtead of *Spain* (if ever paid) ſo there remains but 27,000*l.* for *Spain* to pay, of which 27,000*l.* ſhe has taken Care to be excuſed from paying one Farthing, as appears by the Stipulations by Way of Draw-back, inſerted in the 4th Article of the Convention, and the 2d ſeparate Article.

For by thoſe Articles, *Spain* is to deduct out of the Money ſhe is to pay, whatever ſhe may have already given in Satisfaction for any of our Ships that have been taken. And *England* is alſo to allow *Spain* the Value of the St. *Thereſa*, a Ship of theirs that had been ſeiz'd in the Port of *Dublin* in the Year 1735. Alſo this is to be ſettled by our Plenipotentiaries, and I think we ſhall come off well, if on the Balance of Accounts, inſtead of receiving the 27,000*l.* we ſhan't be obliged to pay an Overplus to *Spain*. Here ends, Sir, a ſhort Narrative of the ample Satisfaction *England* is to receive from *Spain* for the 340,000*l.* due to her Merchants. A moſt glorious Convention I muſt own, and ſuch a Maſter-Piece in Politicks, that I dare ſay none of the Machiavilians of the Age, but our own at the Head of Affairs, could have thought of!

But yet, after all this, we ſhall be told, I dare ſay, that this thorough Diſlike to the Convention, and Flame the Nation is in, is raiſed only by a Parcel of Merchants, and diſcontented People, who only want to turn out the Miniſters.

No, Sir, this is not the Caſe, for it is not the Miniſters but their Meaſures, that has kindled this Flame: Facts will always ſpeak for themſelves, and Merchants will always know their own Intereſt.

But when the continued Depredations on our Merchants, the repeated Inſults on the Honour of the Nation, the Cruelties and Barbarities, exerciſed on our Saliors, our Countrymen thrown into Dungeons, and chain'd like Slaves; I ſay, when this is conſider'd, and no more Proſpect of Redreſs from this Convention, than a Piece of waſte Paper, no Wonder, that the Heart of every *Engliſhman* ſhould be enflam'd.

I beg Pardon, Sir, for having taken up ſo much of your Time, but ſhall be againſt this

Addreſs

Addreſs to his Majeſty, becauſe I look on this Convention as diſadvantageous to the Merchants, diſhonourable to the King, and ignominious to the Nation. (See Copy of the *Convention*, p. 83.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE *of* June 19.

The following Paper is publiſhed by Order of the Truſtees named in an Act of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act for providing a 'Reward * to *Joanna Stephens*, upon a proper Diſcovery to be made by her, for the 'Uſe of the Publick, of the Medicines prepared by her for the Cure of the *Stone*.'

A full Diſcovery of the Medicines given by me JOANNA STEPHENS, *for the Cure of the* STONE *and* GRAVEL; *and a particular Account of my Method of preparing and giving the ſame.*

MY Medicines are a Powder, a Decoction, and Pills.

The Powder conſiſts of Egg Shells and Snails, both calcined.

The Decoction is made by boiling ſome Herbs (together with a Ball which conſiſts of Soap, Swines-Creſſes burnt to a Blackneſs, and Honey) in Water.

The Pills conſiſt of Snails calcined, Wild Carrot Seeds, Burdock Seeds, Aſhen Keys, Hips and Hawes, all burnt to a Blackneſs, Soap and Honey.

The Powder *is thus prepared:*

Take Hens Egg Shells well drained from the Whites, dry and clean, cruſh them ſmall with the Hands, and fill a Crucible of the twelfth Size (which contains nearly three Pints) with them lightly; place it in the Fire, and cover it with a Tile; then heap Coals over it, that it may be in the Midſt of a very ſtrong clear Fire till the Egg Shells be calcined to a greyiſh White, and acquire an acrid ſalt Taſte: This will take up eight Hours at leaſt. After they are thus calcined, put them into a dry, clean Earthen Pan, which muſt not be above three Parts full, that there may be Room for the Swelling of the Egg Shells in Slaking. Let the Pan ſtand uncovered in a dry Room for two Months, and no longer. In this Time the Egg Shells will become of a milder Taſte, and that Part which is ſufficiently calcined, will fall into a Powder of ſuch a Fineneſs as to paſs through a common Hair-Sieve; which is to be done accordingly.

In like Manner, take Garden Snails with their Shells, cleaned from the Dirt, fill a Crucible of the ſame Size with them whole, cover it, and place it in a Fire, as before, till the Snails have done ſmoaking, which will be in about an Hour, taking Care that they do not continue in the Fire after that. They are then to be taken out of the Crucible, and immediately rubbed in a Mortar to a fine Powder, which ought to be of a very dark grey Colour.

Note, *If* Pit-Coal *be made uſe of, it will be proper, in order that the Fire may the ſooner burn clear on the Top, that large Cynders, and not freſh Coals, be placed upon the Tiles which cover the Crucibles.*

Theſe Powders being thus prepared, take the Egg Shell Powder of ſix Crucibles, and the Snail Powder of one, mix them together, rub them in a Mortar, and paſs them thro' a Cypreſs Sieve. This Mixture is immediately to be put up into Bottles, which muſt be cloſe ſtopped, and kept in a dry Place for Uſe. I have generally added a ſmall Quantity of Swines-Creſſes burnt to a Blackneſs, and rubbed fine; but this was only with a View to diſguiſe it.

The Egg Shells may be prepared at any Time of the Year, but it is beſt to do them in Summer. The Snails ought only to be prepared in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*; and, I eſteem thoſe beſt, which are done in the firſt of theſe Months.

The Decoction *is thus prepared:*

Take four Ounces and a Half of the beſt *Alicant* Soap, beat it in a Mortar with a large Spoonful of Swines-Creſſes burnt to a Blackneſs, and as much Honey as will make the Whole of the Conſiſtence of Paſte. Let this be formed into a Ball.

Take this Ball, and green Chamomile, or Chamomile Flowers, Sweet Fennel, Parſley and Burdock Leaves, of each one Ounce. When there are not Greens, take the ſame Quantities of Roots; cut the Herbs or Roots, ſlice the Ball, and boil them in two Quarts of ſoft Water half an Hour, then ſtrain it off, and ſweeten it with Honey.

The Pills *are thus prepared:*

Take equal Quantities by Meaſure, of Snails calcin'd as before, of wild Carrot Seeds, Burdock Seeds, Aſhen Keys, Hips and Hawes, all burnt to a Blackneſs, or, which is the ſame Thing, till they have done ſmoaking; mix them together, rub them in a Mortar, and paſs them through a Cypreſs Sieve. Then take a large Spoonful of this Mixture, and four Ounces of the beſt *Alicant* Soap, and beat them in a Mortar with as much Honey as will make the Whole of a proper Conſiſtence for Pills. Sixty of which are to be made out of every Ounce of the Compoſition.

The Method of giving theſe Medicines is as follows:

When there is a Stone in the Bladder or Kidneys, the Powder is to be taken three Times a Day, *viz.* In a Morning after Break-

* *Viz.* 5000*l.*

Breakfaſt, in the Afternoon about Five or Six, and at going to Bed. The Doſe is a Dram *Averdupoiz*, or Fifty-ſix Grains, which is to be mixed in a large Tea Cup full of White-wine, Cyder, or ſmall Punch; and half a Pint of the Decoction is to be drank, either cold or milk-warm, after every Doſe.

A These Medicines do frequently cauſe much Pain at firſt; in which Caſe it is proper to give an Opiate, and repeat it as often as there is Occaſion.

If the Perſon be coſtive during the Uſe of them, let him take as much Lenitive Electuary, or other Laxative Medicine, as may be ſufficient to remove that Complaint, but no more: For it muſt be a principal Care at all

B Times, to prevent a Looſeneſs, which would carry off the Medicines; and, if this does happen, it will be proper to encreaſe the Quantity of the Powder, which is aſtringent, or leſſen that of the Decoction which is laxative, or take ſome other ſuitable Means by the Advice of Phyſicians.

During the Uſe of theſe Medicines, the Perſon ought to abſtain from ſalt Meats, red

C Wines, and Milk, drink few Liquids, and uſe little Exerciſe, that ſo the Urine may be the more ſtrongly impregnated with the Medicines, and the longer retained in the Bladder.

If the Stomach will not bear the Decoction, a ſixth Part of the Ball made into Pills muſt be taken after every Doſe of the Powder.

D Where the Perſon is aged, of a weak Conſtitution, or much reduced by Loſs of Appetite, or Pain, the Powder muſt have a greater Proportion of the calcin'd Snails than according to the foregoing Direction; and this Proportion may be encreaſed ſuitably to the Nature of the Caſe, till there be equal Parts of the two Ingredients. The Quantity alſo of both Powder and Decoction may

E be leſſened for the ſame Reaſons. But, as ſoon as the Perſon can bear it, he ſhould take them in the above-mentioned Proportions and Quantities.

Inſtead of the Herbs and Roots before-mentioned, I have ſometimes uſed others, as Mallows, Marſh-mallows, Yarrow red and white, Dandelion, Water-Creſſes, and Horſe Radiſh Root, but do not know of any material Dif-

F ference.

This is my Manner of giving the Powder and Decoction. As to the Pills their chief Uſe is in Fits of the Gravel, attended with Pain in the Back and Vomiting, and in Suppreſſions of Urine from a Stoppage in the Ureters. In theſe Caſes the Perſon is to take five Pills every Hour, Day and Night, when awake, till the Complaints be removed.

G They will alſo prevent the Formation of Gravel and Gravel-Stones in Conſtitutions ſubject to breed them, if Ten or Fifteen be taken every Day.

June 16, 1739. J. STEPHENS.

A CURE *for the* GOUT. *Publiſhed by* Thomas Sandford, *and* Edward Gent, *both of the City of* Kilkenny.

HALF an Ounce of Hierapicra, and eight Grains of Cochineal, both in fine Powder; put both into a Pint of the beſt red Port. Let it ſtand at leaſt 24 Hours, ſhake the Bottle well and often during that Time, but ſhake not the Bottle for three or four Hours before you draw off any of the Tincture for Uſe; take of this half a Quartern, to near a Quartern, according as you find yourſelf ſtrong or weak; you muſt continue taking of this every ſecond, third, or fourth Day, till you take the whole Pint; and if the Gout returns, take another Pint as before, and ſo do to every Fit. This Tincture, if taken in a Fit of the Gout, in a few Hours diſſolves all the Particles in the Blood which cauſe the Pain, and if purſu'd as before directed, will in Time work them all out of the Blood. It likewiſe carries off all new Swellings ſoon, and all old Swellings in Time; you may uſe Poſſet-Drink with this as with other Phyſick, yet if you take nothing after it, it will work very well; the propereſt Time of taking it, is in the Morning, faſting, or at Night, if you do not eat or drink for four or five Hours before; continue in Bed from the Time of taking it, till it purges you downwards by Stool, which will be in about 12 Hours Time; but if you have not a Stool in that Time, take a large Spoonful more. If you have the Rheumatiſm, or Sciatica, take the Tincture as before, but in a larger Quantity. I caution all People that take this, to have ſpecial Care that they do not take Cold, for it will cauſe many to ſweat greatly for a Time, and if they take Cold, they will be apt to be griped; which if they are, a little mull'd Port Wine, or a Spoonful of the Tincture immediately eaſes them.

N. B. The Hierapiera muſt be made according to *Alleyne*'s Diſpenſatory.

A CURE *for the* DROPSY.

TAKE 16 large Nutmegs, 11 Spoonfuls of Broom Aſhes dried and burnt in an Oven, an Ounce and Half of Muſtard Seed bruiſed, an Handful of Horſe Radiſh ſcraped; all to be put in a Gallon of ſtrong Mountain Wine, and ſtand 3 or 4 Days: Then a Gill or Half a Pint to be drank faſting every Morning, and to faſt an Hour or two after it.

The *Craftſman* of the 16th contains another Letter from *Hampden*, upon the ſame Subject with the former. And *Common Senſe* and the *Craftſman* of the 23d, contain a Juſtification of the late *Seceſſion*, from the ſame Arguments which have been before uſed. But we are oblig'd to poſtpone a farther Account of theſe Papers, and the reſt of this Month, particularly Mr. *Tucker*'s Letter in relation to Mr. *Whitefield*, for the Sake of the following Liſt, which was printed on 2 Sheets of Paper, with this Introduction, *viz.* The

The Publick having been impoſed on, by ſeveral very imperfect and erroneous Liſts of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who voted for and againſt the late Convention with *Spain*; in which Queſtion, the Trade, Liberties and Honour of this Nation were ſo eſſentially concerned: It has been thought proper to do that Juſtice to the Gentlemen on both Sides, they deſerve, by giving a more exact one. But if there ſhould be any Miſtake, it ſhall be acknowledged and corrected on Notice given in any of the publick Papers: And it is to be hoped the Nation will make this Liſt a Guide for their Conduct in all future Elections.

N. B. The underwritten Liſt, ſhews how large a Sum of Money is VISIBLY paid yearly to Members of the Houſe of Commons, beſides what *ſecret Favours* may be conferred on them, their Relations, and Friends; which in a leſs virtuous Houſe of Commons than this, would indanger the Conſtitution, and give an ambitious Miniſter an Opportunity, of gaining therein to himſelf a Faction, which, contrary to common Senſe, and their own Self-conviction, would ſupport him and his pernicious Meaſures, to the Ruin of their Country: And muſt render the Attendance of thoſe Members that wiſh well to it, uſeleſs.

Teller for the Convention,

Salaries *per Ann.*

Thomas Winnington, Eſq; Lord of the Treaſuary — — 1600

Abercromby, James, *Bamffſhire*, Cap. of Foot, King's Painter in Scotland, and Deputy Governor of Stirling Caſtle — — — 600

A Court, Pierce, Heyteſbury, Two Brothers in the Guards

Alſton, Sir Rowland, Bedfordſhire

Archer, Thomas, *Warwick*, Truſtee for Georgia

Archer, Henry, *Warwick*, Truſtee for Georgia

Areſkine, Charles, *Dumfreisſhire*, Lord Advocate of Scotland — — 1000

Arundell, Hon. Richard, *Knareſborough*, Maſter Worker of the Mint — — 1500

Aſhe, Joſ. Windham, *Downton*

Aſhburnham, Sir Wil. *Haſtings*, Commiſſioner of the Alienation Office and Chamberlain of the Tally Court — — — — — 800

Baker, Hercules, *Hythe*, Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital — — 500

Balle, Thomas, *Exeter*

Beaghan, Edm. Hungate, *Winchelſea*

Beauclerk, Lord Vere, *Windſor*, Lord of the Admiralty — — — 1000

Beauclerk, Lord Sidney, Windſor, Brother to Lord Vere and Duke of St. Albans, obtain'd a Reviſionary Grant of Crown Lands after a ſhort Term

Bertie, Hon. Albemarle, *Boſton*

Bevan, Arthur, *Caermarthen*

Biſſe, Ste. *Romny*, Commiſ. for Victualing the Navy, Clerk of the Crown — — 1000

Bladen, Martin, *Malden*, Commiſ. of Trade and Commiſſary for ſettling the Trade in the Netherlands — — — — — 2500

Bladen, Thomas, Aſhburton

Bockland, Maurice, *Lymington*, Col. of the Foot Guards — — 500

Bond, John, Corfe-Caſtle, His Brother Letter Carrier to Hampton Court

Bowles, Brig. Phineas, *Bewdley*, Col. of a Rig. of Dragoons in Ireland, and Brigadier on the Iriſh Eſtabliſhment — — — — 2000

Boyne, Lord Viſcount, *Newport*, Commiſ. of the Revenue in Ireland — — 1000

Boynton, Sir Francis, Heydon, His Son in the Army

Bradſhaigh, Sir Roger, Wigan, His Sons in the Army and at Court

Bradſhaw, Elerker, *Beverley*

Braſſey, Nathaniel, *Hertford*

Brereton, Tho. *Liverpool*, Commiſ. of the Victualing Office, his Son in the Lottery Office 500

Bridges, Geo. *Winchester*

Briſtow, John, *Berealſton*, Deputy Governor of the South Sea Company

Briſtow, Robert, *Winchelſea*

Brodie, Alex. *Elgin-Shire*, Lyon King at Arms, *&c.* — — — 800

Brodie, Alex. Nairn-ſhire, His Brother a Company in New York

Bromley, Hen. *Cambridgeſhire*, Lieut. of the County of Cambridge

Brown, Sir Robert, *Ivelcheſter*

Brudenell, Hon. James, *Chichester*, Commiſ. of Trade, Groom of the Bed Chamber, and Gentleman of the Horſe to his Majeſty — — — 2000

Burchet, Joſiah, *Sandwith*, Secretary of the Admiralty — — — 1200

Burrell, Peater, *Haſlemere*, Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company

Butler, James, *Suſſex*

Byng, Robert, *Plymouth*, Commiſ. of the Navy, and ſince Governor of Barbadoes — 500

Campbell,

Pro Salaries *per Ann.*

Campbell, Brig. James, *Airſhire*, Col. of the Reg. of Grey Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed Chamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Caſtle — — — 3800
Campbell, Colonel John, *Dumbartonſhire*, Groom of the Bed Chamber, and Col. of a Reg. of Foot, and his Daughter Keeper of Somerſet Houſe — — 1400
Canpbell, John, *Pembrokeſhire*, Lord of the Admiralty, with Lodging, Fire and Candle 1300
Carmichael, Hon. James, Lanerkſhire, Brother to the Earl of Hindford, a Lord of the Police, and Commiſ. to the Aſſembly in Scotland
Cary, Walter, *Dartmouth*, Clerk of the Green Cloth, and of the Council — — 1500
Caſwell, Sir Geo. Leominſter
Cavendiſh, Philip, *Portſmouth*, Admiral of the Blue, and Porter of St. James's Palace 600
Champion, Sir Geo. Ayleſbury, B. B.
Cholmondeley, Hon. Ja. *Camelford*, Lieut. Governor of Cheſter Caſtle, and Lieut. Col. of the Horſe Guards — — — — — 1000
Churchill, Cha. *Caſtle-Riſing*, Major General, Groom of the Bed Chamber to his Majeſty, Col. of a Reg. of Dragoons and Gov. of Plymouth, *&c.* and his Son a Place in the Cuſtom Houſe, in all — — — — 4800
Chute, Anthony, *Yarmouth*
Clavering, John, *Penryn*, Groom of the Bed Chamber to his Majeſty — — 500
Clayton, Sir William, Blechingly, Seventeen of his Relations in Place
Clayton, Kenrick, *Blechingly*, Son to Sir William
Clutterbuck, Thomas, *Plympton*, Lord of the Admiralty — — — 1000
Conolly, William, *Alborough*
Cope, Brig. Gen. John, *Orford*, Col. of a Reg. of Dragoons in Ireland — — 1500
Cope, Sir John, Lymington, His Son a Place at Court, &c.
Copleſton, Tho. *Kellington*, Clerk of the Quit Rents and Forfeitures Office in Ireland 600
Corbet, William, Montgomery, His Father a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms
Corbet, Tho. *Saltaſh*, Under Secretary to the Admiralty, and Sec. to Greenwich Hoſpital and to the Widows Charity — — — — 800
Cornewall, James, *Weobly*, Capt. of a Man of War — — — 400
Cornwallis, Hon. Ste. *Eye*, Col. of a Reg. of Foot in England — — 1200
Cornwallis, Hon. John, Eye
Crowle, George, *Kingſton upon Hull*, Commiſ. of the Navy — — 500
Curwen, Edw. Cockermouth
Danvers, Joſeph, Totneſs
Darcy, Sir Conyers, *Richmond*, Comptroller of the Houſehold — — 1000
Dennis, Geo. *Leſkard*, Comptroller of the Lotteries — — — 500
Doddington, Geo. *Bridgwatter*, Lord of the Treaſury and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland 3100
Doddington, Geo. Weymouth
Douglas, Hon. Robert, *Orkney*, Capt. of a Company of Foot — — 250
Downing, Sir Geo. *Dunwich*, Knight of the Bath
Drummond, John, *Dundee*, *&c.* Commiſſary for ſettling the Trade in the Netherlands, and his Nephew Secretary to the Order of the Thiſtle — — 1500
Duckett, Col. Wil. *Caln*, Lieut. Col. in the Horſe Grenadier Guards — — 500
Duncombe, Anthony, *Downton*
Dummer, Tho. *Southampton*, His Father and ſelf Places in the Great Wardrobe — 1200
Earle, Giles, *Malmeſbury*, Lord of the Treaſury — — — 1660
Earl, William Rawliſon, *Malmeſbury*, Clerk nf Deliveries in the Ordnance Office — 600
Edgecumbe, Richard, *Leſtwithiel*, Joint Treaſurer of Ireland — — 4000
Euſton, Lord, Coventry, Son to the Lord Chamberlain
Evans. Richard, *Queenborough*, Capt. of Dragoons, and Deputy Gov. of Sheerneſs, &c. 600
Eversfield, Cha. Horſham
Eyles, Sir Joſeph, *Devizes*, Brother to the Poſt Maſter General, and Remitter for the Crown 2500
Eyles, Capt. Francis, *Devizes*, Commiſ. for Victualing the Navy — — 500
Falconer, John, Kenkardineſhire
Fall, James, Jedburgh, &c. A Leaſe in Holy Iſland
Fane, Francis, *Taunton*, King's Counſel and Counſel to the Board of Trade — 800
Finch, Hon. Hen. *Malton*, Receiver Gen. and Collecter of the Revenues in Minorca 500
Fitzroy, Cha. *Thetford*, Maſter of his Majeſty's Tennis Courts and Cornet of Horſe 400
Fox, Stephen, *Shafiſbury*, Since made joynt Secr. of the Treaſury
Fox, Hen. *Hendon*, Surveyor General of his Majeſty's Works — — 1000
Frankland, Sir Tho. *Thirſke*, Lord of the Admiralty, with Lodging, Fire and Candle 1300
Frankland, Frederick, Thirſke, His Brother
Frederick, Tho. *Shoreham*, Truſtee for Georgia
Gage, Sir William, *Seaford*, Knight of the Bath
Gallway, Lord Viſcount, *Pontefract*, Commiſ. of the Revenue in Ireland — 1000

Pro Salaries *per Ann.*

Gibſon, Tho. *Yarmouth, in Hants*, Conveyancer to Sir Robert Walpole and Caſhier to the Pay Office.
Gildart, *Richard, Liverpoole*, His eldeſt Son Receiver Gen. of the Land Tax for the County of Lancaſter, and two of his other Sons provided for, &c.
Glenorchy, *Lord Viſcount, Saltaſh*
Gough, Sir Henry, *Bramber*
Gough, Capt. *Bramber*, Director of the Eaſt-India Company
Grant, *Sir James, Inverneſſſh.* A Grant of Duties in Scotland, his eldeſt Son Commiſ. of Police, his ſecond Son Capt. in the Army, and his Brother Capt. of an independent Company
Grey, *Hen. Reading*
Gregory, Geo. *Boroughbridge*, Store-keeper of the Ordnance — — — 500
Griffith, John, *Carnarvanſhire*, Captain of Foot — — — — 250
Grove, Gray James, *Bridgnorth*
Gulſton, Joſeph, *Tregony*, Director of the South-Sea Company
Hales, *Sir Tho. Canterbury*, His Son Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth
Hales, Tho. *Grampound*, Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth — — — 1000
Halket, Peter, *Inverkeithen*, Captain of Foot — — — — 250
Hampden, John, *Wendover*, Commiſſary of the Stores at Gibraltar — — 500
Hanbury, *William, Monmouthſhire*, Heir expectant to the late Lord Ranelaugh's Eſtate
Handaſyd, Brig. Roger, *Huntington*, Col. of a Reg. of Foot and Gov. of Fort Philip 2500
Harris, John, *Helſton*, Treaſurer to the Board of Works — — — 600
Harvey, John, *Ryegate*
Hay, William, *Seaford*, Commiſſioner of the Victualling Office — — 500
Heathcote, Sir John, *Bodmin*, Truſtee for Georgia
Hedworth, John, *Durham*
Henley, Hen. Holt, *Lyme Rs.* Clerk of the Pipe — — — 500
Herbert, Hon. Tho. *Newport*, Col. in the Foot Guards, and Paymaſter to Gibraltar 1200
Herbert, Hon. Rob. *Wilton*, Commiſſioner of Trade — — — 1000
Herbert, Hon. Will. *Wilton*, Colonel in the Foot Guards — — — 500
Herbert, Hon. Arthur, *Ludlow*, Lieut. of the County of Salop
Heron, *Patrick, Kirkudbright*, His Son a Company in Georgia
Hervey, Hon. Tho. *St. Edmundſbury*, Surveyor of his Majeſty's Gardens and Water Works 500
Hinxman, Joſ. *Chriſt-Church*, Woodward and Keeper of New Foreſt, &c. — 500
Hoby, *Sir Tho. Great Marlow*
Hoghton, Sir Hen. *Preſton*, Judge Advocate — — — — 800
Holden, Sam. *Eaſtlow*, Director of the Bank
Howard, Hon. Cha. *Carliſle*, Col. of a Reg. of Foot in Ireland, and Deputy Gov. of Carliſle Caſtle — — — — — — 1200
How, John, *Wiltſhire*,
Howarth, *Sir Humph. Radnorſhire*
Hucks, William, *Wallingford*, The King's Brewer
Hucks, *Robert, Abingdon*, Son to the King's Brewer, and Truſtee for Georgia
Huxley, Geo. *Newport in Hants*, Commiſſary of the Muſters — — 800
Hinnifon, Ralph, *Northumberland*, Maſter of the Buck Hounds — — 2400
Hewkes, John, *Aldborough, Yorkſhire*
Ingram, Hon. Cha. *Horſham*, Colonel of the Foot Guards — — — 500
Jent, Sam. *Ipſwich*, Diſtiller to the Court
Jinaſton, *William, Shrewſbury*, His Brother Sollicitor of the Cuſtoms
Knight, Robert, *Grimſby*, Son to the late Caſhire of the South-Sea Company
Lambton, Hen. *Durham*
Laroche, John, *Bodmyn*, Truſtee for Georgia
Lawrie, *Sir Robert, Kirkudbright*, Son-in-law to the Lord Advocate for Scotland
Lawton, *John, Newcaſtle under Line*
Leathes, Carteret, *Harwich*
Lebeup, *Iſaac, Kellington*, Brother-in-law to Hor. Walpole, and ſent formerly Miniſter to Germany, and his Brothers and Relations provided for
Lewis, *Tho. Radnor*, Several Relations in the Cuſtoms, &c. of his recommending and his Brother
Liddell, Sir Hen. *Morpeth*
Liddell, *Geo. Berwick*, Director for Greenwich Hoſpital of Lord Derwentwater's Eſtates
Lindeſay, *Patrick, Edinburgh*, His Brother-in-law Receiver-Gen in Scotland
Lockyer, *Charles, Ivelcheſter*
Longueville, Charles, *Eaſtlow*, Auditor to the late Queen, beſides his other Employment 800
Lowther, *Sir William, Pontefract*, His Brother a Place in the Cuſtoms

Pro — Salaries *per Ann.*

Lloyd, Walter, *Cardiganſhire*, Attorney-General in Wales — — — 300
Lloyd, Richard, Cardigan
Lyttleton, Sir Tho. *Camelford*, Lord of the Admiralty, with Lodging, Fire and Candle 1300
Maiſter, Henry, *Kingſton upon Hull*
Martin, Matthew, *Colcheſter*, Director of the Eaſt-India Company
Maule, Will. Dundee, &c, Capt of Foot, and his Brother Regiſter of Seaſings in Scotland 250
Medlicott, Thomas, Milburne Port
Middleſex, Earl, Eaſt-Grinſtead, Son to the Lord Steward
Middleton, Sir William, Northumberland
Middleton, Brig. John, *Montroſe*, Col. of a Reg. of Foot in England, Gov. of Holy-Iſland, and Purveyor of Coal and Candle for the Guard-Room in the Cannon-Gate 1400
Mill, Sir Richard, Penryn
Monſon, Charles, *Lincoln*, Deputy Pay-maſter of the Army — — — 1000
Montagu, Lord Robert, *Huntingdon*, Vice-Chamberlain to her late Majeſty — 500
Mordaunt, John, *Nottinghamſhire*, Huſband to a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the late Queen — — — — — — — 500
Mordaunt, John, *Whitchurch*, Col. in the Foot-Guards, and Equerry to the King 800
Morden, William, *Dunwich*
Morgan, Thomas, *Monmouthſhire*, Lieut. of the County of Monmouth
Munro, Sir Robert, Dingwall, &c. His Brother an Indepedant Company
Murray, Lord John, *Perth*, Colonel in the Foot-Guards — — — 500
Naſemith, Sir James, Peebleſhire, His Brother Clerk to the Commiſ. of Notaries in Scot.
Norris, Sir John, *Rye*, Vice-Admiral of England, Admiral of the Red — — 1200
Norton, Thomas, *St. Edmund's-Bury*, Lieut. Gov. of Chelſea-College — — 600
Olmius, John, *Weymouth*
Onſlow, Rt. Hon. Arthur, *Surrey*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Chancellor to the late Queen, and Treaſurer of the Navy — — — — — 5000
Onſlow, Richard, *Guildford*, Col. of a Reg. of Foot, and Adjutant-General — 1600
Oſbaldeſton, William, *Scarborough*
Owen, William, Pembroke, His two Brothers Captains of Dragoons, and his third Brother Lieut. in the Guards
Owen, John, *Weſtlow*, Second Brother to Will. Owen, Capt. of a Comp. of Dragoons 300
Palmeſton, Lord Viſc. *Boſſiney*, Chief Remembrancer in the Court of Excheq. in Irel. 1000
Papillon David, Dover, His Son a Place
Parſons, Henry, *Malden*, Purveyor of Chelſea-College, and Commiſ. for Victualling the Navy, &c. &c. — — — — — — 2000
Pearſe, Thomas, *Weymouth*, Commiſſioner of the Navy — — — 500
Peirſe, Henry, *Northalerton*
Pelham, Rt. Hon. Henry, *Suſſex*, Pay-maſter of his Majeſty's Forces, &c. — 5000
Pelham, James, *Newark*, Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, &c. — — 600
Pelham, Thomas, *Haſtings*, Secretary to the Embaſſy at the Court of France — 600
Pennington, Sir Joſeph, Cumberland, His Son, (by his Surrender) Comptroller of the Exciſe-Caſh
Penton, Henry, *Tregony*
Phillipſon, John, *Shoreham*, Chief Clerk in the Navy-Office, ſince made Commiſ. of the Navy — — — — — — 500
Peers, William, Wells, His Son in the Army
Pigot, Robert, *Huntingdonſhire*
Plumer, Richard, *St. Maw's*, Commiſſioner of Trade — — — 1000
Plumptree, John, *Nottingham*, Treaſurer to the Ordnance — — — 1000
Polhill, David, *Rocheſter*, Keeper of the Records in the Tower — — 500
Pollen, John, *Andover*
Poulet, Hon. Peregrine. *Boſſiney*, Brother to a Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Majeſty
Powlett, Lord Harry, *Hampſhire*, Lord of the Admiralty, and his Son an Enſign in the Guards — — — — — — — — 1370
Purvis, George, *Aldborough*, Comptroller of the Navy — — — — 500
Read, Sir Thomas, *Cricklade*, Clerk of the Board of Green-Cloth — — 1000
Revell, Thomas, *Dover*, Commiſ. for Victualling the Navy, and Contractor for Gibraltar 2000
Rich, Sir Robert, *St. Ives*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and Col. of a Reg. of Dragoons, and his Son a Cornet of Dragoons — — — — 2800
Robinſon, Nicholas, *Wotton-Baſſet*, Capt. of a Sloop to prevent Smuggling — 500
Roſe, Hugh, Roſs, His Uncle Lieut. Col. of Dragoons
Ryder, Dudley, *Tiverton*, Attorney General — — — — 1500
Sackville, Lord John, *Tamworth*, Son to the Lord-Steward, Capt. of a Comp. of Foot 250
St. Clair, James, *Sutherland*, Col of a Reg. of Foot, and of two Battalions — 2000

Pro — Salaries *per Ann.*

St. John, Pawlet, *Winchester*
Scroope, John, *Lyme-Regis*, Secretary to the Treasury — — 3000
Selwyn, John, sen. *Glocester*, Late Receiver-General of the Customs and surrendered it to his Brother, Treasurer to the late Queen — — — 4600
Selwyn, John, jun. *Whitechurch*, Treasurer to the Duke and Princesses, and the Reversion of two Places in the West-Indies — — — 800
Shelley, Sir John, Arundell, Brother-in-law to the Duke of Newcastle, his Brother a Commis. of the Stamp-Duty
Sloper, William, *Great Bedwin*, Deputy Cofferer — — — 1000
Smelt, Leonard, *Northalerton*, Clerk of the Ordnance — — 700
Stert, Arthur, *Plymouth*, Commissary for settling the Merchants Losses by the Spaniards ever since the Year 1728 — — — — 1000
Stewart, Hon. Col. James, *Wigtoun*, Col. in the Guards — — 500
Stewart, William, *Bamff, &c.* Pay-Master of foreign Pensions, and Overseer of the King's Swans, and Principal King's Remembrancer for the Exchequer in Scotland 1400
Strange, John, *Westlow*, Solicitor-General — — — — 1000
Sundon, Lord, *Westminster*, Lord of the Treasury — — — 1600
Talbot, Hon. John, *Brecon*
Thompson, Edward, *York*, Commis. of the Revenue in Ireland — — 1000
Thompson, William, *Scarborough*, Commis. for Victualling the Navy — — 500
Tower, Tho. *Wallingford*, Trustee for Georgia
Townshend, Hon. Tho. *Cambridge Univers.* Teller of the Exchequer — — 2000
Tracey, Robert, *Tewkesbury*, Trustee for Georgia
Treby, Geo. *Dartmouth*, Master of the Household — — — 1000
Trefusis, Tho. *Grampound*, Capt. of a Man of War — — — 400
Trenchard, Geo. *Pool*
Trevor, John Morley, *Lewis*
Tucker, John, Weymouth, His Father a Grant of the Quarrys in Portland
Turner, Sir John, *Lynn*, Many of his Relations in Places
Turner, Cholmley, *York*
Turner, Wil. Hosmanden, *Maidston*
Tyrconnel, Lord Viscount, *Grantham*, Trustee for Georgia
Tyrrel, James, *Boroughbridge*, Major General, and Col. of a Reg. of Foot, and Gov. of Tilbury Fort, *&c.* — — — — — 1800
Urquhart, Duncan, *Forres, &c.* Lieut. in the Foot Guards, and his Father Receiver of the Bishops Rents — — — — — 200
Vere, Tho. *Norwich*
Wade, Geo. *Bath*, General of his Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, Col. of a Reg. of Horse, and Gov. of Fort William — — — — 4000
Wager, Sir Charles, *Westminster*, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Admiral of the White, *&c.* — — — — — 3600
Walker, Tho. *Plympton*, Surveyor General of the Crown Lands, *&c.* — 1500
Wallingford, Lord, *Banbury*, Major in the Horse Guards — — 500
Walpole, Sir. Rob. *Lynn*, Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, Commis. of the Treasury, *&c. &c. &c.* — — — — — 8000
Walpole, Hor. *Norwich*, Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipo. to the States General, Cofferer to his Majesty, and Auditor General to the Plantations, *&c. &c.* — 11000
Walpole, Edward, *Yarmouth*, Now Clerk of the Pells, late Secr. to the Treasury of Ireland, *&c.* — — — — — 4000
Wardour, William, Fowey, His Brother Lieut. Col. in the Horse Guards
White, John, *Retford*, Trustee for Georgia
Whitworth, Francis, *Minehead*, Surveyor General of his Majesty's Forests — 1000
Williams, Sir Nic. *Carnarvonshire*, Lieut. of the County of Carmarthen, and Keeper of the Court Leets — — — — — — 500
Wills, Sir Cha. *Totnes*, Col. of the first Reg. of Foot Guards, and Lieut. Gen. of Foot and Ordnance — — — — — — 4000
Wilmer, William, Northampton
Wilkinson, Andrew, Aldborough, Yorksh.
Wollaston, William, *Ipswich*, Trustee for Georgia
Wyndham, Tho. *Pool*
Wynn, Sir George, Flint, A Grant from the Crown of the Mines in Flintsh. for 32 Years
Wynn, Tho. *Carnarvan*, Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth — — 1000
Yonge, Sir Wil. *Honiton*, Secretary at War — — — — 2500
Yorke, John, *Richmond*, Richmond

The List of those who voted against the Convention in our next.

Remainder of SHALUM *and* HILPA: *Or, the* ANTEDILUVIAN NOVEL. (See p. 248.)
The Whole done from the Spectator, *Vol.* VIII. N° 584.

HILPA, *Miſtreſs of the Vallies, to* SHALUM, *Maſter of Mount* Tirzah. *In the* 789*th Year of the Creation.*

"*YOUNG as thou art, why ſhould I write to thee?
Or what, O *Shalum*, is thy will with me?
Thou call'ſt me fair, but fairer much I fear
My flow'ry fields and watry meads appear.
Cloſe by the banks where mingling rivers meet
And waſh thy neighb'ring mountains verdant feet,
My bleating ſheep and lowing oxen ſtray,
And to thy ears a pleaſing ſound convey.
Thy tow'ring foreſt, tho' it now but blooms,
Thy fragrant breezes, and the rich perfumes
Which from thy *Tirzah*'s lofty tops exhale,
Are yet leſs lovely than the fruitful vale.
I know thee, *Shalum*; thy capacious mind
Excels in ſacred wiſdom all mankind:
And ſacred wiſdom will thy ſoul ſupply
With purer joys, and ſuch as ne'er ſhall die.
Far on the mount, thou chuſeſt to reſide,
With conſcious greatneſs and ſuperior pride:
Ten thouſand cedars round thy palace riſe
Sublime in air, and triumph in the ſkies.
Thou know'ſt the different nature of each ſoil,
And which will beſt reward and crown thy toil.
Thou canſt deſcribe the radiant orbs on high,
Their wondrous motions thro' the boundleſs ſky,
And with what varying aſpects they appear,
In ev'ry ſeaſon of the changing year.
How ſhall a woman then ſucceſsful prove
To gain thy friendſhip, and engage thy love?
Ceaſe, *Shalum*, ceaſe; nor longer wiſh to wed
My widow'd charms, and bring me to thy bed:
Alone, retir'd, for ever let me live [give.
Content with that which heav'n is pleas'd to
Still may thy trees ſtand waving in the wind,
And wood to wood, and ſhade to ſhade be join'd;
But tempt me not, with children and with noiſe
To break thy peace, and interrupt thy joys."

Soon after (as the ſtory ſays at leaſt)
He bid his ſervants call her to a feaſt:
Nor ſhe to ſhare the friendly treat diſdain'd,
But went, and with him two whole years remain'd:
Five hundred antelopes, ſucceſſive, dy'd,
To deck the table for his future bride:
Two thouſand oſtriches, of various taſte,
Smoak'd from the fire, and crown'd the rich repaſt:
A thouſand tun of milk (and milk alone)
Allay'd their thirſt; for wine was then unknown.
But yet the fragrant herbs his hills could boaſt,
And fruits and flow'rs, was that which pleas'd her moſt.

Full in the center of the conſcious grove,
The twiſted boughs had form'd a large alcove:
Hither the youthful pair, in harmleſs play,
Retiring, toy'd and kiſs'd the hours away;
While all the winged warblers of the wood,
From morn to night their artleſs ſtrains renew'd.
During her ſtay, he led her o'er the green,
Thro' ev'ry ſhady walk and ſylvan ſcene:
Nor prov'd the fair one to his ſuit unkind,
For he ſo far had gain'd upon her mind, [word
That, parting from his arms, ſhe gave her
E'er long to own him as her rightful lord,
And faithful vow'd, in leſs than fifty years,
To put a period to his hopes and fears.

Not many a moon upon the peaceful plain,
She liv'd attended by her nymphs and ſwains,
E'er other youths grew conſcious of her charms,
And fondly wiſh'd to claſp her in their arms,
Nor did the pride of *Miſhpach* now diſdain
To viſit *Hilpa* with a ſplendid train.
This mighty man, to merit endleſs fame,
A city built, the city bore his name.
Fix'd as a rock th' imperial town appears,
And ſcorns the fury of a thouſand years.
He bid the maſters of the lute prepare
Their ſofteſt notes, to pleaſe the liſtning fair:
Himſelf with graceful ſteps trod o'er the ground,
And charm'd her with the timbrel's tuneful ſound.

Shalum diſpleas'd, and inly vex'd, to find
That ſhe ſhould e'er to *Miſhpach* prove ſo kind,
Nor ſpoke one word, nor writ one line, to tell
The pain he felt for her he lov'd ſo well,
Till lazy *Saturn*'s lingring orb had run
His uſual courſe around the central ſun. [came
But when 'twas known that this great monarch
Rather to compliment than court the dame,
Shalum again in am'rous language woo'd
The beauteous widow, and his vows renew'd:
While ſhe, they ſay, once more inclin'd to prove
Th' experienc'd pleaſures of connubial love,
For the dear youth in ſecret oft would ſigh,
And look at *Tirzah* with a wiſhful eye.

Twenty long years to both ſhe did refuſe
Th' expected bliſs, and knew not which to chuſe:
Glad would ſhe lie in *Shalum*'s circling arms,
But wealthy *Miſhpach* ſhone with ſtronger charms.
While thus her heart, ſtill wav'ring as the wind,
By turns to this, by turns to that inclin'd,
What follow'd fix'd her choice: a tow'r of wood
Conſpicuous to the view in *Miſhpach* ſtood.
It chanc'd a flaſh of lightning from the ſkies
Struck its proud top; and ſee! the flames ariſe;
The ſpreading flames from roof to roof aſpire,
And all the city ſinks in floods of fire.
Miſhpach reſolv'd, whate'er the labour coſt,
To build again the town he lately loſt,

Soon

* Shalum *was at this Time* 180 *Years old, and* Hilpa 170.

Soon ſpoil'd the country of its woody ſtore,
And, urg'd by want, to *Sbalum* ſent for more,
Whoſe lofty trees two hundred years had ſeen,
And bloom'd and flouriſh'd with immortal green.
For theſe, to their young maſter's mild command
Miſhpach reſign'd an ample tract of land,
And flocks and herds unnumber'd, till at laſt,
Sbalum in wealth his rival far ſurpaſs'd,
And with ſuch charms appear'd in *Hilpa*'s eyes,
That inſtant at his ſuit ſhe now complies.
With boundleſs joy th' approaching fair he view'd,
And rais'd a pile of ev'ry fragrant wood:
The ſtately pile, amazing to the ſight,
More than three hundred cubits roſe in height.
Spikenard and myrrh amidſt the flames he threw,
And ev'ry ſpicy ſhrub that on the mountain grew.
Thus did the youth his gratitude diſplay,
And ſuch his off'ring on the bridal day.
Thro' the thin air a cloud of incenſe broke
Wide o'er the region round, and upwards roll'd the ſmoak.

From COMMON SENSE.

Mother *GURTON*'s TALE.

HOW ſtrangely tickliſh are the times!
Should a man dare to deal in rhymes,
Or tell an inoffenſive ſtory,
Strait he's a diſaffected tory.
Talk of folks rich with publick plunder,
Or who by chance commits a blunder,
Of one that lay long ſince in durance,
One noted for a good aſſurance,
Or who has giv'n, or ta'en a bribe;
Still to themſelves a certain tribe,
From conſcience tender, all apply,
And tho' the charge you ſtill deny,
Tho' neither names agree, nor letters,
They cry, this fellow means his betters.
Lord! Sirs, what makes you ſo uneaſy?
I ne'er intended to diſpleaſe ye;
Why then ſhould you, wiſe men of *Gotham*,
Think each mythogoliſt a *Jotham*?
Still of abuſes they complaim,
Still I plead innocence in vain;
Suſpicions groundleſs ſtill prevail,
Elſe who could cavil at this tale?
Late, in the *North* there liv'd a 'ſquire,
Thought in his youth a man of fire,
Deſcended from an ancient race
That much delighted in the chaſe;
A pack of fox hounds fam'd for ſpeed
He kept, and of the ſtaunchеſt breed;
Time was no fox could ſtand before 'em,
But now deep ſunk in ſloth and *quorum*,
No more the 'ſquire his hounds to hallow
Delights, but lets his huntſman follow.
This huntſman (as 'tis much the faſhion
In ſervants now throughout the nation)
Valu'd his maſter not a ſtraw,
Yet kept his dogs in mickle awe;
In his right hand a *pole* he bore,
Which when he pitch'd the pack before,
No whelp would from his ſtation flinch,
Or ever dare to budge an inch.
By gentle touch of magick wand
Which *Hermes* carry'd in his hand,
'Tis ſaid, he could ſend folks to hell,
And thence raiſe others — full as well.
Our huntſman (whom each ſwain believes
Deſcended from the god of thieves)
With brandiſh'd *pole*, were hounds uncivil,
As ſure would ſend them to the devil:
A fawning dog that courts his ſmile,
When lame, this *pole* helps o'er a ſtile;
But ſhould the cur provoke his frown,
Up goes the *pole*, and knocks him down.
A vixon, from the coppice wood,
Now 'gan infeſt the neighbourhood:
The tenants all around complain,
Of lambs, and geeſe, and poultry ſlain;
Freſh loſſes ſtill on loſſes preſs,
All from the 'ſquire demand redreſs.
His huntſman call'd, he bids him go
Next morning and diſpatch the foe,
Who croſſing, late at night, the grounds,
To hallow from their walks his hounds,
By chance the vixon prowling meets,
And thus in huntſman's language greets;
Damn ye, you curſt confounded bitch,
To-morrow morn I'll warm your breech.
Quoth vixon, 'tis a ſtanding joke,
None live ſo long as threaten'd folk;
I'll lead you ſuch a dance, 'ifeck,
As poſſibly may riſk your neck;
Yet, ſince we both may gain our ends,
Why ſhould not you and I be friends?
At others coſt let's play the glutton,
I'll eat the lamb, take you the mutton.
To ſave your credit, and your place,
You now and then may ſham a chaſe,
Take out your dogs and trail, and then
Hallow, and put 'em up again:
If any hounds diſdain the cheat,
Let them be hang'd for what we eat;
But, if obedient, for their pains
'Tis reaſon they ſhould ſhare the gains.
So ſaid, ſo done; the league is made,
The pack ſoon learn'd the ſhamming trade,
And prudent all commands obey'd;
Ev'n when a cub the vixon dropt,
As once her courſe a current ſtopt,
Him, in his mouth, kind *Jowler* took,
And gently carry'd o'er the brook.
The tenants, deſp'rate gown, complain
To landlord in a louder ſtrain,
And ſwear, without ſheep, lambs, or geeſe,
None could pretend to hold a leaſe.
The huntſman pleads, that dogs or man
Can do no more than all they can;
Him and his hounds ſhe puts ſuch tricks on,
He doubts, they ne'er ſhall kill the vixon;
Howe'er, to ſhew her good condition,
She offer'd this fair compoſition.
From juſt reſpect, and due regard,
No more ſhe'll enter fold or yard;

No more hereafter prowl for food,
But from one quarter of the wood:
Give her the lambs that ſtray *ſouth-weſt*,
She'll ne'er attempt to touch the reſt.
Tho' thus the ſimple ſwains compound,
Their lambs are kill'd wherever found;
One, ev'n within his worſhip's fold,
She ſeiz'd, but fail'd to keep her hold,
With much ado the lamb got clear
Himſelf, and only loſt an ear.
A dog-boy plac'd behind the fence
To watch, cries, I'm no evidence;
Let others mutter what they will,
While we partake, e'en eat your fill.
While mother *Gurton* ſage this tale
Her neighbours told at *Whitſun* ale,
An auditor, who'd long repreſs'd
His anger, thus the dame addreſs'd:
Gammer, I gueſs at what you mean,
Jenkins's ear was cut off clean,
The caſe is plain, the knife was keen.

On his R——l H——ſs the P——e of W——s *having no Guard allowed him.*

SOME I have heard who ſpeak this with rebuke: [d—ke,
"Guards ſhould attend as well the p——e as
"Guards ſhould protect from inſult *Britain*'s heir,
"Who greatly merits all the nation's care."
Pleas'd with the honeſt zeal they thus expreſs,
I tell them what each ſtateſman muſt confeſs:
No guard ſo ſtrong, ſo noble, e'er can prove,
As that which *F——k* has—the people's love.
E. C.

On the Death of the Rev. Mr. JOHN CURZON, M. A. *late Rector of* Kedleſtone *near* Derby.

CARMEN LAPIDARIUM.

CORPUS, *facta, animus, tumulatum, grata, ſerenus,*
Eſt, florent, fruitur, pulvere, laude, polo.
Dilexit, docuit, volvit, ſuperavit, adivit,
Pierides, populum, biblia, damna, Deum.

An Inſcription on the Tomb-ſtone of one Margaret Scott, *who died at* Dalkeith, *twelve Miles from* Newcaſtle, Feb. 9, 1738.

STop, paſſenger, until my life you've read;
The living may get knowledge by the dead.
Five times five years I liv'd a virgin life;
Ten times five years I was a virtuous wife;
Ten times five years I liv'd a widow chaſte;
Now, tired of this mortal life, I reſt.
I, from my cradle to my grave, have ſeen
Eight mighty kings of *Scotland*, and a queen.
Four times five years the common-wealth I ſaw;
Ten times the ſubjects roſe againſt the law.
Twice did I ſee old prelacy pull'd down;
And twice the cloak was humbled by the gown;
An end of *Stuart*'s race I ſaw: no more
I ſaw my country ſold for *Engliſh* ore.
Such deſolations in my time have been,
I have an end of all perfection ſeen.

EPITAPHIUM HERMANNI BOERHAVE, M. D. Extempore dictum.

ARTIS *Apollineæ jacet hic* Boerhavus *ocellus*
E Phœbi genitus divinâ ſtirpe perennis.
De morbis gravibus decies qui mille triumphos
Egit, & hinc famam nactus non ſorte ſed arte
Æternam, fæces terrenas liquit in urnâ
Corporis, & petiit ſublimis ſpiritus aſtra.
P. M—TT—X.

An ACROSTICK; *written extempore.*

C an *Britons* any longer doubt
O f their unhappy fate?
N o! now th' event is brought about;
V *engeance* is come, tho' late.
E ngage, ne'er'leſs, each free-born ſoul,
N or let yon *Spaniſh* wights
T hink they your freedom can control,
I f you aſſert your rights.
O n your own ſtrength and energy repoſe,
N o *Spaniſh* arms e'er dare that ſtrength oppoſe.

In Imitation of ANACREON.

TIME impatient flits away,
Charms of beauty ſoon decay:
Love and wine, true foes to grief,
For theſe ſorrows, bring relief:
Kiſs then, *Chloe*, kiſs my laſs;
Fill, my boy, the ſparkling glaſs;
We'll the preſent hour employ,
And ſecure the fleeting joy;
Fear not, fear not *Cupid* blind,
Tho' he's wanton, he is kind.
Fear not then his pointed dart,
Which gives pleaſure with the ſmart;
Tho' thro' mazes he will rove,
Yet he ſmooths the way to love.
Then, tho' time ſhould flit away,
Then, tho' beauty ſhou'd decay,
Kiſs me, *Chloe*,—kiſs again,
For we will not live in vain;
We'll not think what time may bring,
But of life enjoy the ſpring:
While we thus our time improve,
We ſhall live an age to love.

Concluſion of Country Innocence *in our next. Our other Correſpondents will alſo excuſe us, as we have been oblig'd very much to contract our Poetical Article this Month.*

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

THIS Month began with a very hot Diſcourſe of a War with *Spain*, and Preparations for the ſame, which continu'd thro' the Month. Ten Regiments were order'd to be embark'd from *Ireland*. Ten Thouſand additional Land Forces were to be levied, and incorporated with the preſent Regiments. Several Men of War were put in Commiſſion, and there was a very hot Preſs for Seamen. Orders were ſent to the *Britiſh* Governors in the *Weſt-Indies*, &c. Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron in the *Mediterranean* was to be reinforc'd. Sir *John Norris* hoiſted the Union-Flag on board the *Namur* at *Chatham*. The Deputy Gov. of the *S. S.* Company was ſent for by the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and adviſ'd how to act in regard to the Company's Affairs in *Old* and *New Spain*, in the preſent Conjuncture; and the Company diſpatch'd proper Orders to all their Agents and Factors in *Spain*. Sir *Chaloner Ogle* ſet out Poſt for *Portſmouth*, to ſail immediately in the *Auguſta* for the *Weſt-Indies*. The Rulers of the Watermens Company receiv'd Orders to ſupply the Government forthwith with a certain Number of Men for the Sea Service. An Embargo was laid on all outward-bound Merchant-Ships. A Proclamation was iſſued for allowing 6 Months Pay certain to all Seamen and able-bodied Landmen, who have before the 1ſt Inſtant, or ſhall before *July* 14 next, enter themſelves as Volunteers on board his Majeſty's Ships: And another for calling home all *Engliſh* Sailors, that are now in foreign Service. Thus, this has been again a hot Seaſon for Preparations, but whether they will produce hotter Work than they did laſt Year, is uncertain, and ſeveral Wagers have been laid.

SATURDAY, *June* 9.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when 5 Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death, among whom was a Boy 14 Years old, for Horſe-ſtealing, which was not the firſt Time; 1 was burnt in the Hand, 2 order'd to be whipp'd, and 27 to be tranſported.

THURSDAY, 14.

The King went to the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons being ſent for up, and attending, his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to, An Act for granting to his Majeſty the Sum of 500,000*l.* out of the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the Year 1739, and for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the further Sum of 500,000*l.* out of the growing Produce of the ſaid Fund; and for further appropriating the Supplies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament; and for giving Time for the Payment of Duties omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.—An Act to enable his Majeſty to ſettle an Annuity of 15,000*l.* on the Duke of *Cumberland*, and the Heirs of his Body; and alſo one other Annuity of 24,000*l.* on the Princeſſes *Amelia*, *Caroline*, *Mary* and *Louiſa*.—An Act for taking off the Duties upon Woollen and Bay Yarn imported from *Ireland* to *England*, and for the more effectually preventing the Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain*, and of Wool and Wool manufactured from *Ireland* to foreign Parts.—An Act for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars of the Growth, Produce or Manufacture of any of his Majeſty's Sugar Colonies in *America*, from the ſaid Colonies directly to foreign Parts, in Ships built in *Great Britain*, and navigated according to Law.—An Act for the more effectually preventing of exceſſive and deceitful Gaming.—An Act for the better preventing Frauds and Abuſes in Gold and Silver Wares.—An Act for prohibiting the Importation of Books reprinted abroad, and firſt compoſed or written and printed in *Great Britain*.—An Act to rectify a Miſtake in an Act made in the 6th Year of his late Majeſty K. *George* (for preventing Frauds and Abuſes in the publick Revenues of Exciſe, Cuſtoms, Stamp Duties, Poſt-Office and Houſe Money) relating to the Condition of Bonds taken from Maſters of Ships, *&c.*—An Act for explaining and amending an Act made in the 8th Year of K. *Richard* II. intitled, *No Man of Law ſhall be Juſtice of Aſſize or Gaol Delivery in his own County*; and another Act made in the 33d Year of K. *Henry* VIII. intitled, *An Act that none ſhall be Juſtice of Aſſize in his own County*, &c.—An Act for the better Regulation of Attornies and Sollicitors.—An Act for allowing further Time for Inrollment of Deeds and Wills made by Papiſts, and for Relief of Proteſtant Purchaſers, Deviſees and Leſſees.—An Act for the more eaſy aſſeſſing, collecting and levying of County Rates.—An Act to impower the High Court of Chancery to lay out, upon proper Securities, any Moneys not exceeding a Sum therein limited, out of the common and general Caſh in the Bank of *England*, belonging to the Suitors of the ſaid Court, for the Eaſe of the ſaid Suitors, by applying the Intereſt ariſing there-from for anſwering the Charges of the Office of Accountant General of the ſaid Court.—To the Carriers

and

and Shoemakers Bill.—An Act for providing a Reward for *Joanna Stephens*, upon a proper Diſcovery to be made by her, for the Uſe of the Publick, of the Medicines prepared by her for the Cure of the Stone. (See p. 297.)—To *Weſtminſter-Bridge* Bill.—*Bath* Hoſpital Bill.—River *Lee* Bill.—St. *Catherine Coleman* Church Bill.—To *Bath*, *Grantham*, *Bagſhot*, *Derby*, *Northampton* and *Warwick* Road Bills; and alſo to Twenty private Bills.

After which his Majeſty made the following moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Diſpatch you have given to the publick Buſineſs that has been under your Conſideration, makes it proper to put an End to this Seſſion of Parliament, and to give you that Receſs, which the Seaſon of the Year requires.

You have ſo fully declared your Sentiments, as well with regard to the paſt Conduct of *Spain*, as to the Meaſures that might become neceſſary to be purſued, in conſequence of any Part which that Court might afterwards take, and enabled me to act, in all Events, as the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms ſhall require, that no Inconvenience can ariſe from the immediate Want of your further Aſſiſtance, during the Receſs of Parliament; and I ſhall ſo intirely rely upon the Aſſurances you have given me, with ſo much Zeal and Unanimity, and upon your effectually ſupporting me in following the concurrent Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, that I will not be wanting in my Endeavours to vindicate and maintain our undoubted Rights, and to anſwer the juſt Expectations of my People.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my Thanks for the neceſſary Proviſions you have made for the Service of the current Year, in ſo ample a Manner. The extraordinary Supply which you have granted me, towards augmenting my Forces by Sea and Land, is ſuch a Proof of your Affection and Confidence in me, and of your conſtant Attention to the Service of your Country, that I cannot enough commend this ſeaſonable Care of the Welfare and Safety of the Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am perſuaded, it is unneceſſary for me to recommend to your ſerious Conſideration, the fatal Conſequences that may threaten a Nation divided within itſelf, inflamed, and miſled by all the wicked Arts and Inſinuations, that Malice and Falſhood can ſuggeſt. It is too obvious, what Advantages our common Enemies wait to take, from the Heats and Animoſities, that, under groundleſs Pretences, are induſtriouſly fomented, and ſpread throughout the Kingdom. Let all, who profeſs themſelves zealous Aſſertors of the Rights and Privileges, Laws and Liberties of their Country, and of the Proteſtant Religion, under the preſent Eſtabliſhment, unite in the Defence of theſe ineſtimable Bleſſings. Let the Honour, Proſperity, and Safety of the Kingdom become one common Cauſe, and reconcile all civil Diſcords and Diviſions; that, by your Unanimity, you may diſappoint the only Hopes, and vain Expectations of our Enemies.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogu'd the Parliament to *Thurſday* the 9th of *Auguſt* next.

The Duke and four Princeſſes were in the Houſe, and upon paſſing the Bill for ſettling Annuities on them, they all roſe up, and made their Obeiſance to the Throne, and then to both Houſes.

By the Act for providing a Reward to Mrs. *Stephens*, (ſee p. 297,) the following Perſons are appointed to examine her Medicines; Abp. of *Canterbury*, L. Chancellor, Earl of *Wilmington*, Earl of *Godolphin*, Dukes of *Dorſet*, *Grafton*, *Richmond*, *Montagu*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Scarborough*, Ld. Viſc. *Londſdale*, Bp. of *Glouceſter*, Bp. of *Oxford*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Ld. *Cornbury*, Ld. *Baltimore*, Sir *R. Walpole*, *Step. Poyntz*, Eſq; *Tho. Townſend*, Eſq; Rev. Dr. *Ste. Hales*, Dr. *Tho. Pellet*, Dr. *John Gardiner*, Dr. *Rob. Neſbitt*, Dr. *Simon Burton*, Dr. *Will. Whitaker*, Dr. *Peter Shaw*, Dr. *David Hartley*, *Will. Cheſelden*, Eſq; *Cæſar Hawkins*, Eſq; and Mr. *Samuel Sharp*.

The following Clauſes are in the Act to prevent deceitful and unlawful Gaming.

The Perſon that keeps a Houſe or other Place to game in, incurs the Penalty of 200*l.* half to the Proſecutor, and half to the Poor of the Pariſh, except in the City of *Bath*, where the Half of the Fine goes to the Poor in the Hoſpital. Lotteries, Sales, Shares in Houſes to be determin'd by Lottery, Raffle, &c. are under this Act, the Lands, Houſes, &c. forfeited. All Perſons gaming in the Places aboveſaid, or Adventurers in Lotteries, on Conviction forfeit 50*l.* The Games forbid by the Act as unlawful to be play'd are, *Ace of Hearts*, *Pharoah*, *Baſſet*, *Hazard*, except in his Majeſty's Palaces. Juſtices of the Peace refuſing to act and convict Perſons on this Act, forfeit 10*l.*

SATURDAY, 16.

His Excellency *Horatio Walpole*, Eſq; Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, embark'd for *Holland*.

MONDAY, 25.

William Townſend and *Robert Groſvenor*, Eſqrs. were choſen Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* for the Year enſuing: Tho' 'twas ſaid neither of them would ſerve.

From the GAZETTEER.

Political Bill of Mortality for the Year 1739, in a certain Quarter of the Town near the *Horſe-Ferry*.

Affec-

Affectation of Roman Probity	5	Knew not why	7
Abſence of Mind	3	Lazineſs	9
Burſt with Malice	5	Megrims	7
Caught by Whiſpers	3	Nodding	9
Deſpair	5	Pique	31
Family Madneſs, being elder Brothers	7	Revenge	13
Of Expectation	11	Over-ſpeaking	7
Of Force, by Relations, Guardians, &c.	5	Trying to be known	25
Grumbling	30	Vanity	11
Of idle Hopes	10	Vapours	31
		Whimſies	7 or 8
		In all, juſt—	234

N. B. In the Article of *Whimſies* there was one miſtold.

Diſtribution of Blanks and Prizes in the preſent Lottery.

		l.		l.
2	of	10000	is	20000
2		5000		10000
2		3000		6000
4		2000		8000
20		1000		20000
30		500		15000
200		100		20000
500		50		25000
4000		20		80000
11550		10		115500
16310	Prizes amounting to			319500
48690	Blanks.			
	Firſt Drawn			500
	Laſt Drawn			5000
65000	Tickets, at 5*l.* each			325000

Not quite 3 Blanks to a Prize.

Fifteen *per Cent.* to be deducted out of the Prizes, which are to be paid at the Bank within 50 Days after the Drawing is finiſh'd.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

REV. Mr. *Stonebouſe*, Vicar of *Iſlington*, to Miſs *Criſp* of that Place, contrary to the Conſent or Knowledge of her Friends.

——— *Brandreth*, of *Houghton* in *Bedfordſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Buckridge*, of *Highgate*.

Mr. *Edward Williams*, a Land-Waiter in the Cuſtoms, to the Widow of the late Lord Viſc. *Bulkeley*, a Lady of 2000*l. per Annum*.

Will. Binford, of *Bridgwater*, Eſq; to Miſs *Newland*.

Rich. Daſhwood, of the *Temple*, Eſq; to Miſs *Anne Peyton*.

Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Uxbridge*, to Mrs. *Bagot*.

Thomas Bowles, of *Cardiff*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Acton*.

Sir *Ralph Aſheton*, Bart. to Miſs *Hilton*.

Rt. Hon. Lord *Bruce*, to Miſs *Campbell*.

Capt. *Mainwaring*, to Miſs *Pyne*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.

Rt. Hon. Lord *Harry Beauclerk*, to Miſs *Lovelace*.

Sir *William Sanderſon*, to Miſs *Gough*, Siſter to Sir *Henry Gough*, Member of Parliament for *Bramber*.

The Lady of *Peregrine Bertie*, Eſq; deliver'd of a Son.

Lady *Bellew*, of a Daughter.

The Lady of *John Harpur*, Eſq; of a Son.

DEATHS.

JOHN *Morſe*, Eſq; an eminent Banker, and one of the Partners with Sir *Francis Child*.

Mrs. *Head*, Wife of —— *Head*, of *Langley* in *Berks*, Eſq;

In *Scotland*, Lord *Ramſay*, Son to the Earl of *Dalhouſie*.

Sir *Alex. Cockburn*, of *Langton*, Bart.

At *Dublin*, Miſs *Molyneaux*, eldeſt Daughter of the late Sir *Tho. Molyneaux*, Bart.

Mr. *Charles Barneveldt*, an eminent Apothecary in *Pall-Mall*.

John Jacobs, Eſq; eldeſt Son and Heir to Sir *John Jacobs*, Bart.

Mr. *Arthur Betteſworth*, an eminent Bookſeller in *Pater-noſter-Row*.

John Campbell, Eſq; ſometime Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and Repreſentative for that City.

Mr. *Daniel Muſſapha Fidalgo*, a Jew *Hamburgh* Merchant.

George Blake, Eſq; formerly a *Weſt-India* Merchant.

Aged near 90, Mr. *Azariah Reynolds*, the oldeſt Undertaker for Funerals in Town.

Tho. Chew Gilbert, Eſq; a Roman Catholick Gentleman of a conſiderable Eſtate.

The Wife of *Philip Bennet*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Shaftſbury*.

Mrs. *Gearing*, Relict of Mr. *Gearing*, formerly a conſiderable Merchant.

Capt. *Tho. Philips*, of the Royal Reg. of Dragoons.

John Griffith, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Carnarvonſhire*.

Rev. Mr. *Calvert*, M. A. a near Relation to the Lord *Baltimore*.

Henry Gould, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, and formerly High Sheriff for the County of *Bucks*.

In the 138th Year of her Age, in St. *Margaret*'s Workhouſe, *Weſtminſter*, *Margaret Paten*, born at *Lockmugh* near *Paiſly* in *Scotland*.

Lady *Wyndham*, Relict of Sir *Francis Wyndham*, Bart. and Wife of *William Lowſield*, Eſq;

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *William Hirſt*, M. A. Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Halifax*, preſented to the Rectory of *Sacombe*, in the County of *Hertford*, by *Thomas Rolt*, Eſq;

Matthew Hutton, D. D. made a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, in the Room of Dr. *Thiſtlethwaite*, who *reſign'd*.

Will. Burchet, M. A. made a Prebendary of *Windſor*, in the Room of Dr. *Hutton*.

Mr. *John Salter*, presented to the Rectory of *Diptford*, *Devon*.

Mr. *Curteis*, to the Livings of *Seal* and *Kemsing* in *Kent*.

Mr. *Broome*, M. A. and Mr. *Howard*, B.D. appointed Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty.

Mr. *Griffith*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*, to the Rectory of St. *Michael Queenhith*, void by the Death of the Rev. Mr. *Samson Eastwick*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

JOHN *Philipson*, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Navy.

John Selwyn, sen. Esq; made Master or Governor of the Hospital of St. *Lawrence* in *Cirencester*.

Earl of *Morton* made a Lord of his Majesty's Bedchamber.

William Ducket, Esq; made Col. of the Reg. late Col. *Lanoe*'s.

Brig. *Elliot*, Lieut. Col. of the 2d Troop of Grenadier Guards, in his Room.

Capt. *Brereton*, Brig. in the Room of Col. *Elliot*.

Hon. *George William Hervey*, Son to the Lord *Hervey*, made an Ensign in the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Reg. of Foot.

General *Wade* made Field Marshal of his Majesty's Armies.

Henry Medley, Esq; made Governour of *Newfoundland*.

Rob. Byng, Esq; Governour of *Barbadoes*, and the rest of the *Charibbee*-Islands.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

WILLIAM *Burr*, of *Fleetstreet*, Vintner.

John Foote, late of *Calstock*, *Cornwall*, Merchant.

Samuel Lockwood, late of *Ipswich*, Joyner.

John Dawes, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Farrier and Chapman.

Jeremiah Stone, of *Ditton*, *Surrey*, Maltster.

Will. Stephenson, late of *Darlington*, *Durham*, Innholder.

Silver Crispin, of St. *Andrew*, *Holborn*, Confectioner.

Samuel Evitt, of *Southwark*, Distiller.

Thomas Hawksworth, late of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Broker.

James Spurll, of *Newgate-street*, Turner.

John Gearing of *Chiswell-street*, Weaver.

Joshua Thorpe, of *Tetbury*, *Gloucestershire*, Chapman.

Henry Pearson, of *Threadneedle-street*, Vintner.

John Butler, of *London*, Lighterman.

Seth Cary, of *Longditch*, *Westminster*, Draper and Victualler.

John Savage, late of *Newberry*, *Berks*, Apothecary.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	94 ¼	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	1*l.* 1*s.*	*Royal Ass.*	none
—*Annu.*	107 ⅜ a ⅞ a ¾	*Lon. ditto*	11
Bank	135 a 135 ¼	3 *per C. An.*	98
—*Circ.*	2*l.* 15*s.*	*Salt Tallies*	½ a 1*l.* ½
Mil. Bank	none	*Emp. Loan*	108
India	157 a ½ a 157	*Equiv.*	115 ¼
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 9*s.* a 13*s.*	*Lot. Tick.*	5*s.* a 5*s.* 6*d.*

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 7	*Bilboa*	39
D. Sight	35 5 a 4 ½	*Legborn*	49 ½ a ⅜
Rotter.	35 8	*Genoa*	52 ¼
Hamb.	34 3	*Venice*	50 ¼
P. Sight	30 ⅛ ⅝	*Lisb.*	5*s* 5*d* ½ a ¼
Bourdx.	30 ⅝ a ¾	*Oport.*	5*s* 5*d* ⅛ a 5*d.*
Cadiz	39 ⅝	*Antw.*	36 3 a 4
Madrid	39 ⅝ a ½	*Dublin*	9 ⅜ a ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 33	*Oats*	12 14
Rye	13 17	*Tares*	19 23
Barley	14 17	*Pease*	26 32
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Pease*	16 18
P. Malt	20 24	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *May* 22. to *June* 26.

Christned	Males 723	Females 711	1434
Buried	Males 1129	Females 1150	2279

Died under 2 Years old			907
Between	2 and 5		221
	5	10	83
	10	20	95
	20	30	173
	30	40	202
	40	50	220
	50	60	165
	60	70	93
	70	80	76
	80	90	41
	90 and upwards		3
			2279

Hay 35 to 46*s.* a Load.

SINCE

SINCE the Separation of the Diet of *Sweden*, the Spirit of Party, we are told, runs high in that Kingdom. They are at preſent divided into the three Parties, which are nick-named the *Hats*, the *Night-Caps*, and the *Travelling-Caps*. The firſt is the *French* Party, who have now the Government almoſt entirely in their Hands, and their Name alludes to the late Prohibition of *Engliſh* Hats, which, they ſay, was done, in order to introduce the Uſe of *French* Hats. The ſecond is the King's Party, and their Name alludes to the State of that Prince's Health, who generally keeps his Chamber. And the *Travelling-Caps* are the *Ruſſian* Party, who have got that Name from the *Ruſſian* Furs and Skins of which thoſe Caps are uſually made. But there is likewiſe another Diviſion like to ſpring up, which is more dangerous, and will probably be more laſting; for the People of that Kingdom are like to divide into two Parties about the Settlement of their Form of Government after the Death of the preſent King and Queen. The Chief of the Eccleſiaſtics, Burghers, and Peaſants ſeem inclined to have the Form of their Government changed into a Sort of Republick, and put under the Management of an Adminiſtrator; on the other hand, the Nobility, and a great Party with them, are for continuing their Government upon its preſent Footing, and chuſing the Duke of *Holſtein* for their future King. Whether the Death of the late Duke, which happened at *Rolffbagen* near *Hamburgh* the 7th Inſtant, will make any Alteration in their Sentiments, Time only can ſhew; for as he has left a Son about 11 Years of Age, and as this Son is Grandſon to the eldeſt Siſter of the laſt King of *Sweden*, their Sentiments may probably continue as favourable for the Son, as they were for the Father. In the mean Time, the *Hats* are making great Preparations both by Sea and Land, as if they intended immediately to attack ſome of their Neighbours; for they have ordered a large Squadron of Men of War to be fitted out at *Carlſcroon*, which is to be joined by a *French* Squadron, and to be ready to ſail by the Beginning of next Month; and ſeveral Regiments have filed off, in order to embark on board that Squadron; but for what Purpoſe, or againſt whom this Squadron is deſigned, is as yet a great Myſtery; for both the *French* and *Swediſh* Courts make great Proteſtations, that they have no Deſigns againſt *Ruſſia*.

From *Muſcovy* we hear, that the Beginning of laſt Spring, the famous *Donduc Ombo*, Captain of the *Ruſſian Coſſacks*, ſent one of his Generals, with a great Body of his *Coſſacks*, againſt the *Circaſſians* of *Trevuge*, who live beyond the River of *Cuban*, where this General no ſooner arrived, than he deſtroyed their Habitations; and then marching farther, he heard that a great Army of *Cuban Tartars* were poſted on the River *Changouſe*, whereupon he haſtened his March, and ſurprizing the *Tartars*, he quickly put them to Flight, after having killed a great many in the Action; and as they were obliged, in their Retreat, to paſs that River, many of them were drowned. and 3000 made Priſoners, beſides a great Booty of Horſes, black Cattle, and 100,000 Sheep.

As the *Ruſſians* are a little jealous of the *Swedes* at this Juncture, none of their Armies have as yet undertaken any Thing againſt the *Turks*; but on the contrary, Count *Munich* has remained with the grand Army under his Command, for theſe two Months paſt, on the Banks of the *Boryſthenes* and *Dneiper*; and as there is no *Turkiſh* Army in that Neighbourhood, nothing has happened on that Side, but a few Skirmiſhes between him and the *Tartars*, none of which have been conſiderable.

The *Imperial* Army in *Hungary* formed their firſt Camp for this Campaign at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* formed theirs between *Sophia* and *Philippoli*; but our laſt Advices from thence ſay, that the *Imperialiſts* had begun to paſs the *Danube*, and that the *Turks* had marched from *Sophia* towards *Vipalanka*. However, as theſe two Armies are yet at a great Diſtance from one another, no Action has as yet happened between them.

We have an Account from *Paris*, that on the 22d of laſt Month, the Marquiſs of *Maillebois*, the *French* General in *Corſica*, attack'd the Malecontents on the Side of *Nebbio*, *M. du Chatel*, with a Detachment under his Command, on the Side of *Balagna*, and *M. d' Arnage*, with another Detachment, on the Side of *San Pelligrino*. That the Project had all the Succeſs they could expect; for that with the Loſs of but a very few Men, they had made themſelves Maſters of the important Poſt of *Monte-Maggiore* and the whole Province of *Balagna* in a few Days. By which Succeſs they had made themſelves Maſters of the beſt Half of the Iſland, and expected to make themſelves Maſters of the Whole in a little Time. But after they have made themſelves Maſters of it, it is a great Queſtion if they will ever reſtore it to the *Genoeſe*; for in *Spain* they talk, as if a Body of their Troops were ſoon to be ſent thither to relieve the *French*; in which Caſe, it is probable, that King *Theodore* is to reſign his Crown to Don *Philip* of *Spain*.

From *Conſtantinople* we hear, that the new Prime Vizir, as ſoon as he was appointed, wrote to the Grand Signior, beſeeching him to recal Count *Bonneval* from his Exile; and that a Courier was accordingly diſpatched into *Natolia*, to bring that General back to Court.

The

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. NIneteen Letters of the Rev. Dr. *Hammond*. Publiſhed by *F. Pecke*, M.A. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

2. The *London* Citizen exceedingly injur'd. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

3. A complete Vindication of the Licenſers of the Stage. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 1s.

4. The Sun ſtanding ſtill, rationally accounted for. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 6d.

5. Letters concerning poetical Tranſlations. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

6. Phyſick is a Jeſt, &c. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

* 7. *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Tales complete. In 2 Vols. The 4th Edition. Printed for *R. Ware*, price 6s.

8. Memorials and Characters, Numb. VII. and VIII. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 1s. each.

9. A Critical Diſcourſe upon the Method of the principal Authors who wrote for and againſt Chriſtianity. Printed for *A. Millar*, 8vo, price 4s.

* 10. The antient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, &c. By Mr. *Rollin*. Vol. III. and IV. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, 12mo, price 6s.

11. The Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas. By Sir *J. Burroughs*, Knt. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

12. A Century of the Colloquies of *Corderius*, in a new Method. By *J. Stirling*, M. A. Printed for *J. Wilcox*, price 1s. 6d.

13. The Adventures of *John-Le-Brun*. In 2 Vols. 12mo. Printed for *G. Hawkins*, price 5s.

* 14. The Houſe-keeper's Pocket Companion, and complete Family Cook. By Mrs. *Sarah Harriſon* of *Devonſhire*. The 2d Edit. improv'd. Printed for *R. Ware*, price 2s. 6d.

POETRY *and* POLITICAL.

15. *Gualtherus* and *Griſelda*. By *G. Ogle*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 3s.

16. The mournful Nuptials. By Mr. *Cooke*. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 1s. 6d.

17. A Counter-Part to *Pope*'s Eſſay on Man. Epiſtle II. By Mr. *Ayre*. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 6d.

18. The State of *Rome* under *Nero* and *Domitian*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1s.

19. The national Diſpute; or, Hiſtory of Convention Treaty. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 3s. 6d.

SERMONS.

* 20. The Doctrine of Aſſurance; or, the Caſe of a weak and doubting Conſcience. A Sermon. By *A. Bedford*, M. A. The 2d Edition. Printed by *C. Ackers* for *J. Clarke*, and ſold by *J. Wilford*, price 6d.

21. A Sermon on Regeneration. By *R. Skerret*, D. D. Printed for *C. Davis*, price 6d.

22. The Nature, Folly, Sin, and Danger of being righteous over-much. In 4 Diſcourſes. By *J. Trapp*, D. D. Printed for Meſſ. *Auſten* and *Gilliver*, price 1s.

23. A Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Lords. By the Biſhop of *Oxford*. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6d.

24. A Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Commons, on *May* 29th. By *J. Thomas*, D. D. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

25. A Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Commons, on *June* 11th. By *H. Gally*, D. D. Printed for *F. Gyles*, price 6d.

26. A Sermon preach'd at *Warwick* Aſſizes. By *W. Cleaver*, A.M. Sold by Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 6d.

27. A Sermon preach'd at *Reading* Aſſizes. By *F. Allen*, D. D. Printed for *S. Birt*, price 6d.

28. A Sermon preach'd before the Truſtees of the *Weſtminſter* Infirmary. By the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

29. A Sermon preach'd at the General Meeting of the Charity-Children. By the Biſhop of St. *David*'s. Printed for *M. Downing*, price 1s.

30. Sermons on ſeveral Subjects. By *John Warren*, D. D. In two Vols. 8vo. Sold by Meſſ. *Innys*, and *Hitch*, price 10s. 6d.

31. Two Sermons on Salvation and Silence. By *T. Story*. Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 6d.

THEOLOGICAL.

32. An Apology for the Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt. By *Joſ. Horler*, A. B. Sold by Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 2s. 6d.

33. The dreadful Degeneracy of the Clergy. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

34. The modern Queſtion affirm'd and prov'd. By *M. Maurice*. Printed for *J. Buckland*, price 1s.

35. A Letter to *Philalethes*. Part I. Occaſioned by Vol. II. of the Moral Philoſopher. Printed for *D. Farmer*, price 6d.

36. *Philemon* to *Hydaſpes*. Part III. Printed for *M. Steen*, price 1s. 6d.

37. A Letter to the Author of the Weekly Miſcellany. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 1s. 6d.

38. Some important Duties, &c. of Religion. By *H. L'Eſtrange*, Eſq; Sold by Meſſ. *Midwinter*, *Longman*, and *Hodges*, 8vo, price 4s.

39. An Anſwer to an Objection to a late Eſſay on Religion. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

40. A Letter to the Biſhop of *Oxford*, concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 6d.

41. The Neceſſity of Revelation. By *Arch. Campbell*, D. D. Sold by Meſſ. *Millar* and *Gray*, 8vo, price 4s. 3d. in Sheets.

42. A brief Account of Prayer, and the Sacrament, &c. By *H. Stebbing*, D. D. Printed for *F. Gyles*, 8vo, price 3s. 4d.

* 43. A Commentary on the 53d Chapter of *Iſaiah*; with three Diſſertations. By *S. Harris*, D. D. The 2d Edition. Printed for *C. Davis*, 8vo, price 3s.

44. The Sacramental Part of the Euchariſt explain'd. By *D. Waterland*, D.D. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 1s.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 276.

SIR,

I Communicated your Letter to the Club at one of our late Meetings, and as you ſay you can ſpare Room for moſt of the remarkable Speeches that are made upon any important Queſtion in our Club, and ſeem more deſirous to have the particular Speeches, than to have the whole Debate drawn up by Way of Argument, Anſwer, and Reply, they have given me Leave to comply with your Requeſt; therefore you may, in your next, conclude what was ſaid by Way of Anſwer in the laſt Debate I ſent you, and inſtead of the general Reply, you may take the particular Speeches, and Account of the Debate, which I have now ſent you.

The remaining Part of the Anſwer was as follows, viz.

BUT, my Lords, as this Settlement, ſo much to be wiſhed for, was like to be much retarded, if not intirely diſappointed, by ſome new Differences that aroſe between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, and as the Peace between us and *Spain* then ſtood upon an uncertain and precarious Foundation, which could not but be a great Prejudice to our Trade; therefore we found it neceſſary, to conclude a particular Treaty with *Spain*, at *Seville*, in the Year 1729, which leads me to conſider the Objections that have been made againſt that Treaty. It has been ſaid, that after the Experience we had learned by the Treaty with *Spain* in the Year 1721, we ought not in that new Treaty to have truſted to a general Renewal of former Treaties, or to any Promiſes *Spain* could make: We ought to have had all our Rights and Privileges in *America*, at leaſt ſuch of them as had been conteſted, particularly acknowledged; and we ought to have had all Promiſes performed, before we had agreed to a definitive Treaty. My Lords, at this Rate no two Nations in the World, after being once at War, could ever agree upon a Peace, till one of them had entirely vanquiſhed the other. We know how much averſe Princes are to the making of any particular Acknowledgments: Generally, nothing but

the utmoſt Diſtreſs can bring them to it; and therefore, in all Treaties of Peace, it has been found neceſſary to put an End to moſt Diſputes, by general Words, or by a general Renewal of former Treaties; and where the Words of former Treaties are clear, this general Renewal will always be found as effectual, as the moſt particular Acknowledgments. A Prince that breaks thro' or evades a general Article, will do the ſame by the moſt particular Article that can be framed, as ſoon as he finds an Opportunity; and a Prince that will not perform a Promiſe made by a definitive Treaty, will much leſs perform a Promiſe made by a Preliminary. In either Caſe, there is no Remedy but a new Rupture; and this muſt at laſt be the Conſequence, if *Spain* cannot be brought to a more ſtrict Obſervance and Performance of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; but both as a Chriſtian and a trading Nation, we are obliged to try firſt all peaceable Means, and if ſuch Means ſhould be found altogether ineffectual, we muſt then, and we ought not till then, to have recourſe to the *ultima Ratio Regum*.

As to our having united *Spain* and *France*, or created a Breach between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, by the Treaty of *Seville*, I cannot ſee, my Lords, how that Treaty can be charged with any ſuch Thing. There were no Differences then ſubſiſting between *France* and *Spain* which were reconciled, nor any juſt Cauſe of Offence given to the *Emperor*, by that Treaty. My Lords, the Union between *France* and *Spain*, and the Enmity or Difference between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, proceed from no Treaties or Negotiations of ours: They proceed from the natural Courſe of Things: When *Spain* has any Difference with *France*, ſhe muſt unite with the *Emperor*; and when ſhe has any Differences with the *Emperor*, ſhe muſt unite with *France*: The Views ſhe has upon *Italy*, while they continue, muſt always create Differences between her and the *Emperor*, and while ſhe entertains ſuch Views, ſhe muſt neceſſarily unite with *France*; but as ſuch Views are inconſiſtent with the true Intereſt of *Spain*, as they proceed from a foreign temporary Cauſe, a few Years may, in all probability, put an End to them.

In the mean Time, my Lords, I ſhall readily admit, that it is our Intereſt to keep up a cloſe Correſpondence with the *Emperor*; I ſhall even admit, that we ought, in the mean Time, to cultivate this Correſpondence by all poſſible Ways and Means; but we muſt not for this End become the Slaves and Servants of the Court of *Vienna*. We are not, for fear of an Alliance between *France* and *Spain* againſt us, to ſupport the Court of *Vienna* in all the Claims, and in every War, which their particular Intereſts may perſuade, or their unbounded Ambition ſuggeſt. In this Caſe we may properly be ſaid to be between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, there is no Safety but in a middle Courſe; and that, I think, we have hitherto ſteadily ſteered. If we had not, if our Miniſters had appeared negligent or unſkilful, and had ſteered too near, either the one Side or the other, I make no Doubt, but that this Houſe would have taken Notice of it, and would have turned that Pilot from the Helm, who had ſhewn that he was not fit for guiding our Ship in the Time of ſuch Danger. As no ſuch Attempt was ever made, as this Houſe has approved of every Step of our paſt Conduct, it is with me a ſtrong Argument, that the Conduct of our Miniſters, even for theſe laſt 17 or 18 Years, has been blameleſs. Nay, I have ſuch a Regard for, and ſuch a high Opinion of, the Wiſdom of this

this Houſe, that I ſhall always be extremely diffident of my own Opinion, when I find it differs from that which appears to be the Opinion of this Houſe.

Therefore, my Lords, if we have a due Regard to what appears to have been the Opinion of Parliament, we ought to judge favourably of what is paſſed; and this may furniſh us, I think, with a good Reaſon for ſuppoſing that the Convention, which is to be, and, I believe, in a very few Days will be laid before us, is the beſt that the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs could admit of; for in every Negotiation we carry on, and every Treaty we make, we muſt have a Regard both to the Situation of our own Affairs, and to the Situation of Affairs amongſt our Neighbours. When both theſe Situations happen to be lucky for us, we may then inſiſt upon high Terms, we may refuſe to accept of any but ſuch as may be thought in the higheſt Degree ſatisfactory; but when the contrary happens to be the Caſe, it is not ſurely a proper Time for us to inſiſt upon Points of Honour, or upon peremptory and expreſs Acknowledgments; we ought in Prudence to accept of equal Terms, rather than plunge ourſelves into an unequal War.

With this View, my Lords, let us examine the preſent State of Affairs both at home and abroad. At home we ſtill labour under a heavy Load of Debt, and our People groan under a Multitude of Taxes, which are abſolutely neceſſary, even in Time of Peace, for the Diſcharge of that Debt, and the Support of our Civil Government. This renders our People uneaſy; and there are many amongſt ourſelves, who are too apt to take Advantage of that Uneaſineſs, for increaſing thoſe Animoſities and Diviſions, which muſt always ſubſiſt in this Country, becauſe they naturally ariſe from thoſe Liberties and Privileges our People have ſtill the Happineſs to enjoy. Can we then ſay, that our domeſtick Affairs are at preſent in a happy Situation? Then with Regard to the Affairs of *Europe*, do not we know that the *Emperor* is now engaged in a heavy and expenſive War againſt the *Turks*? By the Misfortunes of the two laſt Campaigns, and the Plague's raging in that Country where he is obliged to keep his Armies, he has loſt many of his veteran Troops. Therefore we cannot expect that he would join us in any War we can at preſent engage in; and if he did, we could expect from him but a feeble Aſſiſtance, for he could ſend us few or none of thoſe Troops that contributed towards our gaining ſo many Laurels during the laſt War. Our Neighbours the *Dutch*, are exactly in our own Situation: They are loaded with Debts, contracted as ours were, in Defence of the Liberties of *Europe*. Their People are more heavily loaded with Taxes, than the People of this Kingdom; and all thoſe Taxes hardly ſufficient to ſupport their Government in Time of Peace, and to pay the Intereſt of their publick Funds. Their naval Force, which was once able to cope even with that of *England*, and which gave us ſo great Aſſiſtance in the laſt War, is now almoſt reduced to nothing; and their Land Army is now ſo much reduced, that they have ſcarcely Troops ſufficient for the many Gariſons their large Frontier obliges them to keep. To this let me add, that they are at preſent far from being united amongſt themſelves. As they are likewiſe a free People, they are always ſubject to inteſtine Feuds and Diviſions, as much as we are in this Kingdom; and theſe Feuds and Diviſions have of late Years ſeemed to keep equal Pace in both Countries.

These, my Lords, are the two Powers of *Europe* who are our most natural Allies; these are the two, from whom, in Case of Need, we could expect the most effectual Assistance, and from neither of them could we at present expect any Assistance at all. On the other hand, let us consider the present Condition of *France*, our great, our most dangerous Rival in Trade, as well as Power. By the Arbitrarineſs of their Government they have got rid of all those Debts, which they were obliged, during the late War, to contract. They maintain in Time of Peace a much greater Land Army than any other Power in *Europe*, than most are able to maintain in Time of War; they have always a formidable Fleet ready to put to Sea; and yet their publick Revenue is more than sufficient for answering their publick Expence, and might be greatly increased in Case of a War. If they should join with *Spain* in a War against us, it is hardly to be expected that, in our present Circumstances, we would be able, by ourselves alone, to support a War against these two powerful Kingdoms. But in Case of a War between *Spain* and us, suppose the *French* should remain neutral, which it is to be hoped they would, and the utmost we could expect, yet we ought to consider how much they have incroached upon several Branches of our Trade, within these few Years past; how closely they are watching all Opportunities for making farther Inchroachments. For this Purpose, a War between *Spain* and us, while they are in profound Peace, would afford one of the best Opportunities they could desire. The *Mediterranean*, the Bay of *Biscay*, the *African* and *American* Seas, perhaps our own Coasts, would swarm with *Spanish* Privateers, or at least with Privateers under *Spanish* Colours, by which our Trade would be greatly interrupted: Our Merchants would be exposed to many Dangers, to long Delays, and vast Charges, which the *French* Merchant would be entirely free from. This would give them such an Advantage at all foreign Markets, that they would undersel us in almost every Commodity we could carry thither; and if Trade should once leave the *British*, and begin to run in the *French* Channel, we would probably soon see a Return of Peace, we would be obliged to sue for it upon any Terms; but I question if we should ever see a Return of Trade.

The present therefore, my Lords, must be allowed to be a Conjuncture that will not admit of our insisting upon so high Terms, or so ample a Satisfaction, as we may have good Reason to insist on; and if it were, we should, even at the most favourable Conjuncture, take Care to persuade the World, that we ask nothing but what is just and reasonable; for if by insisting upon Terms too high, or engaging too rashly in War, our Neighbours should begin to imagine, that we were resolved to make use of our Power for imposing Laws upon any one of them, they would all take the Alarm, every one would be afraid lest his own Turn might be the next; and this might produce a Confederacy against us, as dangerous as that which was produced by the Ambition of *France* against that Kingdom, towards the Close of the last Century.

I shall grant, my Lords, that we have of late Years met with several Insults and Indignities from the *Spanish Guarda Costas* in *America*, and that under the Pretence of guarding against what they call illicit Trade, they have too frequently made unjust Seizures, and committed great Depredations upon our Merchants and Seamen, trading in that Part of the World; but we are not the only

only People that have ſuffered by ſuch Pieces of Injuſtice. We have, it is true, ſuffered more than any other Nation, becauſe we have a greater Trade, and more trading Ships in the *American* Seas than any other; but both the *Dutch* and *French* have likewiſe had their Share. We have heard both of *Dutch* and *French* Veſſels ſeized or plundered, and if News Papers and News Mongers were as numerous in *France* or *Holland*, as they are in *Britain*, or if they had the ſame Liberty in thoſe Countries, they have in this, we ſhould probably have heard of a great many more. One *French* Veſſel we heard of lately, which appeared to have been ſeized and confiſcated, as unjuſtly as ever any *Britiſh* Ship was, and tho' it be now two or three Years ſince the Seizure, the Ship and Cargo are ſo far from having been reſtored, that I do not know if they have been reclaimed. Yet neither the *Dutch* nor the *French* have thought of declaring War againſt *Spain*, on Account of ſuch Seizures; nor ought we, as long as there are any Hopes left of obtaining Redreſs by peaceable Means; for the Crimes of particular Men, ought not to be retaliated upon a whole Nation, till the Nation has made the Guilt its own, by an obſtinate Denial of Juſtice; and this we cannot pretend to ſay, if any Satisfaction has been made for paſt Injuries by the late Convention, and a tolerable Foundation laid for ſecuring us againſt future, by a definitive Treaty.

But, my Lords, as the Convention is not yet laid before us, as it cannot, from any Thing now propoſed, be properly brought into our preſent Debate, I ſhall ſay nothing in its Juſtification. From what I have ſaid in Vindication of our paſt Tranſactions, I hope it will appear, that we have no Reaſon to condemn, or even to ſuſpect what has lately happened, before we know what it is. When the Convention comes to be laid before us, we may then judge reaſonably and certainly of it: Till then, we ought to ſuſpend our Cenſures as well as Applauſes; the Time will not be long. Perhaps the only Reaſon why it was not this Day laid before us, was, leſt a Pretence ſhould be from thence taken for drawing it in to this Day's Debate: This was a prudent, and appears now to have been a neceſſary Conſideration; and as nothing is now propoſed, that may in the leaſt tend to juſtify the Convention, or any of the Meaſures that were taken for bringing it to a Concluſion, I ſhall therefore be for agreeing to the Propoſition without any Amendment.

The firſt Speech I ſhall give by Way of Reply, was that made by L. Piſo, *who ſpoke in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

THE Eſteem and Affection I have for his Majeſty, and the Regard I have for every Thing that may any Way contribute towards eſtabliſhing him in the Hearts of his Subjects, are ſo well known, that I need not trouble your Lordſhips with any Profeſſions on that Head; and if there were nothing in the Addreſs now propoſed, but Expreſſions of Duty towards him, and Zeal for his Service, I ſhould be far from deſiring or agreeing to any Amendment; but the Duty I owe to my King, the Regard I have for the Honour of this Houſe, and the Reſentment every Man ought to ſhew for the Injuries his Country has received, forbid my agreeing to the Propoſition as it now ſtands.

I ſhall agree, my Lords, that thoſe Expreſſions, which may be thought to relate to any Part of our late Conduct, are very general, more

more than ordinary Care has been taken to make them ſo; but even this is an Argument for the Amendment propoſed. So great Caution is a Sort of Proof that Matters are not all right; it ſhews a Conſciouſneſs of ſome Miſbehaviour, which ought to give us Suſpicion; and that Suſpicion ought to make us avoid inſerting any Thing, tho' in the moſt general Terms, that may relate to our late Conduct. In the Propoſition as it now ſtands, there are many Paragraphs that, notwithſtanding their being addreſſed to the King, muſt relate to the Conduct of our Miniſters; for whatever is done, we muſt in this Houſe ſuppoſe to be done by the Miniſters; and therefore, if we make uſe of any Expreſſions that may look like Compliments upon our late Conduct, tho' they be addreſſed to the King only, they will without Doors be looked on as an Approbation of what has been done by the Miniſter. They will be repreſented as ſuch in a Place, where, from this Houſe, nothing ſhould come that may in the leaſt miſguide.

The Paragraphs that relate to our late Tranſactions, are indeed ſo general, and the Turn of Expreſſion ſo artfully and cautiouſly choſen, that upon any ordinary Occaſion, I ſhould not perhaps have made an Objection; but, my Lords, the preſent Emergency is the moſt extraordinary, the moſt important, that has ever happened ſince I have had the Honour to ſit in this Houſe. Our Trade, our very Being, is deeply concerned in every Reſolution we can come to during this Seſſion of Parliament. The only profitable Branch of our Trade, I am afraid, the Branch upon which all the other, and conſequently the Being of this Nation, depends, is now at Stake. It has been in Danger for many Years; but it is now upon the Brink of Perdition, and can be recovered from the Precipice upon which it ſtands, only by the Integrity, the Wiſdom, and the Steadineſs of this Houſe.

I ſhall not pretend, my Lords, to know any Thing of the Convention we have lately, it ſeems, accepted of. I ſay, my Lords, I ſhall not pretend to know any Thing more of it, than what his Majeſty has been pleaſed to impart to us, by his Speech from the Throne; but from what he has told us of it, I muſt think it ought, I hope it will be cenſured. By his Majeſty's Speech he has told us poſitively what is done, and negatively, what is not done. He has told us, we have got the Promiſe of a ſtipulated Sum, for he does not ſay that this Sum is either paid, or ſecured to be paid; but he has likewiſe told us, that we have got nothing elſe; all the reſt of our Diſputes with *Spain* are referred to Commiſſaries, who are now to be called Plenipotentiaries. They are to have a higher Title than they had formerly; conſequently, I ſuppoſe, they muſt have higher Salaries; and this will of Courſe make them draw their Negotiations out to a greater Length.

This, my Lords, makes the Caſe very different from what it was with relation to the Treaty of *Seville*. His Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, after the Concluſion of that Treaty, told us nothing we could have the leaſt Pretence to find Fault with. He then told us, we had got every Thing we could wiſh for; and he certainly thought ſo; but we ſoon found that he had been miſinformed, and that we had been too raſh. Now he is ſo far from having told us, we have got every Thing we could wiſh for, that he expreſsly tells us, we have got what, I think, may properly be called nothing; what I am convinced will appear to be ſo. There is therefore no Precedent for what is now propoſed;

poſed; and if there were, there are but few late Precedents that can be much inſiſted on as good Rules for our future Conduct.

Reparation for the Loſſes our Merchants have ſuſtained is, 'tis true, my Lords, an Article which we ought to have inſiſted on; but it is the Article of the leaſt Conſequence, and the only Article which could admit of a Diſcuſſion before Commiſſaries or Plenipotentiaries, call them which you will. The other Articles in Diſpute between us and *Spain*, are all of much greater Conſequence; and they are of ſuch a Nature, as cannot admit of a Diſcuſſion; becauſe they muſt be expreſsly granted, or peremptorily denied. Yet this Article about Reparation, his Majeſty has told us, is the only Article that is ſettled by this Convention; ſo that what cannot admit of a Reference, we have referred; and what could not in its own Nature admit of a juſt and immediate Determination, we have determined. But how, my Lords, is it determined? not at all to the Honour or Advantage of *Great Britain*, if I am rightly informed. We have, it ſeems, made a lumping Bargain of it. Our Merchants claimed 430,000*l.* they had really been robbed of by the *Spaniards*; without reckoning the Loſs they ſuſtained by the Interruption of their Trade, by the high Premiums they paid upon Inſurance, and many other Loſſes that have been occaſioned by theſe Depredations. They claimed this Sum as the Value only of thoſe Ships, that had been actually ſent out by them, and ſeized or plundered by the *Spaniards:* They claimed nothing for the Ships they might, and would have ſent out, if it had not been for the Interruption they met with in their Trade; nor did they claim any Thing for the high Inſurance, and other extraordinary Charges, they were put to upon thoſe Ships that had the good Luck to eſcape. A Computation of this Kind, would have made their Claim amount to double the Sum; yet this great Claim, it ſeems, we have lump'd with the *Spaniards*, and by this Convention have accepted 155,000*l.* in full for the Whole; and even this Sum, notwithſtanding this moſt extraordinary Abatement, is not to be paid to our Merchants by the *Spaniards*, but by ourſelves. Is this, my Lords, to be called a Reparation? and yet this Reparation, ſuch as it is, has coſt us at leaſt 4 or 500,000*l.* extraordinary Charges, ſince laſt Seſſion of Parliament. If this be a Reparation, I hope we ſhall have no more ſuch; two or three ſuch Reparations would undo us.

From hence your Lordſhips will ſee, we have no great Reaſon to approve of what his Majeſty has told us we have got; and now with Regard to what his Majeſty has told us we have not got: Are Plenipotentiaries to regulate the Searching of our Ships upon the high Seas? I hope no *Britiſh* Plenipotentiary will dare to regulate, what this Nation muſt never, nor in any Shape, admit. No Search, my Lords, is the Word with every Man of common Senſe in the Kingdom. It was the Senſe of both Houſes, laſt Seſſion of Parliament; and in the Reſolution your Lordſhips then came to upon this very Head, you have declared, that the Searching of our Ships, on the open Seas, is a Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. No Search was therefore the chief Article we ought to have inſiſted on in any new Treaty, between the two Crowns. Without this we can have no Security, we can have no Reparation for the Inſults and Diſhonour the *Britiſh* Flag has met with: They have lately ſet up a Pretence to ſearch our Ships upon the open Seas: The very ſet-

ting

ting up of ſuch a Pretence, is an Affront put upon us by them; but to conclude any Treaty or Convention with them afterwards, without an expreſs Diſavowal of all Pretences of that Kind, is putting a new and a much greater Affront upon ourſelves. This we have done: His Majeſty has told us we have done it. Is it poſſible that ſuch a Step can eſcape the Cenſure of Parliament?

This, my Lords, is the Caſe now before us. We are not to judge of, or condemn the Convention, before we know what it is. His Majeſty has in his Speech told us what it is. He has told us that ſomething is done, which ought not to be done. He has told us, that a Point of the utmoſt Conſequence to our Trade and Navigation is referred to the Regulation of Commiſſaries, which, in its own Nature, can admit of no Regulation. This is what every unprejudiced Man in the Nation muſt condemn. It is what your Lordſhips have already condemned by the Reſolutions you came to laſt Seſſion of Parliament; and when from his Majeſty's Speech it appears, that ſomething has been done, which you muſt, which you ought to condemn, as ſoon as you come to enquire into it, can you make uſe of any Expreſſions in your Addreſs, which may look like an Approbation of what has been done? Can you mention ſuch a Meaſure without teſtifying your Diſlike?

I ſhall always, my Lords, be for ſhewing as much Reſpect and Eſteem for his Majeſty as we can expreſs; I ſhall even be for ſhewing, upon all Occaſions, as much Complaiſance as is conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe. When I do ſo, I ſpeak from the Sincerity of my Heart; but that very Sincerity will always prevent my ſhewing ſuch a Complaiſance as may miſlead. When we approve, or but ſeem to approve, of Meaſures which ought to be cenſured, which almoſt every Man without Doors does cenſure, it is ſhewing no Complaiſance to our Sovereign: 'Tis behaving with Inſincerity, I may ſay with Infidelity, towards him, for the Sake of ſhewing a mean Complaiſance to his Miniſter. This is a Behaviour, which no Precedent, no Cuſtom, can warrant. It is a Behaviour, which every Man muſt in his Conſcience condemn. But what is this Cuſtom, which is now pleaded for ſuch a fawning, ſuch a falſe Sort of Behaviour? Why, my Lords, it is not much above 20 Years ſtanding. It is not much above that Time ſince we firſt began to eccho back Paragraph by Paragraph, in our Addreſs, the King's Speech from the Throne. It was a bad Precedent at firſt, and therefore ought never to have been followed. But even this Cuſtom, bad as it is, neither ought, nor can be made a Precedent upon the preſent Occaſion. Upon no former Occaſion can it be ſaid, that even from the King's Speech, ſomething appeared to have been done, which ought not to have been done, and which this Houſe could not but perceive, from what his Majeſty told them of it in his Speech, that they would be obliged to cenſure. This, my Lords, is the Caſe at preſent: His Majeſty in his Speech has told us, that the Searching of our Ships upon the high Seas is referred to be regulated by Commiſſaries. Can your Lordſhips approve of this? Can you mention it without a Cenſure? Therefore the greateſt Regard, the greateſt Complaiſance you can, upon the preſent Occaſion, ſhew to his Majeſty, nay the greateſt Complaiſance you can in honour ſhew to his Miniſter, is not to mention it at all. For which Reaſon, I hope your Lordſhips will, at leaſt upon this Occaſion, reſume the antient Method of Addreſſing, and for that Pur-

Purpoſe agree to the Amendment propoſed.

C. Mucius Scævola ſpoke next againſt the Amendment propoſed, tho' without ſaying any Thing in Favour of our late Meaſures; but as I have already, in the general Anſwer, given the Subſtance of what he ſaid, I ſhall add no more in this Place.

The next that ſpoke, was M. Agrippa, *whoſe Speech was to this Effect.*

My Lords,

I HOPE, from the whole Tenour of my Conduct, both without Doors and within, it has appeared, that no Man has a greater Affection for his Sovereign, or is more ſenſible of his Duty towards him, than I am; but this is to be teſtified, and I ſhall always endeavour to ſhew it, by telling him the Truth. By what is ſaid in an Addreſs, upon any ſuch Occaſion as the preſent, we are not, 'tis true, precluded from giving our Sentiments freely, or even from cenſuring afterwards, what we may ſeem to have approved of in our Addreſs; but this is not enough. In all ſuch Addreſſes, we ought either to make general Profeſſions only of our Affection and Duty, or, if we deſcend to Particulars, we ought to have a two-fold View. By deſcending into Particulars upon ſuch Occaſions, we ought to have a View of ſhewing to his Majeſty the Senſe of his People, and to the People the Senſe of this Houſe. Therefore, we ought never to ſay any Thing that may tend to make his Majeſty believe, that his People are ſatisfied, when every Lord in this Houſe knows the contrary to be true; nor ought we to ſay any Thing, that may make the People miſtake the Sentiments of this Houſe.

The whole Nation, my Lords, have now their Eyes fixed upon Parliament; they have been greatly injured, they have loudly complained; and it is from the Parliament only they expect Relief. Shall we, my Lords, by our Addreſs upon this Occaſion, make his Majeſty believe, that his People are ſatisfied with what has been done? Shall we make the People believe, that we are ſatisfied? The very Thought would throw ſuch a Damp upon their Spirits, as would make them deſpair of any legal Relief; and what might be the fatal Conſequences of ſuch a Deſpair, God only can tell; for fatal they muſt be, let it take what Turn it will. If they ſit down tamely, and only groan under the Weight of Sorrow they feel, we have broke, we have undone the Spirit of our People; we have made them fit for Slavery and arbitrary Power. But this, I hope, will not be the Conſequence; the People of *England* will ſuffer, they have ſuffered a great deal; but they will not ſuffer too much. If Care be not taken in Time, if ſome ſeaſonable Relief be not ſpeedily adminiſtred, our Dominions will be diſmembered. They will be diſmembered; but they can be diſmembered by the Sword only; for if thoſe who govern us, do not make uſe of the Sword for their Defence, the People will turn it againſt them: So that by avoiding, wiſely, as ſome amongſt us may think, a foreign War, we may involve ourſelves in the worſt of all Wars, a civil one; and by being too much afraid of Invaſions, we may expoſe ourſelves to what is much worſe, a general Inſurrection.

We have of late Years, my Lords, ſuffered many Indignities; we have long ſuffered. Our People from a Conſciouſneſs of their own Strength, as well as from the Reſolutions of both Houſes, laſt Seſſion of Parliament, expected that before this

Time, full Reparation, and abſolute Security would have been procured by peaceable Means, or that a proper Uſe would have been made of the Aids ſo chearfully granted laſt Seſſion, for procuring it by Force of Arms. And now what have we got? a Treaty, a Convention, by which, we may ſee, from what his Majeſty has told us of it, that we have got no Security, and, I am afraid, little or no Reparation. As for the Reparation we have obtained, if any, I ſhall ſay nothing of it, till I can ſee, from the Treaty itſelf, what it is; but as for our future Security, every Man may ſee, from what his Majeſty has told us, that it will be rendered more precarious, than ever it was heretofore.

While our Ships, my Lords, continue to be ſearched, while any Nation in the World dares pretend to ſearch a *Britiſh* Ship upon the open Seas, we can have no Security, we can have no free Trade, nor any ſafe Navigation. No Search, my Lords, is the Word with every Man in the Kingdom. It ought to have begun among thoſe about the Throne; but wherever it began, it is now ecchoed and re-ecchoed from every Corner of the *Britiſh* Dominions; and ſhall we ſeem to inſinuate to his Majeſty, that he may be ſatisfied; ſhall we ſeem to intimate to the People, that they ought to be ſatisfied, with referring ſuch a Point as this to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries, or Miniſters of any Denomination? My Lords, it ought to have been inſiſted on as a Preliminary even to Treating. We ought not to have ſo much as begun to treat, till this of No Search had been granted to us. In all Negotiations there are ſome Points, that ought to be ſettled before any equal Treaty can be ſet on Foot. The *Dutch*, even in the Infancy of their State, would not ſo much as begin to treat of a ſhort Truce with *Spain*, till the *Spaniards* agreed to treat with them as a free Nation; and at the Treaty of *Munſter*, after a War of near 70 Years Continuance, with very little Interruption, they would not ſo much as begin to treat, till *Spain* agreed to declare them a free Commonwealth. Can we pretend to be a free Nation, as long as *Spain* claims a Right to ſearch our Ships upon the high Seas? Will any of our Miniſters dare to negotiate with them about ſuch a Right? Will any Miniſter or Plenipotentiary preſume to grant it, under any Regulation whatſoever?

Such a Right, my Lords, had never been claimed, if we had, at the Beginning, underſtood what we were about. It is a Difficulty we have puzzled ourſelves into, by not underſtanding the Difference between Searching and Viſiting, or between contraband and prohibited Goods. If we had underſtood this, and had at firſt properly explained what we were entitled to by the Laws of Nations, and the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, *Spain* would never have pretended to ſearch our Ships, upon the open Seas, in any Part of the World. Contraband Goods, properly ſpeaking, are only thoſe Goods which are uſed, or uſeful in War; and, as every Nation that is at War with any of her Neighbours, pretends to a Right, not to allow ſuch Goods to be carried to an Enemy's Port, therefore every Nation pretends to a Right, to viſit ſuch Ships as ſhe meets with at Sea, in order to ſee whether they are bound to an Enemy's Port, and have any ſuch Goods on board. Prohibited Goods again, are thoſe which, by the Laws of any particular Country, are forbid to be imported or exported; and, every Nation pretends to a Right to ſearch thoſe Ships that come into her Ports, in order

o ſee that they have no Goods on oard which are forbid to be im-orted, and likewiſe to ſearch thoſe hips that are going out, in order o ſee that they have no Goods on oard, which are forbid to be ex-orted.

This, my Lords, is the Difference etween contraband and prohibited oods, when the two Terms are roperly and diſtinctly uſed; and, he Difference between Searching nd Viſiting is thus: Searching is lways in Port, and never on the igh Seas; Viſiting is always on the igh Seas, and never in Port. When Ship in Port is ſearched, the earch muſt be made by the proper fficer, and in a legal Manner: hen a Ship in the high Seas is iſited, ſhe ought to be viſited ac-rding to the Method uſually pre-ribed by Treaty, which is thus: hen a Man of War of one Coun-y meets in the high Seas a Mer-ant-Ship of another Country, the an of War is not to approach e Merchant-Ship nearer than annon Shot, but may ſend out his at with an Officer and two or ree Men only, to whom the after of the Merchant-Ship is to ew his Bills of Lading, and to eſe Bills of Lading the Man of ar is to give entire Credit: Even hen it appears by the Bills of ading, that ſhe is bound to an emy's Port, and has contraband oods on board, ſuch Goods only e to be ſeized and confiſcated. om hence it muſt appear, that no ation in the World can have a etence for ſearching the Ship of nother upon the high Seas; and uch leſs for condemning and confiſ-ting the Ship and whole Cargo, account of her having contra-nd or prohibited Goods on board; d therefore it was ridiculous ever allow the Word contraband, or e Word prohibited, to enter into e Diſpute between *Spain* and us.

Spain, my Lords, may forbid the Importation of any Sort of Goods ſhe pleaſes into her own Dominions, or ſhe may forbid the Exportation of any Goods ſhe pleaſes out of her own Dominions; and, ſuch Goods may be called, and may be ſeized as prohibited Goods, when found aboard any Ship in her own Ports. But *Spain* can forbid the Importation or Exportion of no Sort of Goods into or out of any Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions; nor can ſhe forbid the Tranſportation of any Sort of Goods from one Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions to another. On board a *Britiſh* Ship bound from one Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions to another, there can be no Goods that *Spain* can call either prohibited or contraband. We can never admit of any ſuch Thing: If we do, we can carry on no Trade in *America*. No *Britiſh* Ship can trade there, but what muſt have on board ſome ſuch Goods as the *Spaniards* call contraband or prohibited. *Spaniſh* Piſtoles and Pieces of Eight are the current Coin of all our Plantations; a Coin which is often brought there, even by the *Spaniards* themſelves: Cocoa is the Production of *Jamaica* as well as *New Spain*; and Logwood grows both in *Jamaica* and *Providence*; ſo that tho' we ſhould give up our Right to the Bay of *Campeachy*, which, I hope, notwithſtanding our preſent ſubmiſſive Temper, we ſhall not do; yet we cannot allow the *Spaniards* to ſeize our Ships, on account of their having ſuch Wood on board.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, we were to allow of what they call prohibited Goods. Suppoſe we were to allow, that none of our Ships ſailing in the *American* Seas ought to have ſuch Goods on board; yet, ſurely, we are not to allow them, upon this Account, to ſearch our Ships on the high Seas, and to confiſcate Ship and Cargo, and impriſon and mal-

treat the Seamen, when they find ſuch Goods on board. The moſt they could, even in this Caſe, pretend to, would be to viſit our Ships in the Manner ſettled between us by Treaties, and to ſeize only thoſe contraband Goods they find on board, without detaining the Ship, or touching any other Part of the Cargo. Therefore, even in this Caſe, which is the hardeſt that can be put, No Search on the high Seas ought to be the Word: No Search but in Port is the Point which ought to have been inſiſted on, as a Preliminary to our treating with them at any Rate. For this Reaſon, I am ſurprized how any Miniſter could think of referring this Point to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries. The very Reference is an Injury to this Nation, almoſt irreparable: It is a tacit Acknowledgment of the Right the *Spaniards* lay claim to, when put under proper Regulations; but, I hope, no *Britiſh* Plenipotentiary will ever dare to ſettle, or conſent to ſuch Regulations: If any one does, I am ſure, both he and the Miniſter that gave him the Power, will deſerve the Curſes of their Country, and the higheſt Indignation of this Houſe.

No Search on the high Seas is therefore, my Lords, what we muſt inſiſt on. It is what all *Europe* will inſiſt on. If we ſhould be bullied into the giving up of ſuch a Point, or ſubmitting to have our Ships ſearched on the high Seas, under any Regulations, I am ſure *France* never will. The Cardinal, as old as he is, would diſdain to hear of treating upon ſuch a Subject. He would not admit, even into his Anti-chamber, a Miniſter that had come from *Spain* with ſuch a haughty, ſuch a ridiculous Propoſition. Monſ. *de la Quadra* could never have thought of it, if he had not been led into it by the Ignorance, or the Puſillanimity, he found in thoſe he treated with. I remember him a Gentleman of very little Conſideration; but now, he takes upon him to ſay, That the *Engliſh* ought to learn to underſtand their own Rights and Privileges. Perhaps he had Reaſon to ſay ſo of thoſe he treated with. He could, at that Time, mean none elſe; but, if the Parliament ſhould approve of this Convention, or if we ſhould agree to the Addreſs now propoſed, he may juſtly ſay ſo of the whole Nation.

I ſhall readily agree, my Lords, that the preſent Conjuncture is none of the moſt favourable for this Nation. The State of Affairs in *Europe* is, indeed, formidable. It is growing every Year more and more ſo. Laſt Year it was more formidable than the preceding, and this Year it is more formidable than it was the laſt. What will at laſt become of us, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but, I may pretend to propheſy, that our Affairs both at home and abroad, will next Year be more formidable than they are the preſent; unleſs ſome wiſe and vigorous Meaſures be taken for diſpelling the Cloud that hangs over us; and I have very little Hopes, that thoſe who have been the chief Cauſe of its gathering, will have either Wiſdom to diſpel it, or Fortitude to withſtand its breaking upon us.

People may wrangle and talk long enough about our paſt Meaſures. All publick Meaſures are of ſuch a Nature, that a great many Things may be ſaid againſt the beſt, and a great many plauſible Arguments may be made uſe of in Favour of the worſt. But, my Lords, the Wiſdom of publick Meaſures is beſt known by their Effects. The Effects of ſome of our paſt Meaſures begin now to appear, and thoſe Effects have ſuch a diſmal Aſpect, that I muſt thank God I had no Hand in their Cauſes. I muſt thank God that my Teſtimony

againſt

againſt ſome of them appears upon Record, and will be a Vindication of my Conduct to diſtant Generations, to thoſe yet unborn, who, I am afraid, will feel the Effects of ſome of our late Meaſures more ſenſibly than we do. A rich and powerful Nation cannot at once be deſtroyed by any internal Cauſe: Its Strength cannot be at once annihilated, and its Riches diſſipated, by the worſt Meaſures it can purſue; but its Strength and its Riches may be waſted by Degrees; and its Deſtruction will be the more cruel and tormenting, by being brought on by Piece-meal. This, I am afraid, is our Caſe, and it is ſome Alleviation of my Grief, that I cannot be charged with having had a Hand in it; but if I could, if I had approved of all our paſt Meaſures, I ſhould now from their Effects begin to ſuſpect I had been miſtaken; and ſhould be extremely ſhy of approving the future Meaſures of thoſe, whoſe paſt Meaſures appeared by their Effects to be wrong.

'Tis true, my Lords, our paſt Meaſures have, for many Years, met with a continued and uninterrupted Approbation from a Majority in each Houſe of Parliament; but the Approbation of Parliament cannot make that right, which is in itſelf wrong; and the unfortunate State we are now confeſſed to be in, is an irrefragable Proof, that all our paſt Meaſures have not been right. The Approbation of Parliament is therefore ſo far from adding to the Opinion People have of our paſt Meaſures, that it derogates from the Opinion our People ought to have of the Penetration and Integrity of Parliament; and this muſt aggravate, inſtead of diminiſh, our preſent Misfortunes; for if our People think they can put no Truſt, neither in the Counſels of thoſe that govern them, nor in the Wiſdom and Integrity of Parliament, they can make but a faint Reſiſtance againſt any foreign Power that ſhall pleaſe to attack them.

The preſent State of Affairs in *Europe*, my Lords, does not proceed from the Nature of Things, but from the late Meaſures purſued by *France* and us. *Spain* had Dominions in *Italy* of old, larger than ſhe has at preſent; and the *Emperor* would then have been glad to have had a Share of them: Yet there was a conſtant Friendſhip and Alliance kept up between them for many Years againſt *France*. It is the Buſineſs of *France* to ſow Diſſenſion between theſe two Powers: It is our Buſineſs to heal their Breaches. In this the *French* have either outwitted, or frightened us. It was they that terrified us from accepting of the ſole Mediation between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, at the Treaty of *Cambray:* Our accepting of that Mediation could not have involved us in any War: If it had, the War would, in all human Probability, have ended greatly to the Honour and Advantage of this Nation. It was the *French*, I am apt to believe, that forged thoſe dreadful ſecret Articles, ſaid to have been agreed on between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, by the Treaty of *Vienna*. By that Forgery they terrified us into that moſt extraordinary Treaty at *Hanover*, and the ſtill more extraordinary Meaſures we took in Conſequence of that Treaty.

The *Oſtend Eaſt-India* Company, my Lords, was a Company we had no direct Right to deſtroy. The *Dutch* had perhaps a Right to oppoſe the ſetting up of that Company; and if we had then had a Mind to pick a Quarrel with the *Emperor*, we might have ſaid we were Guarantees of that Right; but all Nations find Pretences for not fulfilling the moſt expreſs Guarantees, when their own immediate Intereſt does not enforce a Performance.

ance. We have ſince found Pretences for not fulfilling a Guarantee, much more expreſs than the *Dutch* could in that Caſe pretend to; and even when our own Intereſt ſeemed to enforce a Performance. Beſides, the *Eaſt-India* Company ſet up at *Oſtend*, would have interfered a great deal more, both with the *French* and the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies, than with that of *England*; therefore it was their Buſineſs more than ours, to have it deſtroyed; and yet the *Dutch* were ſo far from being Principals in the Treaty of *Hanover*, that they did not come into that Treaty till long after, and under great Reſtrictions. If the *Oſtend* Company had been the only Reaſon for finding Fault with the Treaty of *Vienna*, it was the *Dutch* and the *French*, not we, that ſhould have raiſed Armies, and ſent out Squadrons for compelling the *Emperor* to give up that Company, or for preventing the *Spaniards* from giving it any Relief; but ſo far otherwiſe, that we took the whole Expence, and the whole Reſentment, upon ourſelves; and by that Means put a new Stop to our Trade with *Spain*, and greatly interrupted our Trade both in *America* and the *Mediterranean*, while both the *Dutch* and the *French*, carried on their Trade in all Parts of the World without Interruption, and with great Security.

By this Management, my Lords, we at laſt found we had run ourſelves into a Trap, and to get out of that Trap, we run ourſelves into another, by the Treaty of *Seville*. Then to get out of this ſecond Trap, we run ourſelves into a third, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, in the Year 1731; for even there, I muſt think, that we ought to have had ſeveral Things ſettled with the *Emperor*, before we had engaged in ſuch an abſolute Guarantee of the Pragmatick Sanction; and how we got out of this third Trap, I need not mention to your Lordſhips; but I am afraid, that by our Method of getting out of it, we have brought ourſelves into a fourth, worſe than any of the former.

By theſe Meaſures, and ſuch like, my Lords, it would ſeem as if we had endeavoured to unite *France* and *Spain*, and to detach from ourſelves every Ally we could depend on. If *France* and *Spain* therefore be united againſt us, it is we that have done it: If they are not, we have nothing to fear from *Spain*, tho' we had not one Ally to depend on; and if we have our antient Alliance to depend on, I think, we have nothing to fear from both; notwithſtanding the great Pains that has been taken, to repreſent to us the unfortunate Situation of the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*. The *Emperor*, 'tis true, would probably have been in a much better Situation, if we had joined in the Treaty with *Spain* and him, in the Year 1725, inſtead of forming the Alliance of *Hanover* againſt him; but in Spite of all the Misfortunes, which our Conduct, and the Fate of War have brought upon him, he is ſtill able to bring great Armies of good Troops into the Field; and therefore, if he is not ready to aſſiſt us, it is not for his Want of Power, but his Want of Inclination, which, for a Reaſon every one knows, may not be ſo good towards us as it was heretofore. And as for the *Dutch*, they are, 'tis true, wiſe enough not to keep up in Time of Peace any greater Naval Force, nor any greater Land Army, than they have Occaſion for; but in Caſe of a War, they could ſoon furniſh themſelves with both, and could raiſe great Sums of Money for that Purpoſe, notwithſtanding the Debt they at preſent owe, and the Taxes their People now pay. But as the whole Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe*, has been

been very much altered of late Years, and as the *Dutch* lie more expoſed than this Kingdom to Invaſions from their Neighbours, we cannot expect that they will join with us in any War, unleſs we can procure ſuch an Alliance among the Powers upon the Continent, as will be ſufficient for ſupporting them againſt any Power that ſhall attempt to invade them; and I am much afraid, that thoſe amongſt ourſelves, who, by their late Conduct, have contributed ſo much to the preſent formidable State of Affairs in *Europe*, will never be able to procure ſuch an Alliance.

But I find, that not only the Inability of our antient Allies, but the preſent formidable Power of *France*, muſt be brought as an Argument for our tamely ſubmitting to the moſt heinous Indignities. I ſhall readily grant, my Lords, that for almoſt theſe twenty Years, *France* has been making a very good Uſe of our Blunders. I ſhall grant, that by ſo doing they have greatly increaſed their Trade, and of late increaſed their Dominions. But can we think that *France* would ſupport *Spain* in a Claim againſt us, which would be a bad Precedent for themſelves? Will *France* ever ſubmit to have their Merchant-Ships ſearched on the open Seas by *Spain*, or any other Power whatever? Will *France* ever allow *Spain* to preſcribe to them, what Sort of Goods their Merchant-Ships ſhall carry from one Part of their own Dominions to another? No, my Lords, they will never ſo much as treat of any ſuch Claim: They will never be ſo weak as to refer ſuch a Claim to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries; and they know that, if they ſhould aſſiſt *Spain* in eſtabliſhing ſuch a Claim againſt us, it would ſoon be made a Precedent for ſetting up the ſame Claim againſt them. But ſuppoſe *France* ſhould join with *Spain* in a War againſt us, if we are united amongſt our ſelves, and governed by a wiſe and vigorous Adminiſtration, we have nothing to fear from both. They can attack us no Way but by Sea; and upon that Element we are ſuperior to both. Our Trade has been carried on, and has flouriſhed in Time of War: It has flouriſhed more in Time of War, than it has lately done in what ſome amongſt us have called a Time of Peace. We have a Navy to convoy and protect our Merchant-Men; and by a proper Diſpoſition of our naval Force, we might make it dangerous for any foreign Privateer to ſet her Noſe to the Sea: From hence we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that few or no Privateers would any where appear againſt us; for as Privateers are generally fitted out by private Men for the Sake of Plunder, none ſuch will be fitted out, when there is great Danger, and little to be got; therefore, if the Seas ſhould ſwarm with Privateers, it would be with Privateers under *Britiſh* Colours, which would oblige our Enemies to give over all Manner of Trade; for if they ſhould carry on their Trade by ſingle Ships, they could not protect themſelves againſt our Privateers; and if they carried it on by Fleets and Convoys, they could not protect themſelves againſt our Squadrons of Men of War. This would put an entire Stop to their Trade, which would of Courſe be a great Encouragement to the Trade of this Kingdom; and as neither *France* nor *Spain* could long ſupport themſelves without any Trade, this alone would ſoon oblige them to ſubmit to juſt and equal Terms.

Our Situation therefore, my Lords, with regard to foreign Affairs, is not ſo terrible as it has been repreſented. It is, indeed, formidable; but it has become ſo, not by a vigorous, but a puſillanimous Conduct.

And as to our domeſtick Affairs, I ſhall moſt readily admit, that they are not in ſo happy a Situation as they might have been. A great Part of our Debts might have been paid off, and moſt of our grievous Taxes aboliſhed, if for theſe twenty Years paſt we had kept up no uſeleſs Armies, nor fitted out any uſeleſs Squadrons. It is this that makes our People uneaſy, it is this that foments Diviſions among us. To be inſulted and plundered by impotent Neighbours abroad, and at the ſame Time to be loaded with the Charge of maintaining uſeleſs Fleets and Armies at home, Fleets and Armies which, inſtead of protecting us, ſerve for nothing but to prevent our taking Vengeance of thoſe that have injured us: This, I ſay, would make any People upon Earth uneaſy. Change but your Meaſures, my Lords: Let your Fleets and your Armies be a Terror to your Enemies, inſtead of being a Terror to your own People; and you will find that every Man will chearfully pay thoſe Taxes that are neceſſary for maintaining them. Notwithſtanding our bad Management, we could ſtill raiſe great Sums for ſupporting a juſt and neceſſary War; and, by good Œconomy, and reducing the Expence of our Civil Government, we could apply a great Part of what is now raiſed to the ſame Purpoſe. The People will never grudge the Expence they are put to in vindicating their juſt Rights and Privileges; but they grudge to ſee their Subſtance eat up by uſeleſs Officers, or Penſioners, either civil or military; eſpecially, when they ſuſpect, that thoſe Officers, and thoſe Penſioners, are kept in Pay, for no other Reaſon but to take their Subſtance from them in a legal Way.

Thus much, my Lords, I have been obliged to ſay of our preſent Situation, both foreign and domeſtick, in order to ſhew, that however low we may be brought by our paſt Conduct, we are not yet brought ſo low as to be obliged to accept of a diſhonourable Treaty, or to allow our moſt important Rights to be negotiated away by Plenipotentiaries; but, if it were ſo, if we were really in ſuch a deſperate Condition, would it be proper for this Houſe, could we in Honour begin our Seſſion with any Thing that might look like a Compliment upon our paſt Conduct? Ought we not upon ſuch a melancholy Occaſion to begin with an Addreſs in the moſt general Terms; and immediately after, enter upon an Enquiry into the State of the Nation, and into the Conduct of thoſe who had brought us into ſuch a deſperate Condition? We may ſee, from what his Majeſty has, in his Speech, told us of the Convention, that it is ſuch a one as we ought not to have accepted of, unleſs we are in the moſt deſperate Condition. Therefore, we muſt, from what his Majeſty has ſaid in his Speech, conclude, that we muſt either cenſure the Treaty, or we muſt enquire into and cenſure the Conduct of thoſe, who have brought us into ſuch a deſperate Condition, as to be obliged to accept of ſuch a Treaty. In theſe Circumſtances, can we put any Thing into our Addreſs, that may look like an Approbation of our paſt Conduct? Can we mention any Thing of our late Conduct, eſpecially this Convention, which ſeems to be the *Coup-de-Grace*, I ſay, can we mention it, without teſtifying, in ſome Manner or other, our Diſapprobation.

I ſhall always be for avoiding a War, if poſſible; but the Queſtion is not now about avoiding a War. My Lords, we have already made a War neceſſary: Our paſt Conduct has made it abſolutely neceſſary. We have long ago, by our tame Sub-

Submiſſions, made the *Spaniards* think, that we dare not go to War. It is from hence, that all our late Grievances have proceeded. We have ſubmitted ſo long, and have fitted out ſo many peaceable Squadrons, that they think we dare not ſtrike a Blow; and they are now ſo much confirmed in this Opinion, that nothing but Striking will make them believe we dare. While they continue in this Opinion, we can expect no equal Terms, nor can we expect they will obſerve any Terms they agree to. Whilſt one Nation has ſuch an Opinion of another, I ſhall grant that general Treaties, or general Expreſſions in Treaties, are as good as particular. The Nation that has ſuch a deſpicable Opinion of its Neighbour, will obſerve neither; but ſurely, we are not to confirm *Spain* ſtill more and more in this Opinion, by accepting of ſuch general Terms as we have already found to be ineffectual. We muſt ſtrike a Blow, if it were for nothing elſe but to make them alter their Opinion; and, when we do ſtrike, I hope Care will be taken to give them ſuch a Blow as they muſt remember.

But, my Lords, as the Queſtion now before us is not about what may or muſt be done, I ſhall enlarge no farther upon this Subject. I mentioned it only to ſhew the Ridiculouſneſs of our agreeing to treat or negotiate longer with the *Spaniards* about any Thing; and, as his Majeſty has told us, that by this Convention we have agreed not only to begin a new Negotiation, but to negotiate about a Claim which we ought never to have allowed to have been brought into any Negotiation, I ſay, as his Majeſty has told us this, in his Speech from the Throne, and as this is what, I hope, no Lord in this Houſe will approve of, as it is what, I think, we ought to cenſure, as it is what we muſt cenſure, otherwiſe the whole Nation will cenſure us, therefore, I muſt think that the utmoſt Complaiſance we can ſhew in our Addreſs, is not to mention it at all; for which Reaſon, I ſhall be for the Amendment propoſed.

C. Helvius *was the next that ſpoke; but as he ſpoke againſt the Amendment, and in Favour of the Addreſs propoſed, I have already, in the general Anſwer, given a great Part of the Subſtance of what he ſaid; however, I ſhall now add what follows,* viz.

My Lords,

AS the Propoſition now made to you contains no direct Approbation, neither of the Convention, nor of any Thing that has been lately tranſacted, as the Expreſſions are ſo general that, in my Opinion, they do not ſo much as inſinuate, that you do approve, or that you will approve of any Part of our late Conduct, I cannot think that your agreeing to what is propoſed will meet with any Cenſure without Doors: I am ſure it can meet with no juſt Cenſure.

My Lords, the wiſeſt, the moſt neceſſary Reſolutions we can come to, may be miſinterpreted or miſrepreſented by ſome ſeditious or ill-deſigning Men without Doors; but, to ſuch Miſinterpretations or Miſrepreſentations we ought never to ſhew the leaſt Regard, unleſs it be to puniſh the Authors, as often as they can be detected and apprehended. In all Caſes that come before us, we ought to conſider and regard only our Duty as Members of this Houſe; and, as I think there is nothing in the Addreſs propoſed, that can be looked on in any other Light, than as Expreſſions of our Duty and Affection to our Sovereign, I muſt think that my Duty, as a Member of this Houſe,

obliges me to agree to it without any Amendment. Our agreeing to the Amendment propoſed would, in my Opinion, look as if we had, at preſent, ſome ſecret and extraordinary Reaſon for limiting and ſetting Bounds to thoſe Expreſſions of Reſpect and Eſteem for our Sovereign, which are uſual upon ſuch Occaſions; and, as no Part of his Majeſty's late Conduct can furniſh us with the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon for doing ſo, I ſhall be againſt our agreeing to any Thing, that may make the People without Doors imagine, or ſuſpect that we have any ſuch Reaſon.

With Regard, my Lords, to the Convention lately concluded between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, as it is not yet laid before us, it cannot properly be brought into this Debate. Both within Doors and without, it ought to be judged favourably of, till ſome Proof to the contrary appears; but if we agree to this Amendment, it will at leaſt make the People without Doors judge very unfavourably of the Convention; and I do not think we ought, without good Grounds, to raiſe a Suſpicion of the Conduct, even of the Adminiſtration. When I am convinced, that our Miniſters have done any Thing that is wrong, I ſhall be as ready to diſapprove, I ſhall be as ready to cenſure, as any Lord in this Houſe; but as it is for the publick Good, that our People ſhould have a Confidence in thoſe that govern them, when they deſerve it, I ſhall never be for agreeing to any Thing that may leſſen that Confidence, till I am fully convinced that they deſerve no Confidence; which, I think, none of your Lordſhips can be, from any Thing mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech. There is nothing in his Majeſty's Speech that can make us judge amiſs of the Convention, or of any of the Meaſures made uſe of for bringing it to a Concluſion. The Searching of our Ships upon the high Seas, is not referred to our Plenipotentiaries, nor is to be regulated by them, or by any other Miniſter whatever. I do not know that the *Spaniards* ever directly pretended to any ſuch Right. They pretended, and they have a Right to pretend, that none of our Ships ought to carry on an illicit Trade with their Plantations. We pretend the ſame with Regard to our Plantations; and we have a mutual Right to prevent this illicit Trade, by all thoſe Means that are allowed by the Law of Nations; but the *Spaniards* have lately made uſe of ſuch Means, as are not allowed by the Law of Nations, ſuch as are inconſiſtent with the Freedom of our Trade and Navigation.

This, my Lords, is what we complain of: This is what we juſtly complain of: This is the preſent chief Diſpute between us and *Spain*, and this is not only a Point that admits of a Diſcuſſion, but a Point that cannot be ſettled without a Diſcuſſion. We muſt concert together what Means they may make uſe of, what Means we may allow them to make uſe of, for preventing an illicit Trade between the Subjects of the two Nations. This is not to be ſettled at once, nor is the Queſtion to be anſwered by a Yes or a No. They muſt, on their Part, take Care, that no back Door is left open for carrying on a contraband or illicit Trade, under the Pretence of a free and uninterrupted Navigation; and we, on our Part, muſt take great Care, that no Pretence ſhall be given to the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's* for interrupting our lawful Trade in the *American* Seas, by any Meaſure they may think neceſſary for guarding their Coaſts againſt a contraband and unlawful Trade. Your Lordſhips muſt ſee that this is a Point which requires great

great Deliberation; and this only is what is, by the preſent Convention, referred to be regulated within a limited Time by Plenipotentiaries.

In this, my Lords, there is nothing diſhonourable, there is nothing diſadvantageous to the Nation. If the *Spaniards* ſhould inſiſt upon making uſe of ſuch Methods, for preventing an illicit Trade on their Coaſts, as are contrary to the Law of Nations, and inconſiſtent with the Freedom or Safety of our Navigation in the *American* Seas, our Plenipotentiaries may, and certainly will, refuſe to agree to them; and, if they propoſe no Methods but what we may ſafely admit of, without expoſing our Navigation or Commerce to any Danger, ſurely your Lordſhips will all be of Opinion, that we ought to agree to their making uſe of ſuch Methods rather than go to War, and thoſe Methods muſt be ſettled and regulated by a Treaty between the two Nations. If this ſhould appear to be the Caſe, we would have no Pretence for declaring War againſt them: Such a War would certainly be unjuſt upon our Part; becauſe it would be, and by all *Europe* would be conſidered as a War, for ſupporting the Smuggling Trade, that may be carried on by our Subjects in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. It would be the ſame Thing as if *Holland* or *France* ſhould ſay to us, You ſhall not take the proper and neceſſary Methods for preventing the Running of Wool out of the Iſlands of *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; if you do, we ſhall declare War againſt you.

There is nothing therefore, my Lords, in his Majeſty's Speech, that can induce us to think, that we muſt cenſure the Convention lately concluded; and therefore, nothing that can prevent our agreeing to the Propoſition now made to us. It was laſt Seſſion the Opinion of Parliament, it is the Opinion of every Man of Senſe in the Kingdom, that all peaceable Methods ought to be tried for obtaining Satisfaction and Security, before we have recourſe to Force of Arms. This cannot be done but by Way of Negotiation; and in this Negotiation, the King of *Spain* has ſhewn that he is ſeriouſly inclined to do us Juſtice, by his having already, by Way of Preliminary, agreed to give us Satisfaction for what is paſſed. We could not deſire a more ſubſtantial Proof of his being inclined to give us Security againſt future Injuries, as ſoon as ſuch a Security can be contrived, as may be conſiſtent with the Security of his own Dominions in *America*.

This Security, my Lords, is to be granted, and all the other Diſputes between us ſettled, within a limited Time; ſo that the Negotiation can be of no long Continuance. A few Months will determine, whether we are to have Peace or War; and if we ſhould at laſt be obliged to go to War, we ſhall be able to juſtify it to the whole World. People may call the Convention a Paper Peace, or by what other Name they pleaſe; but if ever we make Peace, we muſt truſt to Paper, or we can truſt to nothing. Negotiations may be ſupported or enforced by military Preparations, but they muſt be carried on in Paper; and if we ſhould go to War, 'tis to be hoped we ſhould not always continue in that dangerous and troubleſome State. The End of War is Peace; and that Peace muſt be preceded by a Negotiation, and confirmed by a Treaty, both which muſt be in Paper. I have often heard of a Paper War, and there are ſome amongſt ourſelves who ſeem to be fond of it; therefore I am ſurprized to hear them contemn Paper Negotiations, or a Paper Peace. With reſpect to

War, the Term may be juſt; but, ſince Paper was invented, I never heard of a Peace that was concluded without Paper; and therefore every Treaty, and every Convention, may be called a Paper Peace, as well as the preſent: There can be no other Sort of Peace; and that which is now begun between *Spain* and us, I hope, will not only be ſoon concluded, but that it will be a ſafe, honourable, and laſting one.

However, my Lords, as neither the Convention, nor any Thing relating to it, can now come properly under your Conſideration, I need ſay nothing more of it at preſent. I hope, I have ſhewn, there is nothing in his Majeſty's Speech, can make us ſuſpect that the Convention is either diſhonourable, or diſadvantageous for this Nation. When it is laid before us, we may judge of it with ſome Certainty; and as there is nothing in the Propoſition now made to you, that can preclude any of your Lordſhips from giving your Sentiments freely about the Convention, when you ſee it, I think your Lordſhips are, in Duty to his Majeſty, bound to agree to what is propoſed without any Amendment.

The next that ſpoke, was Q. Fabius Maximus, *who ſpoke in Subſtance thus.*

My Lords,

I SHALL moſt readily agree with the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, that in all Caſes we ought to conſider and regard chiefly our Duty as Members of this Houſe; for if we do ſo upon this Occaſion, we muſt, I think, agree to the Amendment propoſed. As Members of this Houſe, my Lords, we are Counſellors to our Sovereign; and as ſuch we are not only in Duty bound to give him our beſt and moſt ſincere Advice, but alſo we are bound not to approach the Throne, with any Thing that may lead our King into a miſtaken Notion of the Wiſdom or Conduct of thoſe, in whom he has been pleaſed to place a Confidence. Therefore if we have a bad Opinion of the Wiſdom or Conduct of any ſuch Perſon, we ought, at leaſt, when we approach the Throne, to avoid ſaying any Thing that may tend to make his Majeſty believe, that we have a contrary Opinion. In this Light let us conſider the Addreſs now propoſed, let us conſider whether the making of Compliments, even upon his Majeſty's late Conduct, will not induce his Majeſty to think, that we have a good Opinion of the Wiſdom of his Miniſters, eſpecially if he be conſcious that his Conduct was directed chiefly by their Advice. In my Opinion, our Compliments, upon this Occaſion, may in this Way have a very bad Effect; and as I think Sincerity more requiſite in a Counſellor than Complaiſance, I ſhall always be for neglecting or avoiding the latter, when I think it inconſiſtent with the former.

I ſhall likewiſe admit, my Lords, that we ought to ſhew no Regard to the Miſrepreſentations of ſeditious and ill-deſigning Men; but at the ſame Time it muſt be allowed, that we ought not to do, or ſay any Thing, that may lead the Innocent and Unwary into a Miſtake; eſpecially when that Miſtake may contribute to make them think amiſs of the Wiſdom, Honour, or Integrity of this Houſe. The late Convention is not, 'tis true, as yet laid before Parliament; but, my Lords, it is publickly known, and generally condemned. What will the Publick, eſpecially the honeſt and ſincere Part of Mankind, think of our returning unfeigned Thanks to his Majeſty for telling us that

a Convention is concluded, which, even from what he ſays of it, will be greatly diſapproved of by every Man that reads his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne? My Lords, your returning unfeigned Thanks for ſuch a Piece of Information, may be a Proof of your Complaiſance, but, I am afraid, it will be look'd on by a very few as a Proof of your Sincerity.

My Lords, whatever the noble Lord may have, I muſt confeſs I have, at preſent, an extraordinary Reaſon for ſetting Bounds to, or rather for entirely avoiding many of thoſe Expreſſions which have of late Years become uſual on ſuch Occaſions. It is not indeed a ſecret Reaſon: It is a Reaſon which will be gueſſed at without Doors; and, that it may not be miſtaken within, I ſhall explain it to your Lordſhips. It is becauſe I think our Miniſters have made, and adviſed his Majeſty to ratify, a Convention which, from what his Majeſty has told us of it, appears to me, to be both diſhonourable and diſadvantageous. My Lords, conſidering the great and repeated Inſults which the Crown and Flag of *Great Britain* have met with, it was, I think, diſhonourable to agree to any Sort of Treaty, without ſome ſignal Reparation of Honour: His Majeſty does not ſo much as inſinuate, that any ſuch Reparation has been ſtipulated. Conſidering the great and extraordinary Charges we were laſt Summer put to, occaſioned purely by the Delays the *Spaniards* made in offering us Satisfaction, I think it was both diſhonourable and diſadvantageous to agree to any Treaty, without ſtipulating Satisfaction for ſome Part, at leaſt, of our Charges: His Majeſty does not ſay we have ſtipulated any ſuch Satisfaction: Nay, he does not ſay that we have ſtipulated *a full* Reparation even for our Loſſes. And, conſidering the dangerous and inſolent Claim, of a Right to ſearch our Ships upon the High Seas, which the *Spaniards* have not only ſet up, but of late frequently exerciſed; I think it was to the laſt Degree diſhonourable, to begin to treat with them, till they had, by way of Preliminary, given up this Claim, in the moſt expreſs and particular Terms. Conſidering theſe Things, my Lords, I think we ought, upon this Occaſion, to return to our antient Method of Addreſſing, if it were for no other Reaſon, but for ſhewing both to his Majeſty and the World, that we are not ſatisfied with what has been done by his Miniſters. This we ought to take the firſt Opportunity for ſhewing, and the Manner now propoſed is, I think, the moſt gentle Manner we can chuſe for doing it.

I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that the *Spaniards* never directly pretended to a Right of ſearching our Ships upon the High Seas. My Lords, they have not only pretended to it, but they have actually exerciſed it. They have exerciſed it in the moſt inſulting and cruel Manner. Nay, they have gone yet farther, they have ſeized and confiſcated *Britiſh* Ships, navigated by *Britiſh* Seamen only, and ſailing only from one Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions to another, for having Goods on Board, that are neither contraband, nor prohibited by any Law in the World, but the particular Law of *Spain*. Who gave them a Power, my Lords, to preſcribe to us what Goods our Ships ſhall carry from one Part of our own Dominions to another? Who gave them a Power to ſubject our Seamen or Merchants to Torture, or to puniſh them with Loſs of Liberty and Eſtate, tho' they have never perhaps been in any Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, nor committed any Crime againſt the Law of Nations?

I know, my Lords, the Pretence

ſet

ſet up by the *Spaniards*, for ſearching our Ships upon the High Seas, is to prevent illicit Trade with their Dominions in *America*; and ſurely, every one that ſearches a Ship, either in Port or at Sea, muſt do it on ſome Pretence, or for ſome End; but no Nation ever did, or ever will, allow their Ships to be ſearched on the High Seas by the Subjects of another Nation, on any Pretence, or for any End whatever. The *Spaniards* have a Right, as every other Nation has, to ſearch, in a lawful Manner, all Ships that enter their Ports. They have a Right, as all other Nations have, to viſit Ships at Sea, in order to ſee that they are not bound to an Enemy's Port, with ſuch Goods on board as are made contraband by the Law of Nations, or by particular Treaty; but this they muſt do according to Treaty, they muſt not pretend to ſearch, they muſt give entire Faith to the Bills of Lading, and even when by them it appears, that there are contraband Goods on board, they can ſeize thoſe Goods only, they have nothing to do with the Ship or the reſt of the Cargo. The *Spaniards* have a Right, by the Law of Nations, and by Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, to prevent illicit Trade between our Subjects and theirs in *America:* They may ſeize any *Britiſh* Ship that ſhall be found trafficking in any Port or Haven, poſſeſſed by them in *America*; but the Ship muſt be in ſome ſuch Port or Haven, and muſt be found trafficking, or found there without any Pretence of Diſtreſs, before they can ſeize her. They have no Right to ſearch any *Britiſh* Ship upon the High Seas, in order to diſcover whether ſhe has been carrying on an illicit Trade; and the Right as well as Method of Viſiting for this Purpoſe, which is a Right entirely diſtinct, and very different from the Right of Searching, remains yet unſettled between the two Nations.

This, my Lords, is the Miſtake that has occaſioned all our late Diſputes with *Spain*. Our Miniſters, or at leaſt our Negotiators, have never properly diſtinguiſhed between Searching and Viſiting; and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters would not; becauſe, while we continued Puzzling and Treating, they continued, and, I believe, will continue Searching and Seizing. But, if our Negotiators had underſtood what they were about, they ought to have inſiſted upon No Search on the open Seas, as a Preliminary; and then they might have begun to treat about the Method of Viſiting, and what might be looked on as Signs or Proofs of the Ship's being engaged in an illicit Trade. A Ship's being found hovering upon their Coaſts, with broken Bulk, and without any proper Paſſes or Bills of Lading, or being able to ſhew a juſt Cauſe for her being there, or in that Condition, might, for what I know, have been allowed as a good Reaſon for Seizure and Confiſcation. But in this Caſe, I hope, no Negotiator would have allowed, that a Ship's having any Sort of Goods on board, ſhould be a Reaſon for Seizure or Confiſcation, if it appeared by the Bills of Lading, that thoſe Goods were taken on board, at any Port or Haven where ſuch Ship might lawfully trade. Every Pretence of this Kind ought certainly to have been given up, as well as the Point of No Search, by the *Spaniards*, before we had agreed to treat with them about the Method of Viſiting, or about any Thing that might be taken as a Proof of a Ship's being engaged in an unlawful Trade; and, if the Diſpute between us had, at the Beginning, been put into this Light by our Negotiators, we might probably have

have prevented a War, as well as the many Loſſes our Merchants have met with: Whereas we have now, in my Opinion, by the Ignorance or the Blunders of our Negotiators, perplexed this Caſe ſo much, we have given the *Spaniards* ſuch a mean Opinion of us, and we have turned the Affairs of *Europe* into ſuch an unhappy Situation; that, I am afraid, we muſt either agree to a diſhonourable Treaty of Peace, or engage in a dangerous and unequal War. In ſuch Circumſtances, my Lords, ſhall we ſay any Thing to his Majeſty, that may make him believe, we have a good Opinion of the Wiſdom or Conduct of thoſe who have led us into ſuch a Dilemma?

As for what we have now thought fit to accept of, whether it has been called, or ought to be called a Paper Peace, is what I do not know. I believe it ought rather to be called a Piece of Paper. I am afraid, my Lords, it will be found to be nothing elſe. I do not expect to ſee any one Article of it performed. The noble Lord ſays, there can be no Sort of Peace but a Paper Peace. From what we have lately experienced one may, indeed, imagine ſo; but ſurely, there is as great a Difference between a Paper Peace and a real Peace, as between a Paper War and a real War. A Paper War is a War without any Hoſtilities; a Paper Peace is a Peace without any Ceſſation from Hoſtilities. A real War is a Commencement of Hoſtilities, a real Peace is a Ceſſation from Hoſtilities. We have, of late Years, made ſeveral Treaties of Peace with *Spain*, yet they have continued their Hoſtilities againſt us, and they will, I believe, continue to do ſo, notwithſtanding this Convention, unleſs we keep a Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*, ſufficient to prevent it.

Thus, my Lords, I have explained to you the extraordinary Reaſon I have for thinking, that upon this Occaſion we ought to avoid making uſe of that Method, or of thoſe Expreſſions, that have of late Years become uſual upon ſuch Occaſions. And as this Reaſon is founded entirely upon what his Majeſty has told us in his Speech from the Throne, it is as ſtrong as it could be, were the Treaty itſelf now before us. What your Lordſhips may think of it, I do not know; but with me it is a ſufficient Reaſon for agreeing to the Amendment propoſed.

The laſt that ſpoke in this Debate, was L. Æmilius Paullus, *who ſpoke in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

IN this Debate I have heard many Things which I highly approve of, particularly ſome Things that have been mentioned by the two noble Lords ſitting over againſt me. As for that Treaty, that Thing, they call a Convention, I know it is a little irregular to ſay any Thing of it, till it is laid before us; but I know ſo much of it already, that I can now ſay, I ſhall not approve of one Article of it.

However, my Lords, as there is nothing in the Addreſs propoſed that can, in my Opinion, be looked on as an Approbation of that Treaty; as it contains nothing but a Compliment to his Majeſty, and even that Compliment more carefully expreſſed, than has of late been uſual upon ſuch Occaſions; and as I think it neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion, and in our preſent Circumſtances, to ſhew the greateſt Unanimity amongſt ourſelves, and the utmoſt Regard and Affection for the Perſon of our Sovereign, therefore I ſhall be for agreeing to what is propoſed without any Amendment.

This Journal to be continued in our next.

Teller

Teller againſt the Convention,
Sir John Ruſhout, Bart. *Eveſham*

Salaries, *per Ann.*

ABDY, Sir Robert, *Eſſex*
Affleck, Gilbert, *Cambridge Town*
Aiſlabie, William, *Rippon*, Auditor of the Impreſt for Life 2000 *l.*
Andover, Lord Viſcount, *Caſtleriſing*
Archer, William, *Berks*
Aſhby, Thomas, *St. Albans*
Aſhley, Solomon, *Bridport*, Lock'd out the firſt Day, but voted againſt it the ſecond
Aſtley, Sir John, *Salop*
Aſton, Sir Thomas, *St. Albans*
Bacon, Sir Edmund, *Norfolk*
Bagot, Sir Walt. Wagſtaff, *Staffordſhire*
Baltimore, Lord, *St. Germains*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince 600 *l.*
Bampfylde, John, *Devonſhire*
Bance, John, *Weſtbury*, Director of the Bank
Bankes, John, *Corf-Caſtle*
Barnard, Sir John, *London*
Barrymore, Earl, *Wigan*
Bathurſt, Hon. Benjamin, *Glouceſterſhire*
Bathurſt, Hon. Henry, *Cirenceſter*
Bathurſt, Benjamin, *Glouceſter*
Bathurſt, Peter, *New Sarum*
Bayley, Nicholas, *Angleſea*
Baynton-Rolt, Edward, *Chippenham*
Berkeley, Hon. George, *Heydon*, Maſter of St. Katherine's Hoſpital, London, for Life 400 *l.*
Berkeley, Hon. John, *Stockbridge*
Blackett, Walter, *Newcaſtle*
Bold, Peter, *Lancaſhire*
Boon, Daniel, *Luggerſhall*
Bootle, Thomas, *Midburſt*
Bowes, George, *Durham County*
Bramſton, Thomas, *Eſſex*
Browne, John, *Dorcheſter*, King's Council
Browne, Robert, *Dorcheſter*
Buckworth, Sir John, *Weobly*
Burgoyne, Sir Roger, *Bedfordſhire*
Butler, Dr. Edward, *Oxford Univerſity*
Cæſar, Charles, *Hertfordſhire*
Campbell, Brig. Peter, *Buteſhire*, Lieut. Governor of Portſmouth 300 *l.*
Campbell, Charles, *Shire of Argyle*, Captain of Foot 250 *l.*
Campbell, John, *Renfrew*, &c. Equerry to the Duke, and Cornet of Horſe 340 *l.*
Carew, Sir William, *Cornwall*
Carew, Thomas, *Minehead*
Carnarvon, Marquis of, *Steyning*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince 600 *l.*
Cartwright, Thomas, *Northamptonſhire*
Chaſin, George, *Dorcheſter*
Chamberlayne, George, *Buckingham*
Cheſter, Thomas, *Glouceſterſhire*
Chetwynd, Ld. Viſcount, *Stafford*
Chetwynd, William, *Stafford*
Child, Sir Francis, *Middleſex*
Chicheſter, Sir John, *Barnſtaple*
Cholmondeley, Charles, *Cheſhire*

Contra. Sal. *per Ann.*

Clifton, Sir Robert, *Retford*
Codrington, John, *Bath*
Compton, Hon. George, *Northampton*
Cornbury, Lord Viſc. *Oxford Univerſity*
Cornewall, Velters, *Herefordſhire*
Coſter, Thomas, *Briſtol*
Cotes, Dr. Charles, *Tamworth*
Cotton, Sir John Hynde, *Cambridge Town*
Courtney, Sir William, *Honiton*
Courtney, Kellond, *Truro*
Crawley, John, *Marlborough*
Crewe, John, *Cheſhire*
Cunningham, Alexander, *Renfrewſh.*
Curzon, Sir Nathaniel, *Derbyſhire*
Dalrymple, Hon. William, *Wigtoun*, &c.
Davers, Sir Jermyn, *Suffolk*
Dawkins, James, *Woodſtock*
Delme, Peter, *Luggerſhall*
Dering, Sir Edward, *Kent*
Devereux, Hon. Price, *Montgomeryſhire*
Digby, Hon. Edward, *Warwickſhire*, Truſtee for Georgia
Drax, Henry, *Warebam*
Duncombe, Thomas, *Rippon*
Elliot, Richard, *Leſkard*, Receiver General to the Prince 500 *l.*
Elton, Sir Abraham, *Briſtol*
Ereſkine, Hon. James, *Clackmannan*, Secretary to the Prince for Scots Affairs
Evans, Hon. George, *Weſtbury*
Evelyn, John, *Heſton*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince 400 *l.*
Fagg, Sir Robert, *Steyning*
Fazakerley, Nicholas, *Preſton*
Fenwick, Robert, *Lancaſter*, Attorney Gen. and King's Serjeant in the Dutchy of Lancaſter
Fenwick, Nicholas, *Newcaſtle upon Tyne.*
Finch, Hon. William, *Cockermouth*
Finch, Hon. John, *Higham Ferrers*, King's Council
Finch, Hon. John, *Maidſtone*
Foley, Edward, *Droitwich*
Forbes, Sir Arthur, *Aberdeenſhire*
Forteſcue, Theophilus, *Barnſtaple*
Fox, George, *Hindon*
Furneſe, Henry, *Morpeth*
Fydall, Richard, *Boſton*
Gage, Lord Viſcount, *Tewkeſbury*
Gibbon, Edward, *Petersfield*
Gilmour, Sir Charles, *Edinburgh*
Gore, Thomas, *Agmondeſham*
Gower, Hon. W. Leveſon, *Staffordſhire*
Gower, Hon. Bap. Leveſon, *Newcaſtle under Line*
Grey, Lord, *Leiceſterſhire*
Greenville, Richard, *Buckingham*
Groſvenor, Sir Robert, *Cheſter*
Guidott, William, *Andover*
Gybbon, Philip, *Rye*
Hamilton, Lord Arch. *Queenborough*, Cofferer to the Prince and Surveyor General of Cornwall 1200 *l.*

Hamil-

Contra. Sal. *per Ann.*

Hamilton, Sir James, *Lanerkſhire*
Harley, Edward, *Hereford ſhire*
Harley, Robert, *Leominſter*
Harvey, Michael, *Milborn-Port*
Heathcote, Sir William, *Southampton*, Truſtee for Georgia
Heathcote, George, *Southwark*, Truſtee for Georgia
Herbert, James, *Oxford City*
Hill, Sir Rowland, *Litchfield*
Holmes, Thomas, *Newtown, I. W.*
Hooper, Edward, *Chriſt-Church*
Horner, T. Strangeways, *Somerſetſhire*
Houblon, Jacob, *Colcheſter*
Hume-Campbell, Hon. Alex. *Shire of Berwick*
Hungerford, Walter, *Calne*
Hylton, John, *Carliſle*,
Jefferys, John, *Breconſhire*
Inwin, Thomas, *Southwark*
Irby, Sir William, *Launceſton*, Chamberlain to the Princeſs 500 *l.*
Iſham, Sir Edmund, *Northamptonſhire*, Judge Marſhal and Lord High Admiral's Advocate
Kay, Sir John Liſter, *York*
Kynaſton, Corbet, *Salop*
Kynaſton, Edward, *Biſhop's Caſtle*
Knight, Thomas, *Canterbury*
Lechmere, Edmund, *Worceſterſhire*
Lee, Sir Thomas, *Bucks*
Lee, Doctor George, *Brackley*,
Leſlie, Hon. Tho. *Dyſert, &c.* A Lieutenant of Dragoons, Half-Pay 50 *l.*
Levinz, William, *Nottinghamſhire*
Limerick, Lord Viſcount, *Wendover*, Truſtee for Georgia
Liſle, Edward, *Hampſhire*
Liſter, Thomas, *Clitheroe*
Lockwood, Richard, *Worceſter*
Long, Sir Robert, *Wooton-Baſſett*
Long, Richard, *Chippenham*
Lowther, Hon. Anthony, *Weſtmoreland*
Lyttelton, George, *Oakhampton*, Secretary to the Prince 866-13-4
Mackworth, Herbert, *Cardiff*
Manners, Lord William, *Newark*
Marſhall, Henry, *Agmondeſham*
Maſter, Thomas, *Cirenceſter*
Maſter, Leigh, *Newton Lanc.*
Meadows, Sidney, *Taviſtock*
Methuen, Sir Paul, *Brackley*
Moleſworth, Sir John, *Newport*
Monoux, Sir Humphry, *Stockbridge*
Montagu, Edward, *Huntingdon*
Mordaunt, Sir Charles, *Warwickſhire*
Morgan, Sir John, *Hereford*
Morrice, Sir William, *Launceſton*
Moſtyn, Sir Thomas, *Flintſhire*
Murray, John, *Selkirkſhire*
Myddleton, John, *Denbigh*
Nedham, Robert, *Old Sarum*
Newton, Sir Michael, *Grantham*
Newland, George, *Gatton*
Noel, Hon. James, *Rutlandſhire*

Contra. Sal. *per Ann.*

Noel, Thomas, *Rutlandſhire*
Noel, William, *Stamford*, King's Council
Ongley, Samuel, *Bedford*
Ord, Robert, *St. Michaels*
Oxenden, Sir George, *Sandwich*
Packer, Winch-Howard, *Berks*
Packington, Sir Herbet, *Worceſterſhire*
Parker, Armſted, *Peterborough*
Parſons, Humphrey, *London*
Peachey, Sir John, *Midburſt*
Perry, Micajah, *Lord-Mayor, London*
Pitt, William, *Old Sarum*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince 400 *l.*
Pitt, John, *Wareham*
Pitt, Thomas, *Oakhampton*, A Pay-Maſter for the Coinage of Tin 300 *l.*
Pleydell, Edm. Morton, *Dorſetſhire*
Polwarth, Lord, *Berwick*
Popham, Edward, *Great Bedwin*
Portman, Henry-William, *Taunton*
Powel, Sir Chriſtopher, *Kent*
Powys, Richard, *Orford*
Praed, Wm. Mackworth, *St. Ives*
Price, Richard, *Sudbury*
Proby, John, *Stamford*
Pulteney, William, *Middleſex*
Ramſden, Sir John, *Apulby*
Raſhleigh, Jonathan, *Fowey*
Rowney, Thomas, *Oxford*
Rutherford, John, *Roxburgh*
St. Aubin, Sir John, *Cornwall*
Sambrooke, Sir Jeremy, *Bedford*
Sandys, Samuel, *Worceſter*
Saunderſon, Sir Thomas, *Lincolnſhire*, Treaſurer to the Prince 1200 *l.*
Scawen, Thomas, *Surrey*
Seymour, Francis, *Marlborough*
Shaſto, John, *Durham City*
Shepheard, Samuel, *Cambridgeſhire*
Shippen, William, *Newton Lanc.*
Shuttleworth, Richard, *Lancaſter*
Sibthorp, Coningſby, *Lincoln*
Slingſby, Sir Henry, *Knareſborough*
Smith, Edward, *Leiceſterſhire*
Somerſet, Lord Noel, *Monmouth*
Spencer, Hon. John, *Woodſtock*
Stanhope, Hon. Sir Wm. *Bucks*
Stanhope, Hon. John, *Derby*
Stanhope, Charles, *Harwich*
Stapleton, Sir William, *Oxfordſhire*
Stapylton, Sir Miles, *Yorkſhire*
Stephenſon, Edward, *Sudbury*
Stewart, Admiral Charles, *Portſmouth*, Vice-Admiral of the White 400 *l.*
Talbot, John Ivory, *Wiltſhire*
Taylor, William, *Eveſham*
Townſhend, Hon. Roger, *Great Yarmouth*, Captain of Horſe 500 *l.*
Trefuſis, Robert, *Truro*
Vane, Hon. Henry, *St. Mawes*
Vaughan, William, *Merionethſhire*
Vernon, Sir Charles, *Chippen-Wycomb*
Vernon, Geo. Venables, *Litchfield*

Contra. Sal. *per Ann.*

Vyner, Robert, *Lincolnſhire*
Waller, Edmund, *Great Marlow*
Waller, Henry, *Chippen-Wycomb*
Warren, Borlace, *Nottingham*
Whitmore, Thomas, *Bridgnorth*
Wigley, James, *Leiceſter*
Willimott, Robert, *London*
Wodehouſe, Armine, *Norfolk*
Worſley, James, *Newtown, I. W.*
Wortley-Montagu, Edward, *Peterborough*
Wrighte, George, *Leiceſter*
Wyndham, Sir William, *Somerſetſhire*
Wyndham, Charles, *Bridgwater*
Wynn, Watkin Williams, *Denbyſhire*
Yates, Thomas, *Chicheſter*

The NAMES of thoſe who were abſent.

ANſtruther, Sir John, *Shire of Fife*, Maſter of the King's Works in Scotland 400*l.*
Anſtruther, Brig. Ph. *Petten-Weem, &c.* A Col. of a Regiment of Foot and Lieut. Gov. of Minorca 3000*l.*
Aſcott, Arthur, *Tiverton*, Brother-in-Law to Sir W. Yonge
Aſh, Edward, *Heytſbury*, Commiſſioner of Trade (abſent with Cha. Pelham) 1000*l.*
Auſten, Sir Robert, *Romney*
Bennet, Philip, *Shaftesbury*
Bowles, William, *Bridport*
Bulckeley, Lord Viſcount, *Beaumaris*
Bunbury, Sir Charles, *Cheſhire*
Campbell, Sir James, *Sterling*, Muſter-Maſter General in Scotland 800*l.*
Cavendiſh, Ld. Charles, *Derbyſhire*, Brother to the Duke of Devonſhire
Cavendiſh, Lord James, *Derbyſhire*, Uncle to the Duke of Devonſhire
Clerke, Sir Thomas, *Hertford*
Cocks, James, *Rygate*
Cockburne, John, *Haddingtonſhire*
Conyers, Edward, *Eaſt Grinſtead*
Corbet, Sir Richard, *Shrewſbury*
Croſs, Sir John, *Leſtwithiel*
Curzon, William, *Clitheroe*
Dominique, Charles, *Gatton*
Drake, Sir Francis, *Berealſton*
Fane, Hon. Charles, *Taviſtock*, (Abſent with Mr. Manſel) Envoy to the Court of Florence 1800*l.*
Finch, Hon. Edward, *Camb. Univerſity*, Envoy and Plenipotentiary in Sweden 2300*l.*
Fitzroy, Lord Auguſtus, *Thetford*, Captain of a Man of War 400*l.*
Fitzbrace, Sir Cordell, *Suffolk*
Foley, Thomas, *Hereford*
Foreſter, William, *Wenlock*
Foreſter, Brook, *Wenlock*, his ſon
Glanville, William, *Hythe*, Commiſſioner of the Revenue in Ireland Lock'd out 1000*l.*
Gore, William, *Cricklade*
Haddock, Nicholas, *Rocheſter*, Admiral and Commander of the Fleet in the Mediterranean 2000*l.*

Sal. *per Ann.*

Hamilton, Alexander, *Linlithgowſhire*
Herbert, Richard, *Ludlow*
Hoare, Henry, *New Sarum*
Jolliff, Sir William, *Petersfield*
Lowther, Sir Thomas, *Lancaſter*
Lowther, Sir James, *Cumberland*
Lumley, Hon. John, *Arundell*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince and Col. in the Guards 900*l.*
Manſel, Hon. Buſſy, *Glamorganſhire*, (Abſent with Mr. Fane)
Montagu, Charles, *St. Germans*, Auditor to the Prince and County of Cornwall 500*l.*
More, Robert, *Biſhop's-Caſtle*
Neal, John, *Coventry*, His Wife Dreſſer to the late Queen 300*l.*
Northcote, Sir Henry, *Exeter*
Oglethorpe, James, *Haſlemere*, General and Commander of his Majeſty's Forces in Georgia, and Col. of a Regiment 1200*l.*
Onſlow, Hon. Richard, *Guildford*, Son to Lord Onſlow, Teller of the Exchequer
Pelham, Charles, *Beverley*, Abſent with Edward Aſh
Pelham, Thomas, *Lewes*, Commiſſioner of Trade 1000*l.*
Perrott, Henry, *Oxfordſhire*
Philips, Sir Eraſmus, *Haverfordweſt*, Abſent in Italy for Recovery of his Health
Plumer, William, *Hertfordſhire*
Plumer, Walter, *Apulby*
Pottenger, Richard, *Reading*, Welch Judge 500*l.*
Rolle, Henry, *Devon*
Speke, George, *Wells*
Stuart, Colonel James, *Air, &c.* A Capt. in the Foot-Guards, Gent. Uſher and Daily Waiter, &c. 650*l.*
Sutton, Sir Robert, *Grimſby*
Tower, Chriſtopher, *Ayleſbury*, Truſtee for Georgia
Tuckfield, Roger, *Aſhburton*
Watts, Thomas, *St. Michael*
Wentworth, Sir William, *Malton*, His Brother a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot
Wilſon, Daniel, *Weſtmoreland*

The Pro's, with Chairman and Teller	262
The Contra's, with Teller — —	235
Thoſe that were abſent — —	61
In all	558

Number of Employments 234
Annual Value 212956*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Quære. Whether to this *viſible Influence* many ſecret ones may not be added?

Q. Why the Civil Liſt, amounting to upwards of 900,000*l. per Ann.* is at preſent in Debt?

Q. Whether any Place-man, Civil or Military, voting againſt the Dictates of the Miniſtry, is not turned out?

Q. Whether the Reality as well as the Form,

Form, of our Conſtitution does not conſiſt in three ſeparate *independent* States?

Q. Whether the corrupt influencing either, or both, Houſes of Parliament is not ſubverting thoſe Parts of the Legiſlature, and deſtroying our Conſtitution?

Q. Whether frequent Attempts have not been made to prevent this growing Evil, and to no Purpoſe, ſince, notwithſtanding theſe Attempts, there never were ſo many Place-men in Parliament at one Time as there are now?

Q. Whether the Application of this Influence may not at any Time defeat the Endeavours of thoſe out of Employment, to vindicate the Honour and protect the Trade of the Nation?

Q. Whether, in Caſe this Influence ſhould be applied to any Queſtion, it would not be *impoſing* on Mankind to debate it?

Q. Whether thoſe who ſaw it in this Light would not have been *Criminal* if they had omitted to inform the Nation of their Apprehenſions on ſo important a Point?

Q. Whether they cou'd by any other Method than *withdrawing from Debate* have apprized their Conſtituents of their Deſpair of ſerving them by farther Attendance?

Q. Whether it is not the Duty of every Elector in *Great Britain*, in order to preſerve his own Rights and thoſe of his Poſterity, to require the Concurrence of his reſpective Repreſentatives effectually to promote *a proper Place-Bill* in Parliament?

Q. Whether if this be refuſed *now*, it is not eaſy and neceſſary to ſtipulate for it at the next Election of a Parliament?

Of thoſe who voted *for* the CONVENTION, the following voted *againſt* the EXCISE. See the Liſt in our MAG. for *June*, 1733, p. 279.

BEVAN, Arthur, then Member for *Carmarthen*
Burrel, Peter, *Haſelmere*
Eyles, Sir Joſeph, *Southwark*
Hedworth, John, *Durham County*
Hoby, Sir Thomas, *Marlow*
Howe, John, *Wiltſhire*
Middleton, Sir William, *Northumberland*
Plumer, Richard, *Litchfield*
Plumptree, John, *Biſhops-Caſtle*
Turner, Cholmley, *Yorkſhire*
Tyrconnel, Lord Viſc. *Grantham*, Voted for the EXCISE, but on the Report, declared he thought the Bill not a good one, and voted againſt it.
Wallingford, Lord, *Banbury*
Wyndham, Thomas, *Pool*

Againſt the Exciſe	— — in all	13
For the Exciſe	— —	141
Abſent on the Exciſe	— —	7
Not in Parliament	— — —	101
		262

Of thoſe who voted *againſt* the CONVENTION, the following voted *for* the EXCISE. See *June*, 1733. p. 277.

CAmpbell, Brig. Peter, then Member for *Burghs of Elgin, &c.*
Carnarvon, Marquis of, *Hereford*
Clifton, Sir Robert, *Retford*
Elliot, Richard, *St. Germans*
Evelyn, John, *Helſton*
Forbes, Sir Arthur, *Aberdeenſhire*
Hamilton, Lord Archibald, *Lanerkſhire*
Lowther, Anth. *Weſtmorland*
Manners, Lord William, *Leiceſterſhire*
Murray, John, *Burghs of Selkirk, &c.*
Oxenden, Sir George, *Sandwich*
Pitt, Thomas, *Oakhampton*
Ramſden, Sir John, *Apulby*
Stanhope, Charles, *Aldborough*

For the Exciſe	— — in all	14
Againſt it	— — —	102
Abſent on the Exciſe	— —	6
Choſe ſince		113
		235

In all the Liſts of Voters for the Convention, *after* Hedworth, John, *read* Durham County; *after* Lambton, Henry, *r.* Durham City; *for* Curwen, Edward, *r.* Eldred; Owen John, *Weſtlow*, *r.* Eaſtlow; Holden, Samuel, *Eaſtlow*, *r.* Weſtlow; Tucker, John, *Weymouth*, *r.* Melcomb-Regis; Doddington, George, *Weymouth*, *r.* Melcomb-Regis; Hanbury, William, *r.* Charles Hanbury Williams; Hon. Arthur Herbert, *r.* Henry Arthur Herbert; John Harvey, *Ryegate*, *r.* William; Maule, William, *Dundee, &c. r.* Maule, Henry, Forfarſhire; Carmichael, James, *Lanerkſhire*, *r.* Burghs of Selkirk, Peebles, Lanerk, &c.

Daily Gazetteer, N° 1252.

THERE having been lately publiſh'd and diſpers'd *gratis* throughout the Kingdom, a moſt falſe, impudent, and wicked Libel, intituled, 'A Liſt of the Members of 'the Houſe of Commons, who voted for and 'againſt the late Convention with *Spain*,' in two Sheets of Paper, it is very proper the People of *Great Britain* ſhou'd be made ſenſible how notoriouſly the Author or Authors of that Libel endeavour to impoſe upon them.

At the Foot of the Liſt the Number of the Voters, and of thoſe who are in Employment, ſtands thus:

The Pro's	— — —	262
The Contra's	— —	234
Abſent	— — —	62
		558

Number of Employments 234
Annual Value 212956*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The Number of Employments is here ſet down in the Groſs to be 234; no Diſtinction is made, that of theſe 234 Perſons, who are here repreſented as being in Employments with Salaries annex'd to them, 16 were abſent, and 18 voted againſt the Convention.

By avoiding to do this, the Author of this falſe and ſcandalous Liſt could not but be ſenſible, that the Generality of thoſe who ſhall ſee this Liſt will conclude from the ſumming up the Numbers in this Manner, that of the 262, who voted for the Convention, 234 were actually poſſeſs'd of Employments with Salaries annexed to them.

This is one moſt ſhameful Impoſition upon the Publick.

Another is,—That the Number of Employments with Salaries annex'd to them, are repreſented to be 234; that is, it is here repreſented as if there were actually in the preſent Houſe of Commons 234 Members, who are poſſeſs'd of Employments with Salaries annexed to them; whereas, by their own Liſt it appears, that the Number of ſuch Employments are in Truth 167.

And of this Number 167, as I obſerved before, 16 were abſent, and 18 voted againſt the Convention; ſo that of the 262, who voted for the Convention, 133, and no more, were poſſeſs'd of Employments, with Salaries annexed to them.

AS the Letter we promis'd in relation to the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, was occaſioned by ſome Queries which the Rev. Mr. *Tucker* had ſent him, we are oblig'd, previous to that Letter, to ſet down thoſe Queries, which were as follows: 1. What are thoſe *Principles, Doctrines, Articles of Faith, Motives*, &c. which this *extraordinary Light* reveals: After *what Manner* do they come into the Mind; and by what *Mark* or *Character* do you *diſtinguiſh* them from the *Deluſions of Fancy*, or worſe *Temptations*? 2. What are thoſe *particular Duties* you are enabled to perform, which all others muſt leave *undone*, till they obtain the ſame Means of performing them, *viz. an extraordinary Intercourſe with the Deity*? Or, 3. If I am miſtaken in my Conjectures, 'That if it doth exiſt, it muſt 'exiſt for ſuch Ends or Purpoſes,' *(or)* be ſo kind as to mention in a *particular* and *determinate* Manner, for what *other* Uſes it is *given*, to what *Purpoſes* you *apply* it, or it *applies you*, and for what *ſpecial Ends* deſirable, which Ends cou'd not be obtained without it?

An Anſwer was at laſt publiſhed to theſe Queries, in the *General Evening Poſt*, which produc'd the following Reply in the ſame Paper of *June* 19.

SIR,

BEING come to the Univerſity on ſome urgent Buſineſs, I have not Leiſure to return a formal Anſwer to the Letter printed in your Paper againſt my Queries; but ſhall beg Leave for the preſent to put together ſome few Obſervations on the Affair; which, if ſhewn to be not ſatisfactory, ſhall be followed by a fuller Reply.

Mr. *Whitefield* having boaſted, that he received *extraordinary Illuminations*, and *ſurprizing Influxes* of the Holy Spirit,—* That it not only appealed to his Underſtanding, but even *over-ruled* and *forced* his *Will*,—That he could no more deſcribe its Operations to an unregenerate Perſon, than he could deſcribe Colours to a Man born blind,—† That nevertheleſs, the beſt Way of conveying his Meaning, was to compare them to a Flame of Fire, hot Water, or the Motions of the Fœtus in the Womb; theſe, I ſay, and many other the like blaſphemous and enthuſiaſtical Notions, having been propagated with too much Succeſs, among ſeveral well-meaning, but *ill-judging* People; I thought it my Duty as a Clergyman, and a Chriſtian, to prevent, as far as was in my Power, the Spreading of ſuch dangerous Principles, which ſtrike at the Root of all Religion, and make it the Jeſt of thoſe *who ſit in the Seat of the Scornful*.

But how to compaſs my Deſign, was the great Difficulty; for to *reaſon* and *diſpute* with them, I very well knew was to no Purpoſe; they ſaw, and heard, and felt, or fancied that they did ſo; and there was no perſuading them to the contrary.

I therefore reſolved to allow them their own Terms, not denying their Principles, and Pretenſions, but only enquiring what *Advantage* or *Benefit* they received by them; hoping by this Means, either to draw them out of their unintelligible Jargon, and to ſhew the World they had no Meaning under theſe pompous Sounds; or if they really had, to give them an Opportunity of convincing Mankind, in a ſpeedy and conciſe Way, that they actually did enjoy *ſomewhat ſuperior* to the reſt of their Fellow Chriſtians, who pretend to no more than the *ordinary* and *common Aſſiſtance* of the Holy Ghoſt.

Accordingly I drew up my Queries in the civileſt Terms I was Maſter of, uſing no *perſonal Reflexions*, or uncharitable Expreſſions, but deſiring a plain Narrative of the Effects and Benefits ariſing from theſe *extraordinary Im-*

* *See his Character ſigned by himſelf, the* Original *now in my Cuſtody; the Contents whereof I was apprized of long before, except the Part relating to his own* Wit *and* Sagacity; *compare it with his laſt Journal, p.* 81. *viz. Mr.* Seward's *Caſe.* (*See our* MAG. *for* May *laſt, p.* 240.)

† *Theſe are Mr.* Whitefield's *own Similes; and it is very true, as my Antagoniſt ſmartly obſerves,* 'I have not a clear Head' in theſe Matters.

Impulſes; concluding with a Promiſe of being myſelf a Convert, if they could convince me it would better my Condition, and convey any Spiritual Advantages, which I do not enjoy already.

But it ſeems, great was my Crime in daring ſo much as to *doubt* of theſe Things.—* For Mr. *Whitefield* firſt of all by his Friends, prevented the printing of them in the *Briſtol Journal*, and next would not vouchſafe any Reply; but wrote a Letter, wherein he tells me very *lordly* and *laconickly*, MY MOTTO IS, ANSWER HIM NOT A WORD; applying the Expreſſion of *Hezekiah* againſt *blaſphemous Rabſhekah*, to his own Caſe and mine. † He has likewiſe pronounced Sentence againſt me, 'That 'while I continue in this Way of thinking, 'he abſolutely deſpairs of meeting me in 'Heaven.'

Agreeable to this, his Friend and Aſſiſtant at *Briſtol*, the Rev. Mr. *Hutchins*, put out ſome Remarks on my Queries, wherein, with the *uſual Chriſtian Spirit*, and Meekneſs of the Sect, he affirms, "That I had caſt a Slur upon my Gown,—That I ought to quit the Miniſtry,—And that I got it by downright Falſhood and Equivocation." With a great deal more that ſavoured ſtrongly of *abſolute* Predeſtination and Reprobation.

The next, whoſe Vengeance I have drawn down upon me, is the Gentleman in Print; he indeed, has not thought proper yet to proceed to the *grand Anathema*; but, out of his abundant Goodneſs, directly concludes, "That I have done great Diſhonour to my Miniſterial Character, and am an *arrant Deiſt*," becauſe I diſpute the Neceſſity of any *extraordinary Effuſion* of the Holy Ghoſt in this Age of the Church, and becauſe I cannot believe, that in *influencing* and *diſpoſing* us to good Actions, and *checking* us from bad ones, *He doth over-rule and force the Will*. Happy is it for us, that the Methodiſts, with their Allies, the § *Field-Preachers* in *Scotland*, have not yet the Power in their Hands of deſtroying all whom they weakly imagine to be *God's Enemies*.

But ſetting aſide theſe their very gentle *Reproofs*, let us come to their *Reaſonings*.—This Gentleman is pleaſed to call his Letter, an Anſwer to my Queries, and the Title beſpeaks it ſo; but the Contents have no other relation to them, than a *wilful perverting* of their Meaning: For I aſk about one Thing, and he anſwers about another. ‖ My Queries are concerning thoſe *extraordinary* and *ſurprizing Effuſions*, or, the *New Birth* theſe People pretend to in *particular*, and maintain to be *abſolutely neceſſary* to Salvation;—and this Gentleman is ſo good as to inform us, what are thoſe *ordinary* and *common Aſſiſtances* of the Holy Spirit, which are communicated to all good Chriſtians in *general*. In this I really think he has ſucceeded pretty well; but this was not the Queſtion aſk'd him. Thus he goes on quoting Texts of Scripture, and ſeems vehemently moved againſt an Antagoniſt, that no where exiſts but in his own Imagination.

For if he will call the *ordinary* Operations of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby "we hope to have our Minds enlightned, that we may know our Duty, and be aſſiſted in performing it;" I ſay, if he chuſes to call it *extraordinary*, rather than join with the common and uſual Manner of ſpeaking (whereby in calling it *ordinary*, we diſtinguiſh it from the *extraordinary* and *miraculous* Effuſions in the Apoſtolical Times, and Infancy of the Church,) he may be as ſingular as he pleaſes for me. I will not contend with him about Words and Names; tho' indeed, he ſeems not determined with himſelf, whether he will call it ſo or not; for in his pretended Anſwer to my ſecond Query, he ſays, "If there is an Intercourſe with the Deity, ſuch as a Chriſtian ought to have, we have no Occaſion to call it *extraordinary*." His Cavilling therefore was only to ſerve a *preſent Turn*.

But the true State of the Caſe is this: Mr. *Whitefield* had advanced Notions that could not poſſibly be defended.—‡ He had pretended to have received into his Soul *extraordinary Influxes* of the Deity; the *Uſe* and *Benefit* of which,

* *This Attempt of the Methodiſts to take away the* Liberty *of the* Preſs, *ſhall be proved upon them, if denied.* † *Some of Mr.* Whitefield's *Followers have* inſulted *and* reviled *me in paſſing along the Streets; and declared, that they looked upon me, as the* Enemy *of* God, *and* his Religion. *This was owing to Mr.* Whitefield's *pointing at me ſo often in his Prayers, and* deſcribing *me in his* Harangues *to the* Populace. § *See a Letter from a Scotch* Field-Preacher *in his late Journal. See likewiſe his aſſociating with the Welſh* Itinerant *Howel Harris.* ‖ *I have been credibly informed from ſeveral Eye-Witneſſes, Friends to Mr.* Whitefield, *that at the Societies in Briſtol, Mr.* Weſtley *has prayed,* That God would viſibly manifeſt ſome Token of his Favour. *And preſently after that, there were Perſons that* ſcreamed *out, and put their Bodies into violent* Agitations *and* Diſtortions, ſeeming *all over* convulſed, *to the great* Fright *and* Amazement *of ſeveral People. But upon others offering their Aſſiſtance, Mr.* Weſtley *call'd out,* Let them alone, THEY CAN NO MORE HELP IT THAN THE SUN CAN CEASE TO SHINE. *And then they went to Prayers and ſung an Hymn,* invoking *the Holy Ghoſt to* come down upon them; *and afterwards returned Thanks that he* was come, *ſinging another Hymn: This being ended, theſe* enlightned *Perſons were placed on an Eminence for the* reſt *to* behold. ‡ *To gain Credit with the Populace, when he was upon the* Marvellous, *he often had in his Mouth at*

Briſtol

which, neither he nor his Friends have yet been able to make out, tho' theſe Queries were put to him for that very Intent.—* He had repreſented the *Regenerate* as mere Machines, being actuated by the Spirit to ſuch a Degree, as to have their Wills *over-ruled*, and conſequently to be no more *Moral Agents*, than a Piece of Clock-Work: This his Friend A ſeems well aware of, and therefore ſhifts the Queſtion, inſtead of anſwering it; an uſual Artifice in a bad Cauſe.

His next Attack is on my Phraſe and Diction: Here he ſays, I ought not to have aſked, "After *what Manner* they come into the Mind, but after what Manner we are *enabled* to *diſcern*, *believe*, and *embrace* them." This I think is not worth diſputing about; as he likes his own Stile beſt, let him pleaſe himſelf. But my Reaſon of inſerting it, was to find out, after what *unuſual Manner* Mr. *Whitefield* came by his *extraordinary* Principles, *&c.* if he had any, *viz.* Whether or no, by *immediate Inſpiration*, † as ſome of his Followers believe concerning him; and as his Journal in many Places ſeems to imply.

On the third Query, the Gentleman is a little ſevere, for it ſeems he had met with a Copy, (not one of thoſe printed at *Briſtol*) which had a ſmall Particle, *viz.* (*or*) inſerted in, greatly injuring and obſcuring the Senſe.—And this is the Beginning and Ending of his Triumph.

But before I take my Leave of him, I would deſire him to conſider, that if I really D was a *Deiſt*, as he repreſents me, I ſhould not have been ſuch a ſtrenuous Oppoſer of Mr. *Whitefield*: No, § The Deiſts ſeem ſtrongly inclined to favour his Cauſe, and foment the Diviſion. *They* in particular, are highly delighted with his *ſhocking* Scheme for confeſſing the Women; the *graver* Part, with the *Abuſe* and miſerable *Perverſion* of *Scripture Sentences*, and the more *diſſolute* with his *indecent* and *looſe* Interrogations. This is a Scheme ſo *evidently* calculated to *promote* Vice and Lewdneſs, that many People ſtill *perſiſt* in thinking 'tis only a waggiſh *Sneer* put upon him. But the Gentleman need not be told the contrary; as he appears to be Mr. *Whitefield*'s Friend, he muſt know, that 'tis a genuine and real Piece, approved and recommended by the *Heads* of the *Sect*, and *actually* put in *Practice*, both in *London* and *Briſtol*. Since therefore he has taken upon him to vindicate Mr. *Whitefield*'s *Principles* and *Conduct*, he is here called upon publickly to defend it.

I think I have nothing more to do, than to add, for this Gentleman's further Satisfaction, according to his Requeſt, my own Notions about the Operations of the Spirit, or *Regeneration* and a *New Birth*. And this I ſhall tranſcribe out of a Diſcourſe preached at *Briſtol*, with a View to ſtop the *Epidemical Enthuſiaſm*.

B "That there is an *ordinary*, conſtant, and regular Operation or Providence of the Deity, *concurring* with, and *aiding* our weak Endeavours, *checking* evil Thoughts, and *inſpiring* good and virtuous, is a fundamental Principle of all Religion, ‖ Natural and Revealed. It is indeed what every Man, *good* and *bad*, has *experimentally felt within himſelf*. And none, C not even an Infidel, if he believes there is a God at all, will diſpute this Inſtance of his Care and Providence.

‡ Nay every Orthodox Chriſtian will affirm farther, that this *preventing Aſſiſtance*, is promiſed in a greater Degree to all within the Pale of the Church, provided they improve their ten Talents, proportionably, than to thoſe who are *Strangers* to the *Covenant* of D *Grace*; being what is ſtiled the *ordinary Gift* of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Perſon therefore who is baptiz'd into the Chriſtian Faith, and endeavours to live a Life anſwerable to his holy Profeſſion, recommends himſelf by *theſe Means* to the Divine Favour and Aſſiſtance, is enabled to go on from Strength to Strength, to caſt off by E Degrees the original Corruption of his Nature, and ſo, *progreſſively*, according to the Nature of *Free Agents* and *probationary Creatures*, has his inward Conſtitution (all the Faculties and Powers of his Mind, *impaired* and *degenerate* in *themſelves*) thus recovered, rectified, and improved. And this great Change, or rather this

Briſtol *this* dreadful Imprecation, '*If what I ſay be not* ſtrictly *true, may all that ever heard* '*me, may you that now hear me, and all that ſhall hear me hereafter*, riſe *up in* Judgment *againſt* '*me, and* rejoice *at my* Damnation.' * *See his Character ſign'd by himſelf, and many parallel Places throughout his Journals.* (*See alſo* MAG. *for* May *laſt, p.* 240.) † *Witneſs a* ſtupid *printed Paper in Doggrel Verſe, by one* Jaques, *a* Glover *in* Briſtol,

He doth not premeditate,
For the Spirit doth to him dictate.

And Mr. Whitefield *ſays himſelf*, He can produce two *Coblers* in *Briſtol*, that know more of true Chriſtianity than all the Clergy in the City put together. *Quere, Whether theſe* Coblers *are* inſpired? § *See ſome late Pamphlets from that Quarter.* ‖ *See* Wooliaſton. *Pages* 106, 107. ‡ *See* the Cure of Deiſm, *Vol.* 2. *Chap.* 15. *This Book, with Mr.* Hart's *Sermon on the Harmony of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Conybeare's *Defence, and Biſhop* Butler's *Analogy, Mr.* Whitefield *told me himſelf*, were only *Defences* of the *outward* or the *hiſtorical Part* of Religion; and that the Authors knew nothing of the *internal* and *ſaving Faith*. *See his Character of Archbiſhop* Tillotſon. (*See* May, *p.* 240.)

this *changing State*, commencing at our Baptiſm, and gradually encreaſing with our own Endeavours, is by a figurative Way of Expreſſion, very frequent in the Holy Scriptures, call'd *Regeneration* or a *New Birth.*"

To this I ſhall beg Leave to ſubjoin another Paſſage in the ſame Diſcourſe: *Speaking of the Unreaſonableneſs of thoſe Perſons who blamed the Clergy for denying their Pulpits*; *I obſerved*, "That long and loud have been the Cry of the Infidels againſt *Prieſt-Craft* and *Enthuſiaſm*; and the Clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church have been always pointed at as the avowed Patrons and Promoters of them: But when there has been any *real Prieſt-Craft*, and *Enthuſiaſm* (ſuppoſe which you will) a ſpreading, all others, of *what Sect* and *Denomination ſoever*, have either been ſilent in the Affair, or Abettors of it; and the Clergy, the only Perſons who have riſen up in Vindication of Mens Rights and Liberties of *reaſoning* and *judging* for themſelves; they have endeavoured to pluck off the Vizard, when 'twas their *Intereſt*, if they acted upon *bad Principles*, to have *kept it on*, and *encouraged* the Infatuation.

For any Perſon, who will think at all, may eaſily perceive, that this *new Set of Principles*, is capable of great *Improvements*, and might be made a *growing Fund* of ſecular Power and Greatneſs to the Clergy; 'tis but the Prieſt's aſſuming to himſelf the Prerogative of *conveying* theſe *Trances*, *Enlargements*, and *Experiences*, and of *judging* whether *genuine* or *ſpurious* (a Privilege the *unwary Multitude* would readily conſent to) and then if the *Plot ſucceeds*, *all is his own*; for having thus the *Keys* of *Heaven* in his Keeping, he would ſoon be Maſter of the *Treaſures* on *Earth.*"

Oxon, June 14, 1739. J. TUCKER.

We ſhall here take Occaſion to inſert the Piece referred to in the above Letter, *viz.*

A Method of Confeſſion, drawn up by Mr. Whitefield, *for the Uſe of the Women belonging to the Religious Societies.*

THE Deſign of our Meeting together is to obey the Command of God; Confeſs your Faults one to another, and pray one for the other, that ye may be healed.—To this End we intend to meet twice a Week.—To come punctually at the Hour appointed, without ſome extraordinary Reaſon.—To begin (thoſe of us who are preſent) exactly at the Hour, with Singing and Prayer.—To ſpeak each of us in Order, plainly and freely, the true State of our Hearts, with the Faults of Thought, Word, and Deed, and the Temptations we have been in ſince our laſt Meeting.

——To end every Meeting with Singing and Prayer, ſuited to the State of each Perſon preſent.—

——To deſire ſome Perſon among us to ſpeak her own State firſt, and then to aſk the next in Order as many and as ſearching Queſtions as may be, concerning their State, Sins, and Temptations.

Some of thoſe Queſtions propoſed to every one, before ſhe is admitted among us, may be to this Effect.—

Have you the Witneſs of God's Spirit with your Spirit, that you are a Child of God?

Have you Joy in the Holy Ghoſt?

Is the Love of God ſhed abroad in your Hearts? If not,

Have you the Forgiveneſs of your Sins?

Has no Sin, inward or outward, Dominion over you?

Have you Peace with God through Jeſus Chriſt? If not,

Do you ſee yourſelf a loſt Sinner?

Do you know you deſerve to be damn'd?

Do you deſpair of being ſav'd, either by your own Works, or by your own Righteouſneſs, and hope for Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Juſtification, only through a living Faith in Chriſt Jeſus?

Do you deſire to be told of your Faults?

Do you deſire to be told of all your Faults, and that plain and home?

Do you deſire that we ſhould tell you whatever we think, whatever we fear, whatever we hear concerning you?

Do you deſire that in doing this we ſhou'd come as cloſe as poſſible, that we ſhould cut to the Quick, and ſearch your Heart to the Bottom?

Is it your Deſire and Deſign to be on this and on all Occaſions entirely open, ſo as to ſpeak every Thing that is in your Heart without Exception, without Diſguiſe, and without Reſerve?

Are you in Love?

Do you take more Pleaſure in any Body than in God?

Whom do you love juſt now, better than any other Perſon in the World?

Is not the Perſon an Idol? Does he not (eſpecially in publick Prayer) ſteal in between God and your Soul?

Does any court you?

Is there any one whom you ſuſpect to have any ſuch Deſign?

Is there any one who ſhews you more Reſpect than to other Women?

Are not you pleas'd with That?

How do you like him?

How do you feel yourſelf, when he comes, when he ſtays, when he goes away?

The laſt ten Queſtions may be aſk'd as often as Occaſion offers.

Theſe four following at every Meeting.

What known Sin have you committed ſince our laſt Meeting?

What

What have you ſaid, thought, or done, of which you doubt whether it may be a Sin?

What Temptations have you felt? how was you deliver'd from them?

What Comforts or Communications have you had from God, ſince our laſt Meeting?

From the Craftſman *of* June 23.

Concerning OPPOSITION.

IT is poſſible that an *Oppoſition* may be very expedient; tho' the Manner of proſecuting it may be unfair. But ſuch a Proceeding can never be attended with as pernicious Conſequences as *miniſterial Tranſactions*; which, by *Corruption*, may ſo thoroughly vitiate the whole Maſs of national Blood, that an incurable Decay may follow; and there is much more Danger that a Nation may be lull'd to ſleep by *corrupt Management*, than precipitated into a *groundleſs Oppoſition*.

Ambitious Men are raiſed high, and take their Aim from the Top. The *People* are at the Bottom, and ſeldom ſee the Stone rolling down upon them, till it is too late to avoid the Cruſh. Whoever awakes a Nation againſt *impending Dangers*, can no more be accus'd of fomenting *Parties*, than he, who gives the Alarm of a *Fire*, can be call'd an *Incendiary*. In Contentions between *Power* and *Liberty*, there is no Doubt that the *mercenary Tools of Ambition* will caſt thoſe Reflexions upon the *Aſſerters of Liberty*, which are applicable only to *their abandon'd Tribe*—*Bribes* will be call'd *Gratuities*; Protection of *Frauds*, the Defence of *Friends*; the *Corruption of Magiſtracy* and the *Sale of Vice*, will be call'd *Lenity*; *Debauchery* and *Extravagance* will be ſtil'd *Elegance* and *Magnificence*. No Vice, however exorbitant, but what venal Pens will applaud, under the Appellation of ſome *ſocial Virtue*, whilſt *real Virtue*, and *publick Spirit*, are the Sport of *Knaves* and *Sycophants*.

Theſe were the Pollutions which ſubverted the *Roman Liberty*. May *Britons* always defend themſelves againſt ſuch Evils! But if the contrary ſhould ever happen; if *Luſt of Power*, *Contempt of Juſtice*, and the many Evils of our depraved Species, which neither *Brutus* nor *Cato* could ſtem, ſhould ever prevail in *England*; ſhould we ever be in ſuch unhappy Circumſtances which *Saluſt* makes *Memmius* deſcribe, in that celebrated Speech againſt *Jugurtha* and his *Roman Penſioners*; a few Lines of which I have tranſlated for the Uſe of *Engliſh Readers*, viz.

"I therefore admoniſh and exhort you, not to ſuffer ſo great an Offence to paſs unpuniſh'd. It is not draining the *publick Treaſure*, or plundering your *Colonies*, (heavy Crimes indeed!) but frequent Repetitions have ſo much familiariz'd them, that they now ſeem to become only *Perquiſites of Office*—But I complain that the Authority of the *Senate* is yielded up, —Your Rights are betray'd to our *deadly Foe*. The State is ſold, both at home and abroad."

Should Length of Time, I ſay, produce ſuch a melancholy Situation, will good Men be blamed, who endeavour to diſcountenance *Vice*, by withdrawing from *thoſe infected Manſions*, where it hath moſt Power to do Miſchief, and retire to contemplate on, and practiſe in Private *thoſe Virtues*, which they cannot exerciſe in Publick?

They, who oppoſe, muſt ſubmit their Proceedings to publick Examination; and, according to the Wiſdom or Folly of their Attempts, will be their Glory or Diſhonour. The good End of *Oppoſition* is to reſtrain the Influence of *wicked Men in Power*. The only Danger of it is, that it may gain Popularity to *deſigning Men*, and ſet up as bad as it pulls down. In the latter Years of the Conſular State, the *Roman Government* was often interrupted by *ambitious Men*. The *common People* were made the Tools of their own Deſtruction. *Laxineſs* and *Extravagance* were artfully encourag'd thro' all Stations; and they were betray'd, by not knowing the Value of what they ſold, for ſome *temporary Emoluments*. *Liberty* was upon the Wing. The *Patricians* were too rapacious, and the *whole Nation* too deprav'd for any Reformation. The *Roman* People ſeem'd to be more concern'd in the Choice of a *Tyrant*, than the Expulſion of *Tyranny*. *Pompey* would have as fatally deſtroyed the *Roman* Liberties, as *Caius* and *Antony*, or as *Octavius* and that Drone *Lepidus* —— May *Roman* Misfortunes be a Caution to *Britons!* —— Let no Man be truſted with abſolute Power —— *Ambition* is never ſatisfy'd, and *Power* is intoxicating —— *Saluſt*, ſhewing the Difference between *Ambition* and *Avarice*, ſpeaks thus of the *firſt*: "If it is a *Vice*, it approaches neareſt to *Virtue*; for *good Men* and *bad* are equally deſirous of Glory, Honour and Power; but *one* attempts to gain them by honeſt Means, the *other* by Treachery and Corruption.

I am not for truſting the *Ambitio bona*, unleſs within narrow Bounds, and under ſtrong Reſtraints. If ever the *diſhoneſt Ambition* prevails in *England*, may it receive its juſt Reward; the Abhorrence of all good Men, and the Correction of the *Executioner!* May the Aſcents to *Britiſh* Glory, be always the Protection and Security of *Britiſh* Liberty.

Common Senſe, June 30. N°. 126.

Remarks on the Letter concerning ENTHUSIASM. (*See p.* 238.)

SIR,

AS you have admitted *P. Q.*'s Letter againſt the Methodiſts, I preſume you will not deny a Place to this; for *Common Senſe* will always avoid being partial. I

I agree with *P. Q.* that an Enthuſiaſtick Spirit is a dangerous Enemy to Religion and Government.—What but the Enthuſiaſm of the People has given ſuch exorbitant Power and Riches to the Clergy every where? What elſe could cauſe them to differ ſo extravagantly in their religious Opinions, and then be cruel to one another for differing therein.

From the Scope of *P. Q.*'s Letter, I ſuppoſe, by Enthuſiaſm he means a zealous Attachment to any Doctrines contrary to either true Faith or Morality. Both theſe are very pernicious; but as the firſt concerns Matters purely ſpeculative, the Civil Magiſtrate cannot ſuppreſs it by Force without invading religious Liberty, and exerting a Dominion over Conſcience, which Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles diſclaim'd in their ſpiritual Capacity. And, indeed, it would be abſurd to allow Men a Right to ſearch and conſequently interpret Scripture (which is the Proteſtant Doctrine) and yet puniſh them for interpreting it wrong, or rather contrary to the common Notions.

For this Reaſon, tho' I readily grant the Doctrines of *Free Grace*, *Holy Influences*, *Regeneration*, *Election*, and *Reprobation* to be enthuſiaſtick Doctrines, very injurious to true Religion, as they tend to give People odious Impreſſions of the Deity, and deſtroy the Ideas of his moral Attributes, yet I cannot agree that Mr. *W—t—d* or the Methodiſts ought, on that Account, to be ſuppreſſed by the Legiſlature.

Did Mr. *W—t—d*'s Notions come within the ſecond Kind of Enthuſiaſm, or were attended with ſlaviſh Conſequences, as *P. Q.* alledges, then they might, nay ought to be ſuppreſſed; for tho' a Violence would be done thereby to religious Liberty, yet that Liberty is never to be allowed of when it runs counter to Civil Liberty: For the Allowance of ſuch a religious Liberty, or, more properly, Libertiniſm, would be to ſet up the ſpiritual Power in Oppoſition to the temporal, and, in ſhort, to erect an eccleſiaſtical Tyranny on the Ruins of Civil Government.

But *P. Q.* has produced nothing to prove his Charge of ſlaviſh Principles againſt thoſe Doctrines: Beſides, he ought to have extended his Cenſure to all other Sects which maintain them, and conſequently ought to be treated in the ſame Manner; or rather, ſince his Concern for Liberty ſeems to be ſo great, that he cannot bear the Doctrines which, in his own Opinion, carry along with them the leaſt Shadow of religious Slavery, I wonder he did not attack thoſe of abſolute Submiſſion to the Tenets of the Church, the Independency of the Clergy on the Civil Power, exorbitant eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction with Regard to Biſhops Courts, Excommunications, Proſecutions for religious Opinions, &c.

P. Q.'s Argument for ſuppreſſing Methodiſm, drawn from the Danger of having a Multitude of Sects in a Country, cannot be ſupported on the Principles of Civil Liberty; if it be lawful to ſuppreſs one Sect merely becauſe it is a Sect, or Diviſion from the eſtabliſhed Church, by the ſame Rule all other Sects may and ought to be ſuppreſſed; which would introduce Perſecution, the worſt of all ſlaviſh Principles. And thus *P. Q.* brings in ſlaviſh Principles to drive out ſlaviſh Principles, or rather civil Slavery to root out the Seeds of religious Slavery. Is there any common Senſe in this?

Whatever Danger may ariſe to Society and Government from a Multiplicity of Sects, I am of Opinion both would have a great deal more to fear, was there only one Religion in the Land, unleſs that Religion was thoroughly purged from all the Principles of Slavery above mentioned; for the different Sects hinder each other from putting their dangerous Principles in Practice: But what could withſtand them, were they all united, and the whole Nation under one eccleſiaſtical Influence?

It muſt be confeſſed, we ſhould be a very happy People, were we all of one Religion, free from ſlaviſh Principles of every Kind; nor does any Thing more deſerve the Attention of the Legiſlature, than an Attempt to reduce the Nation to this happy State. But there is only one Way of procuring this great Bleſſing, and that is, by introducing the Principles of natural Religion in explaining Scripture. And there is the more Reaſon, as well as Neceſſity, for having Recourſe to natural Religion on this Occaſion, in Regard it is allowed to be the Baſis of Chriſtianity, which therefore ſhould be conformable to it.

But poſſibly *P. Q.* would not be for carrying the Reformation ſo far: His Zeal for ſuppreſſing Enthuſiaſm and ſlaviſh Principles ſeems to be confined wholly to Sectaries, and not to extend to an eſtabliſhed Church, however corrupt it might be. This, indeed, is the Drift of his whole Letter; and to colour his Partiality it is alledged, that *any great Separation from the eſtabliſhed Church, tho' to a new one which is more pure and perfect, may be an Occaſion of endangering the publick Peace.*

If theſe be not *ſlaviſh Principles in Religion, which will carry along with them the Principles of Civil Slavery*, I know not what are: For by the ſame Rule that People muſt ſubmit to a corrupt Church, they muſt ſubmit to a corrupt Government. In ſhort, the *Engliſh* of this Argument is, that it is better to ſuffer themſelves to be made Slaves of, than endanger the publick Peace: Which I am ſure *Common Senſe* will never allow.—I have dwelt the longer on this Subject, becauſe I perceive there are many who pretend to be very zealous for Liberty, and yet would limit the Bleſſings of it to a Party.

R. S.

Craftſman, July 7. N° 678.

The Modern Travelling Education expos'd.

HABITS are moſt eaſily contracted, or alter'd, in our tender Years; for they ſtrengthen with Age, and at laſt become ſo deeply engrafted, as never to be remov'd. How then can we juſtify what is much worſe than Neglect in the Education of our Youth? I mean giving into the modern Faſhion of educating them ill.

Petit Monſieur Anglois, at about 8 or 9 Years of Age, is ſent to a *French Academy*, in order to improve his Mind with *Learning*; that is, *Dancing* and *Fencing*; where he is taught to forget that little *Engliſh*, which his *French Maid* had left him; and to compleat an Education ſo wiſely begun, before he is 16 he is ſent over to *France*, where having accompliſh'd his Exerciſes, he makes the Tour of *Europe*, as much to his own Improvement, as to the Credit and Honour of his native Country; to which, about the Time of his coming at Age, he returns the *prettieſt dreſt* Man alive, juſt old enough to take his Seat in *Parliament*, to paſs his *Guardian's Accounts*, or join with his *Father* in a *Recovery*.

Theſe *young Gentlemen* are ſent abroad to acquire *Taſte*, a modern Word for *Extravagance* and *Folly*.——What wiſhing Glances have I ſeen caſt out by Men and Women at an *Opera!* I verily believe that a few Notes higher would have thrown half the Audience into each others Embraces——This is *Taſte*——To poiſon one's Friends with *pampering Sauces*, and the *higheſt Provocatives*, is *Taſte*——In ſhort, I have known *Taſte* turn the Heads of ſeveral *wiſe Men*, and reduce Multitudes of *free Men* to Dependency and Slavery.

The *grand Tour* is ſaid to coſt this Kingdom at leaſt 200,000*l. a Year*; and I ſhould be glad to be inform'd, what Improvements our *Laws* and *Conſtitution* have received from it. It may be very pretty and entertaining to hear *theſe young Lycurgi* diſcourſe about *Singers*, *Fidlers*, *Camaios*, *Intaglios*, *Trade*, *Exciſes*, *Baſtilles*, *Inquiſitions*, *Statues*, *Taylors*, *Miniſters*, *Paintings*, *Cookery*, *Conventions*, *Treaties*, and *Government*; but to think of their becoming *Senators* and *Magiſtrates*, is but a melancholy Reflection.

It is not at all wonderful, that *Children*, who know they ſhall not be under the ſame Reſtraint *abroad* as at *home*, and are to wear *finer Clothes*, ſhou'd cry to be their own Maſters. Nor is it ſurprizing, that *ſome Guardians* may deſire to enlarge and puzzle the Accounts of their *Charge*, by diverting their Thoughts from Buſineſs and Attention. *Some Fathers* may likewiſe think it proper to fondle their *next Heir*; when, by *Luxury* and *Extravagance*, they may have made it neceſſary to ruin their *other Children*, in order to keep themſelves out of a Goal. *Wicked* and *deſigning Miniſters* may find a conſiderable Advantage, by training up Youth in *Luxury* and *Vice*, to make Way for *Corruption* and *Slavery*. Many *Women* and *ſilly Men*, of inferior Rank, who only guide themſelves by *Faſhion*, may be induced, by the Example of their Superiors, to ſend their Children early abroad, that they may learn to talk *French* and *dance* prettily. But that *Men of Senſe*, who wiſh well to their Poſterity, and deſire that their *Sons* may become Ornaments to their Country, ſhould be at the Expence of having them taught to behave like *Monkeys*, and think like *Slaves*; that they ſhould ſend them for Education under the Influence of *arbitrary Power*, to be captivated, whilſt their Heads are giddy and unſettled, by the Splendor and rich Apparel which muſt neceſſarily attend the Courts of *abſolute Monarchs*; all this, I ſay, is to me very aſtoniſhing.

It is but within theſe few Years that this *peregrine Education* hath been ſo much in Vogue. Our Youth were formerly ſent to *one of our Univerſities*, but not ſo young, as they are now ſent *abroad*; and after having ſpent *three* or *four Years* there, were placed at an *Inn of Court*, where the idleſt of them could not help picking up ſome Knowledge of our *Conſtitution*, and Senſe of Liberty; and many of them became Men remarkable for their Learning. Here was a Foundation laid for Improvement, by *Travelling*, which they ſeldom enter'd upon till they were 24 or 25 *Years of Age*. I don't ſay that this hath been a modiſh Sort of Education amongſt the *Quality* theſe many Years. I believe the *travelling Education* was in Faſhion amongſt ſome of them in *Shakeſpear's* Time, when he makes his *Fool* in *King Lear* deſcribe them; but *ſuch a Fool* as was able to teach a great many of our *wiſe Men* Wit.

Kent. This is not altogether *Fool*, my Lord.

Fool. No, Faith, *Lords* and *great Men* will not let me. If I had a Monopoly on't, they would have Part on't. Nay, the *Ladies* too, they'll not let me have *all Fool* to myſelf. They'll be ſnatching.

If at a *foreign Court*, or in converſing with *foreign Miniſters*, a Man ſhould not be able to deliver himſelf with the true *French Accent*, would not a little *Greek*, or *Latin*, make ſome Amends? Would not the *Wiſe* and *Knowing* of all Nations chuſe to converſe with Men, who could give ſome Account of the Hiſtory, Politicks, Laws, and Conſtitutions of *their own*, and *other Countries*, tho' they ſpoke but indifferent *French*, rather than ſpend a dull Evening with one of our modern *Beaux Eſprits*, tho' he ſpoke the *French* Language, *comme un Francois meme*.

If this *travelling Education* had any real

Advantage,

Advantage, we might ſuppoſe that it would qualify our young Noblemen and Gentlemen of Rank for *foreign Employments*; but if we look abroad, we ſhall find that there is, at this Time, but *one Engliſh Nobleman* in any publick Character, and *one of a noble Extraction*; the *laſt*, of a Family very much diſtinguiſh'd, for having educated not only the *youngeſt*, but likewiſe the *eldeſt Branches*, in *Learning* and the Knowledge of our *Laws*.

Let us look back thro' *this* and the *two laſt Reigns*, and we ſhall find but only *one Perſony nobly born*, who can be properly ſaid to have been at the *Head of an Adminiſtration*. This, perhaps, may be thought for the Honour and Intereſt of the *Plebeians*; but it likewiſe ſhews what Advantages the *Nobility* would have, if *true Greatneſs* was conſider'd in the *Education of their Children*; and likewiſe what a Bleſſing it would be to our Country, to have a *learned, wiſe, and frugal Nobility*.

Common Senſe, July 14. N° 128.

I Sometimes form to myſelf a particular Pleaſure in comparing great Things with ſmall, and, in this Humour, I conſider thoſe Actions which affect Kingdoms, in order to obſerve the Similitude they bear to thoſe little Movements which affect private Men; and I think it plain, that Miſunderſtandings which embroil two States, and make a mighty Noiſe in the World, have ſometimes been managed with the ſame Folly and Indiſcretion that attend thoſe trifling Affronts, which ſet two ſilly Fellows together by the Ears in ſome Tavern or Coffee-Houſe; nor is this any great Wonder if we reflect, that the World has often ſeen the Man who preſides in the Cabinet, and directs the Helm, more ignorant, more cowardly, and compoſed of baſer Qualities, than the ill-bred Clown who makes a Riot in the Streets.

If a wrong-headed Fellow runs himſelf into an unneceſſary Quarrel, perhaps he at firſt puts on the Bully; if his Adverſary anſwers with Spirit, he ſuddenly ſinks into a ſoft Tone, and ſubmiſſive Stile; next he cringes, and then ſolicits the good Offices of a Friend (that is to ſay, a Mediator, to make it up for him) and now he ſubmits to any Indignity, to be Friends. As ridiculous as this may appear, it is a true Picture, in Miniature, of what has happen'd in a higher Scene.

There is a quarrelling Scene in one of *Ben Johnſon's* Comedies, that is work'd up with a great deal of Humour, and puts a Coward in ſo ridiculous a Light, that I fancy it will be no diſagreeable Entertainment to our Readers. — The Perſons of this Scene are *Dauphin*, *Truewit*, Sir *John Daw*, and Sir *Amorous la Fool*; it muſt be obſerv'd, that the two firſt foment the Quarrel, only to make themſelves Mediators.

Truew. Sir *Amorous*.
Sir A. Maſter *Truewit*.
Tru. Whither were you going?
Sir A. Down into the Court.
Tru. You muſt not, as you value your life.
Sir A. Why, what is the Matter?
Tru. Do,——aſk Queſtions till your Throat be cut,——do, play the Fool till this enraged Devil finds you.
Sir A. Who? what?
Tru. John Daw; turn back, as you value your Life.
Sir A. I, I, I, will turn,—but what's the Matter?
Dau. Nay, if he had been cool enough to have told us that, there might have been ſome Hopes to have pacified him;—but he is ſo implacably inraged, there is no ſpeaking to him.
Sir A. Well let him rage,—I can hide myſelf.
Dau. Do, good Sir *Amorous*;——but what have you done to him that has inrag'd him to this Degree?—You have broke ſome Jeſt upon him?
Sir A. Not I, upon my Honour, Gentlemen, I never broke a Jeſt upon any Man in my Life:——The Bride was praiſing *Dauphin*, and he went away in Snuff:——I never broke a Jeſt upon any Man,—may be, he took Offence at me in his Drink.
Tru. That may be,—you have certainly hit it;—he walks up and down thro' every Room in the Houſe, with a Towel in his Hand, crying out, where is this *La Fool?*—who ſaw *La Fool?* And when *Dauphin* and I demanded the Cauſe, we could draw no Anſwer from him but, *O Revenge, how ſweet art thou! I will ſtrangle him with this Towel.*
Sir A. Well, I'll ſtay here till his Anger be blown over.
Dau. A good becoming Reſolution, if you can but put it in Execution immediately.
Sir A. Or elſe I'll ſteal into the Country preſently.
Tru. How can you get out?—he knows you are in the Houſe; he'll watch this Week for you, or he'll have you; he'll out-wait a Bailiff for you.
Sir A. Then I muſt hide in the Houſe.
Tru. But think how to victual yourſelf for a Week or two.
Sir A. Sweet Mr. *Truewit*, entreat my Couſin *Otter* to ſend me a cold Veniſon Paſty, and a few Bottles of Wine.
Tru. Is that all?
Sir A. And a Pallat to lie upon.
Tru. I would not adviſe you to ſleep by any Means.
Sir A. Wou'd you not?-why then I won't.
Tru. But there is another Fear.
Sir A. What is it, dear Mr. *Truewit?*
Tru. Hold, I hope he cannot break open this Door with his Foot.
Sir A. I'll ſet my Back againſt it,—I have a ſtrong Back.

Tru. But if he ſhould batter it?

Sir A. If he ſhou'd, I'll have an Action of Battery againſt him.

Tru. He has ſent for Gun-powder,—what he intends to do with it I can't tell, perhaps blow up the Corner of the Houſe where you are:—Hark, he's coming,—hide, Sir *Amorous.* [*Sir* Amorous *hides, and* Truewit *talks as if Sir* John Daw *was preſent.*] I proteſt, Sir *John*, he is not here, you may take my Word for it. [*Speaks to Sir* Amorous, *who is hid.*] Sir *Amorous*, there is no holding out, he has made a Petard of an old braſs Pan to force the Door,——think on ſome Terms to ſatisfy him.

Sir A. I'll give him any Terms, any Terms.

Tru. Will you leave it to *Dauphin* and to me?

Sir A. Yes, yes; tell him I dare give him any Satisfaction, except fighting.

Tru. You appoint us your Mediators, and will ſtand to the Conditions?

Sir A. Any Conditions, except War.

[*The Mediators withdraw, and, after ſome Time, return again.*]

Sir A. Well, what News, what good News, Gentlemen?

Tru. We have labour'd hard for you;—We told him, as you were a true Knight, and a Man of Valour, you knew that Fortitude conſiſted *magis patiendo quam faciendo, magis ferendo quam feriendo.*

Sir A. Very well, Gentlemen, theſe are my own Thoughts.

Tru. All this we told him; yet, in my Opinion, he demanded at firſt too much.

Sir A. What was it, Gentlemen?

Tru. Your Ears, and ſix of your Fore-Teeth.

Sir A. It is unreaſonable.

Dau. So we told him; ſo after a great deal of arguing we brought him down to your Ears, and your two broad Teeth, and theſe he will have.

Sir A. Did you ſo? Why then he muſt have them.

Dau. But he ſhall not, Sir, by your Leave; we have taken more Care of you than that:—So, becauſe all Animoſities are to be forgot, and you are to be very good Friends hereafter, he is to come and give you five Kicks; and, becauſe he ſhall not brag of it, he is to do it in Diſguiſe: He is likewiſe to take your Sword from you, and to lock you up during Pleaſure.—It ſhall not be long; leave it to us to get you releas'd.

Sir A. You are the beſt Friends I ever met with in my Life,——five Kicks, you ſay,——why he ſhall have ſix rather than differ,—tell him ſo.

Tru. He ſhall not have one more than five,—you ſhall not yield too much.

Sir A. I ſay, Sir, rather than not be Friends.

Tru. He ſhall be Friends, and upon ſix Kicks too, or he ſhall have us for his Enemies.

Sir A. Why, ſix Kicks; it is nothing at all to one that has read *Seneca*.

Tru. I ſay, he ſhall not take one more than five.

Sir A. No more than five Kicks! it is nothing at all:—I ſay again, I have taken an hundred in my Time. [Dauphin *comes forth and kicks him.*]

Tru. One, two, three, four, five; hold, Sir, *Dau*, I muſt give him another.

Dau. Not one more, as I am a Mediator,—Retire, Sir *John*. [Dauphin *retires.*] Here, Sir, he has left you your Sword.

Sir A. I'll receive no Sword, I have nothing to do with a Sword.

Tru. It is his Will that you faſten it to a Wall, and break your Head in ſome Places againſt the Hilt.

Sir A. I will not,——tell him roundly, I cannot bear to ſee my own Blood.

Tru. How, Sir, will you not?

Sir A. No: I'll beat my Head againſt a flat Wall and bruiſe it a little, if that will ſatisfy him; but I do not love to ſee my own Blood.

Tru. Have a Care, Sir, you muſt not ſtart back from the Terms, when another treats for you.—I have offer'd him another Condition, which you muſt ſtand to.

Sir A. What is it?

Tru. That you will conſent to be beaten in private.

Sir A. I conſent.

Tru. Then you muſt ſubmit to be blinded, and to be led by him to a proper Place, where you will receive ſome Strokes of a Cudgel, and Tweaks by the Noſe, *ſans nombre.*

Sir A. I am content; but why muſt I be blinded?

Tru. Oh, it is all for your Good,—becauſe if he ſhould grow inſolent upon it, and boaſt how he has treated you, you may ſwear and proteſt he never beat you to your Knowledge.

Sir A. Excellent Contrivance! you are the beſt Friends I ever met with in my Life:——Well, I conſent to all. [*Here he is lead blindfold, expos'd to the whole Company, and laugh'd at as a Poltroon and a Fool.*]

Here a Quarrel is begun, and artfully fomented betwixt two ſilly Fellows, by ſome who propoſe to make their own Advantage by putting them together by the Ears; which has often been the Caſe betwixt Nations. One of them ſubmits to the Mediation of the very Perſons who are playing upon him: This has alſo happen'd in great Affairs. He is led by the Noſe, blindfold, by his very Mediators: Juſt ſo it hath happen'd to a Nation. He is kick'd by his Mediator: So has a Nation been. He loſes his Ears and his Fore-Teeth:

Teeth: A Kingdom may ſometimes be ſaid to have loſt its Ears and its Teeth. He beats his Head againſt the Handle of his own Sword: Here, indeed, the Similitude does not ſeem to run upon all fours, unleſs the keeping up a ſtanding Army during a long Peace, that never was employ'd againſt an Enemy, may, by a proper Figure, be called, bruiſing its Head againſt its own Sword.

Craſtſman, July 14. N° 679.

A SCHEME *for mending* BRAINS.

I Happen'd to dip laſt Night into that Part of Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver's Travels*, where he gives us an Account of the grand Academy of *Lagado*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Balnibarbi*, and under the Dominion of the Emperor of *Laputa*, or the *flying Iſland*.

This Acadamy conſiſts of divers learned *Virtuoſo's*, who have put our *Royal Society* quite out of Countenance. I was particularly pleas'd with his Account of *two Profeſſors*; one of whom had been 8 Years upon a Project for extracting *Sun-Beams* out of *Cucumbers*; and the other for calcining *Ice* into *Gunpowder*; but neither of them had finiſh'd his Proceſs, when the *Captain* left that Country. If they have yet brought them to Perfection, I would recommend to them another Experiment of much the ſame Nature, *viz.* to extract *Wit* and *Senſe* out of the Brains of the *miniſterial Writers*, and ſublimate their *heavy Phlegm* into *Mercury*. This would be of infinitely more Service to a *Government*, which hath already a competent Supply of *Sun-Beams*, and as much *Gunpowder* as we are likely to expend. But if they ſhould find this *Scheme* impracticable, I would recommend it to *another learned Doctor* in the ſame Academy, whether his Project for aboliſhing *Parties* might not be applied to this Uſe, by ſawing off the *Occiputs* of *two political Writers*, and clapping each to the Head of his Adverſary, that their *Brains* might be equally mixt. This, I am ſure, would prove of great Advantage to a *certain Miniſter*, and furniſh the Reader with ſome Inſtruction, or Entertainment, on *both Sides*. For Inſtance, let us ſuppoſe that Mr. *P–pe's* Brains were to be intermix'd with my Lord *Fanny's*, thoſe of *Common Senſe* with Mr. *Freeman's*, or Mr. *Freeport's* with Mr. *Export's*; what a prodigious Revolution would it immediately occaſion in the *Republick of Letters*, as to *Learning*, *Wit*, *Poetry*, *Trade*, and *Politicks*?

I may be ſuſpected, perhaps, of ſome ſelfiſh View in *this Propoſal*; for I ſhould certainly be a very great Gainer, by having my Brains equally divided with thoſe of the honourable Sir *A. B. C.* the profound Mother *Oſborne*, the learned Mr. *Algernon Sidney*, or the facetious Mr. *Raymund Lully*. But as I have match'd Lord *Fanny*, *Ralph Freeman*, Eſq; and Mr. *Samuel Export*, to ſo much Advantage, I am ſure they ought to acquit me of any Partiality, and own that I have done Juſtice on *both Sides*.

But it may be objected, that *ſuch an equal Diviſion of Brains* would tend very much to the Diſcouragement of all *polite Arts* and *Sciences*; for tho' the ſame *Quantity of Brains* would ſtill remain in this Kingdom; yet the *ſprightly Particles* being thus mix'd with the *dull ones*, which are vaſtly more numerous, the *former* would be almoſt abſorb'd by the *latter*; and that one Scull full of *pure Brains* is of more Worth than a thouſand ſtuff'd up with ſuch a Medley of *Senſe* and *Nonſenſe*. To this I reply, that the true Lovers and Judges of *Learning*, *Wit*, and *Humour*, are become ſo *ſmall a Party* amongſt us, that they muſt not think of dictating to the *Majority*, and engroſſing *all the Senſe of the Nation to themſelves*; eſpecially where the publick Good of the *Miniſter* is ſo viſibly concern'd.

Laſtly, it may be objected, that the Execution of *this Scheme* requires ſuch extraordinary Skill in Diſſection, that neither Mr. *Cheſelden*, nor any of our moſt eminent Surgeons, may care to undertake the Operation, I therefore propoſe that a ſolemn Embaſſy be ſent to his Imperial Majeſty of *Laputa*, humbly deſiring him to ſend us over two or three of theſe *great Profeſſors*, under the Promiſe of an ample Reward; and if Capt. *Gulliver* is ſtill alive, or able to undertake ſo long a Voyage, I think no Perſon ſo proper to negotiate *this Affair* as himſelf.——But if he ſhould be thought otherwiſe, or decline it himſelf, we have *another great Traveller*, who has ſeen almoſt as many *Courts*, and been equally reſpected in all of them.

If ſome Project of this Nature does not ſpeedily take Effect, it will be impoſſible for our *Miniſterial Scribblers* to deſerve their *Wages*; and their *Maſter* will be oblig'd, in his own Defence, to turn them adrift; for they are not only abſolutely void of all *Wit*, *Learning*, and *Spirit*, but ſo monſtrouſly abſurd as to be always meddling with *Points*, which it is certainly their Buſineſs and Duty, whatever it may be of others, to let paſs *ſub ſilentio*, for a very obvious Reaſon.

Theſe Fellows are not only always blundering, like ſome of their *Superiors*, into the moſt *tickliſh Subjects*, which admit of *Litigation* at leaſt, and therefore are far above their Comprehenſion; but they ſeldom or never hit upon a *Point*, which hath a manifeſt Tendency to the *general Good of the Nation*, and therefore truly deſerves *Panegyrick*.

This leads Mr. D'Anvers *to make ſome ſerious Remarks upon* one Act *of publick Utility*, viz. *the late* Game Act, *(ſee p.* 308.*) After which, he ſays:* It were to be wiſh'd that the Exigencies of the Government might never require a *publick Lottery*; it being computed that every

100,000 *l.*

100,000 *l.* collected this Way, puts a Stop to the Circulation of at leaſt 300,000 *l.* in *Trade*, beſides *other Inconveniences*. But whenever it is found neceſſary to erect a *State-Lottery* by Law, it would certainly be of great Advantage to the Publick to prevent *low People* from engaging in it. The Trade of *Horſing*, commonly ſo call'd, is, indeed, forbidden by the *preſent Lottery-Act*; but *Chances* and *Shares of Tickets*, for the *whole Drawing*, (which is a Sort of *Horſing*) are allow'd by it. Thus every *common Servant*, *Apprentice*, and *other mean People*, may be able and tempted to become Adventurers in it. And particular Care hath been taken to encourage the Sale of *Tickets*, from the firſt Day of Drawing to the laſt, as a *worthy Member of this City* very juſtly obſerv'd, by making the *laſt-drawn Ticket* a Prize of 5000 *l.* which will certainly keep the Spirit of *Gaming* alive.

Common Senſe, July 21. N° 129.

Of the late CONVENTION.

IT may be read in ſeveral grave Authors, that no great Things are ever done in Armies, but where the inferior Officers, and common Soldiers, place an intire Confidence in the Bravery and Conduct of their General; and certain it is, that Things are never eaſy in the State, but where the Bulk of the People entertain as high an Opinion of the Wiſdom and Abilities of the Miniſters.

I believe every Man who hath made the leaſt Obſervation, muſt have ſeen a general Infidelity ſpreading all over this Nation, with Regard to Politicks, as well as to Religion, of which I need not go farther for a Proof than what hath happen'd with Reſpect to the late Convention, which, I am ſorry to ſay, the whole World was ready to condemn before it was made publick, notwithſtanding the extravagant Commendations beſtow'd upon it by that great Man, who was ſo modeſt as to take all upon himſelf.

If the whole Nation would but pin their Faith upon the Miniſter, and receive every Meaſure as good, upon the Truth and Honour of the Perſon who was the Adviſer, Actor, and chief Negotiator in it, I am perſuaded it would tend more to make a great Man eaſy in his Seat, than any other Method that can be made uſe of for that Purpoſe.

I would be glad to be inform'd, what we have got by being ſo inquiſitive into the Articles of the late Convention; nothing muſt ſerve us, but we muſt judge for ourſelves, we muſt ſee with our own Eyes, and judge by our own Underſtandings; and what, I ſay, have we got by our Curioſity, but to ſee Doubts, Diſcontents, Ill-humour, and the Spleen, ſpread thro' the whole Nation? How much better would it have been for us to have taken it upon Credit? Methinks, I have now before my Eyes the Figure and Countenance of that bulky Perſon, when, putting on a wiſe Miniſterial Face, he declared, that if we had a *Carte blanche*, we could not write down better Terms for ourſelves, and that it would do Honour to all that had a Hand in it; which was delivered with ſuch an Air, as if he did not intend a Jeſt, tho' the Spectators could not forbear laughing at the affected Serioufneſs of his Countenance.

I ſhould think it no bad Thing, if the Reading of Treaties ſhould be prohibited in *England*, as it is ſaid the Reading of the Bible is at *Rome*; for till we place the ſame Infallibity in the Miniſter, which the *Roman* Catholicks do in the Pope, I can ſee no probable End of the preſent Diſaffection.

The Preamble of a Convention may make a tolerable Figure without the Articles; it may be there read, that a Convention hath been entered into for putting an End to the Differences ſubſiſting betwixt ſuch and ſuch a Nation: What is it to the People how they were ended? Let it ſuffice, the M—— hath got rid of a preſent Uneaſineſs. The Preamble of a Convention is the Cream, which the Men in Power may ſkim off, and preſent us for our Entertainment. Examining into Articles may be like diving to the Bottom, where, it is ten to one, but we may meet with a foul Settlement that will turn our Stomachs.

A Man of great Wit ſaid, Laſt Week I ſaw a Woman flay'd, and you cannot imagine how much it alter'd her Perſon for the worſe; I order'd the Carcaſs of a Beau (ſays he) to be ſtripp'd in my Preſence, and the whole Company was amazed to find ſo many unſuſpected Faults under one Suit of Clothes. ——Why muſt we ſtrip and flea a Treaty, only to find out Defects and Imperfections, the Diſcovery of which muſt give us Pain?

Our great Man, to convince the World of the Excellence of this Convention, well obſerv'd, that the Great Seal of *Spain* had been put to it. Sure No-body ought to object againſt any Article of it after that. How much good Senſe ſhines in all his Arguments! As there ſeems to be an extreme Fondneſs for Title and Ribbon, why may not a new Order be inſtituted, call'd, *The Order of the Great Seal of* Spain? I hope to ſee it hanging about the Neck of every Man that had a Hand in the Convention, not excepting the renowned Commiſſary.

I could dwell a Year upon the Praiſes of it; but, to tell the Truth, no publick Meaſure hath ever been better ſupported with Encomium: A Bookſeller of my Acquaintance, who hath good Intelligence in every Thing relating to his own Trade, aſſures me, that no leſs than fourſcore and fifteen Pamphlets and Papers have been written and diſperſed over the three Kingdoms, by Order of the great

great Man, fill'd with nothing but Praiſes of the Convention. It is to be fear'd it hath coſt the Nation ſeveral Thouſands in Panegyrick; and as much as I like it, I ſhould be ſorry to ſee ſuch a one every Year, leſt it might break into the Sinking Fund appropriated for paying the Debts of the Nation; and yet, alas! already it is departed, it died almoſt as ſoon as it was born: It was a walking Shadow, a poor Player that fretted and ſtrutted its Hour upon the Stage, and then is heard no more. The Father of it may ſay of this his Darling, this Child of his old Age, what other fond Parents ſay of ſome poor Thing that dies before its Time, — *It had too much Wit to live.*

Craftſman, July 21. N° 680.

The Diſintereſtedneſs, Publick-Spiritedneſs, and Wiſdom of the preſent Times.

WHEN Men have eſteemed no Pleaſure equal to that of *ſerving their Country*, the Councils of ſuch a People have generally been wiſe and ſteady, the Execution of them vigorous, and the Commonwealth hath made a glorious Figure.

There are ſome Inſtances to be met with both in the *Greek* and *Roman Hiſtories*, which might illuſtrate and evince this; but I am much better pleaſed with a Proof from our *own Hiſtory*, which will one Day, I doubt not, as much eclipſe the Splendor of any Tranſactions among the *Greeks* or *Romans*, as our Heroes outſhine theirs: I mean the Hiſtory of our Nation for the *laſt* 20 *Years*.

When there is ſo large a Field for Panegyrick, it is ſomewhat difficult to know where to begin; but as *Diſintereſtedneſs* in thoſe, who have the Management of a Nation's Concerns, is a moſt excellent Virtue, abſolutely neceſſary to complete a *publick Character*, this ſeems to claim the firſt Rank. The *few Penſions*, or *lucrative Places*, enjoy'd by thoſe, who have ſo eminently ſerved their Country; the few they have beſtowed on their *Friends*, *Dependents*, or *Relations*, ſufficiently ſet forth their Title to *this Virtue*.

Another Virtue remarkable in our Times, is a *Concern for the publick Welfare*. This appears eminently in the Oeconomy of all *publick Affairs*; particularly in the great Frugality, with which our *publick Treaſure* is managed; the avoiding all *unneceſſary Expences*; and in the paying off ſo great a Part of the *national Debt*; without which, as our *moſt potent Neighbour*, and heretofore our *dangerous Enemy*, is not only in a Manner out of Debt, but in all Reſpects much ſtronger than ever, we muſt have been in the moſt dangerous Circumſtances imaginable.

We come next to the *Wiſdom* of our Times, which has been wonderfully diſplayed, 1. In our *Negotiations*, *Treaties*, *Alliances* and *Conventions*. 2. In our employing Perſons of the greateſt Abilities in all eminent Stations; eſpecially as *Ambaſſadors* and *publick Miniſters*. 3. In *foreſeeing Events*, in a moſt ſurprizing Manner, and preparing ſo judiciouſly for them, that we have very rarely been put to any Difficulties *ourſelves*, or been diſconcerted in any of our Deſigns upon *others*. 4. In knowing perfectly the *Intereſts of the ſeveral States of* Europe, properly applying to them, and maintaining a *juſt Balance of Power*. 5. In ſupporting the Reputation of our Country to ſuch a Pitch, as it has ſeldom arrived at. 6. In encouraging all the moſt uſeful Branches of *Commerce*, and taking eſpecial Care that *Trade* is neither unneceſſarily burdened, nor obſtructed. 7. In maintaining the *Navy* in moſt excellent Order, and uſing ſuch proper and effectual Methods to *man* it, as cauſe as little Hindrance to our *Navigation*, as Inhumanity to our *Seamen*. 8. Our Wiſdom in managing the *Militia* in the Manner we do, can never be ſufficiently admired; for without *this Defence* we muſt have kept on Foot ſuch a *ſtanding Army*, as would have been extremely burdenſome and dangerous to this Iſland. *Laſtly*, Our conſummate Prudence is in nothing more apparent, than in ſecuring the *Affections of the People to the Government*. This has been effected partly by demanding no Money of them, but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the *real Service of the Publick*; ſhewing plainly, that the *Nation's Treaſure* was only expended for the *Nation's Benefit*; aſſerting and defending the *People's Rights*; and demonſtrating to them, that there are no Deſigns, either by *Force* or *Fraud*, by *Armies* or *Corruption*, to deprive them of their *Liberties*.

§. *Modern* FEMALE EDUCATION.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I Look upon *France* as the Hot-bed to our *Engliſh* Youth, where they are immaturely ripen'd, and therefore ſoon become rotten and corrupt at home.

The only Advantage I can find in this *travelling Education*, which was the Subject of my laſt Letter, (ſee p. 346.) is making our *Petit Maitres* better receiv'd by the *Ladies*; that light, airy, chattering Behaviour being beſt ſuited for their Converſation; or, at leaſt, for the Generality of our *modiſh ones*.

Having mention'd the *Ladies*, I muſt beg Leave to make a few Remarks upon their *Education*, and to lament the *Extravagances*, which are grown ſo faſhionable amongſt them, that it would be ridiculous to propoſe a thorough Reformation. All we have now to do with our *Wives* and *Daughters*, is to compound with them, to limit their Vanities and Expences with *proper Bounds*; and we ſhould be

be much oblig'd to them, if they would not exceed *double the Compoſition*.

If we conſider their *modern Education*, (which conſiſts chiefly in *Dancing*, *Singing*, and *Dreſſing*) we cannot be ſurpriz'd at that early Tincture of *hereditary Vanity*, which we ſee in the young Ladies of *Great Britain*; nor is it any Wonder that *little Miſs* ſhould jilt her Playfellows, when her *Mamma* coquets it with half the Town. We know that *Beauties*, like *Kings*, are utter Strangers to Truth from their Infancy. They are, as it were, born for a *Looking-glaſs*, habituated to *Flattery*; and made in Love with *themſelves*, even before they are ſenſible of their *own Perfections*. Hence it is that we meet with *pert Goddeſſes at fourteen*, and *forward Coquets* in *Hanging-ſleeves*. They are taught to look upon *Pleaſure* as the chief Buſineſs of their Lives, and *arbitrary Power* the ſole Aim of their Ambition; but whilſt they are thus intent upon the *End*, how often do they miſtake the *Means*?

Not long ago, I happen'd to be preſent, where ſeveral *young Perſons of Quality*, of both Sexes were met to play, the eldeſt not being above 14. There was one Table at *Whiſt*, *Crowns-Gold* upon the Game; the other Table was *Shilling Quadrille*. Some of them loſt 2 or 3 *Guineas*, and others 4 or 5; which would have ſerv'd their *Great Grand-Mothers* a whole *Chriſtmas*, in the worſt Run of Luck. Upon breaking up, one of the *young Ladies*, who was the greateſt Loſer, ſaid there was much more Spirit in *Games of Chance*, and deſir'd to know whether the *late ridiculous Act againſt* Gaming, would prevent betting upon *Things*.

If our *modern Ladies* would give themſelves the Trouble to look back a little upon *paſt Ages*, they would meet with *Women*, who were not only *good Wives*, but *uſeful Subjects*. They might read of *female Patriots*, who ſacrific'd their *Money*, *Plate*, *Jewels*, to the Good of their Country; of *Queens*, who conquer'd with their *Arms abroad*, as much as with their *Eyes at home*; and look'd upon thoſe two great Articles, *Beauty* and *Dreſs*, as only the Ornaments of *Virtue* and *good Senſe*.

There is a remarkable Inſtance of *female Zeal* and *publick Spirit*, in the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*. One Day, as Queen *Semiramis* was ſitting at her *Toilette*, and adjuſting her *Coif*, a Meſſenger came into her Chamber in great Haſte, who inform'd her *undreſs'd Majeſty*, that there was a Riot in the City, which requir'd her immediate Preſence to quell it; whereupon the *good Queen*, with her Cap half off, and her Hair diſchevell'd, ran into the Street, and in a Moment put an End to the Diſorder. Whereas, had ſhe remain'd in her Chamber, whilſt the *natural Body* was adorning, the *Body politick* might probably have bled to Death.

The Magnanimity of our *Boadicea*, and Q. *Elizabeth*, is ſo well known, that it would be needleſs to give any Inſtances of it. But I would not be thought to recommend any ſuch *military Virtues* to our *modern polite Ladies*. Theſe maſculine Exploits were perform'd in Ages, long before *ſtanding Armies* were known amongſt us, and when we were oblig'd to call in the *female Power* to our Aid; before *Operas*, *Balls*, *Maſquerades*, *Ridotto's*, *Oratorios*, *Gaming*, and *Luxury* of every Kind, had put *Frugality* out of Countenance, and turn'd *Induſtry* into *Ridicule*. We have now a fine *male Army*, who look as ſmug, and make as pretty a Figure at a *Review*, when their Hair is nicely tuck'd up and well powder'd, as if they were to make their Appearance in *Petticoats*, (for which I am told there is actually a Project in Agitation) and therefore we have no Occaſion for the Service of the *Ladies* at preſent.

All I would recommend to them is, the Preſervation of their natural *good Senſe* and *Sincerity*. I would not look upon them as *Warriors* and *Heroines*; but as *Wives*, *Mothers*, *Siſters*, and *Daughters*. I would perſuade them, that to *read intelligibly*, and to *write accurately*, is not ſo unpardonable a Crime as many of them ſeem to think it; and reconcile them, if poſſible, to a vulgar Opinion, that the being able to make a *Pye*, or a *Pudding*, is no uſeleſs, or unſeemly Qualification of a *good Wife*, in a middling Station.

To what are owing moſt of our late *Separations* and *Divorces*, (which vaſtly exceed whatever was known before) but to this pernicious Sort of *Education*, and *habitual Practice*?

Let the virtuous Part of the *fair Sex* likewiſe conſider, whether the prevailing Faſhion of keeping *Miſtreſſes* is not, in a great Meaſure, owing to the ſame Cauſe. I am far from juſtifying *this Practice*, which is contrary to our *Religion*, and the *Laws of our Country*; but, ſetting theſe Conſiderations aſide, it is certainly a great Temptation for a Gentleman of a moderate Fortune, who hath no *Titles* to deſcend from him, to gratify his natural Inclinations with a *Woman*, whom he may turn away at Pleaſure, upon any ill Uſage, rather than be bound for Life to *one*, who ſullies his *Honour*, ſquanders away his *Eſtate*, and entails a *ſpurious Iſſue* upon his Family.

I have often heard that *Fools* and *Coxcombs* are moſt ſucceſsful with *Women*. Our *young Men of Senſe* may put on this ſilly faſhionable Behaviour, with a Deſign only of undermining the *Fools*. Should that prove to be the Caſe, I will not deny their being *good Actors*; tho' I would not have them carry the Joke too far.

But why do I ſay *young Men*? Don't we ſee Men of *all Ages*, playing the Fool with

Women?

Women? Mrs. *Page* and Mrs. *Ford* would not, at this Time, have been angry with Sir *John Falſtaff*, for being their Lover. Nay, I believe, that had he liv'd now, he would have been the Hero of the Age; for he was *merry* and a *Buffoon*; and though he was not *brave*, he could *bully*; if he did not care to ſpeak *Truth*, he would ſwear to a *Lye*; if he was not *vigorous*, he was *leacherous*, conſtantly *robbing the Publick*, a *great Corrupter of Manners*, and lov'd to talk *Baudy*.

Common Senſe, July 28. N° 130.

I BELIEVE there is no Man in this Kingdom, except a Placeman or a Penſioner, but will allow, that the Liberties of this Country muſt ſoon be at an End, whenever the Miniſtry have the Means and Power put into their Hands by a pecuniary Influence to corrupt the Repreſentative Body of the People. In ſuch a Caſe, it is an honeſt Part to warn the People of their Danger, that they may inſtruct their Repreſentatives to make ſuch Laws as may render the Nation ſafe from thoſe dreadful Apprehenſions: Thoſe who would oppoſe ſuch Laws may as well ſay, that a Man who lives near ſome rapid Flood, ought not to raiſe Banks to ſecure himſelf againſt an Inundation; that we ought not to take Precautions againſt the ſpreading of Fire, or give ourſelves the leaſt Trouble to prevent the Plague.

But it would be very hard, indeed, if a Man could not, with Safety, ſo much as ſpeak or write againſt a corrupt Attachment of the Repreſentatives of a Free People to a Miniſter; while others may not only have a free Liberty, but may be employ'd, hired, and rewarded, to publiſh the moſt ſlaviſh Arguments in Favour of every Thing baſe, corrupt and villanous, that can enter into the Exerciſe of Government.

While the Liberty of the Preſs remains, it cannot be better employ'd than in labouring this one Point; and if ever we ſhould by the ſtrong Hand of Power be aw'd, and intimidated from meddling with it, there muſt be then *ſomething rotten in the State of* Denmark.

The Parliament is the Guardian of the People's Liberties; againſt whom are they to guard them? moſt certainly, againſt the Deſigns of bad Miniſters, whoſe Ambition, whoſe Avarice, or whoſe Crimes may be ſo enormous that they cannot be ſafe, without deſtroying them.—Are Men who are link'd to the Miniſter by Engagements of Intereſt fit for ſuch a Poſt? It is Nonſenſe to ſay they are, eſpecially if we ſhould live to ſee the Day that a Man in Power ſhould publickly avow Corruption, and, with a Front that knows no Shame, declare, that he ſhould think him a pitiful Fellow who would not turn every Man out of his Employment, that would not ſtand by him and his Meaſures: Which is telling them in plain *Engliſh*, that he thinks them a Pack of Raſcals, and it is proclaiming to the World upon what Motives they act with him.

It can be prov'd, that a great Number of Places can do more than *Socrates* or *Seneca*, or all the Philoſophers of Antiquity were able to do; it can bring a Multitude of Men to be of the ſame Mind; it can make their Opinions exactly of the ſame Height, and Length, and Breadth.

Thoſe who are hired to write upon the mercenary Side, have produced an Argument againſt a Place-Bill, which proves that Liberty cannot be ſafe without it.—It is the Misfortune of theſe ignorant Devils to ruin their own Cauſe, by every Thing they urge to defend it: They tell us, that if the Employments corrupt and influence ſome Men, the Want of thoſe Employments corrupt and influence others. So that, according to their Arguments, there is every Reaſon in the World for the People to inſiſt upon a Law againſt Placemen ſitting in that Houſe; for if both Sides are corrupted by the Places, it is a Demonſtration that the Nation is undone if its Liberties depend upon thoſe who are ſtruggling for Places.

I hope we are not ſo far gone in Madneſs or Corruption, as to think that the Nation and the People were made for the Uſe of the Perſons at the Helm. If ſo, Doctor *Monro* is the only Miniſter that can help us.—The Placemen, indeed, are become a formidable Militia: If they are to be ſupported at all Events, I am afraid it will look as if the whole Nation was divided into Wolves and Sheep; and I need not tell the Reader, that a thouſand Sheep may be deſtroy'd to feed every Wolf.

Our miniſterial Hacks, from their abundant Want of Common Senſe, have ſaid enough to render the whole Nation diſaffected; that is to ſay, if any Body would read their wretched Papers. I am almoſt aſhamed to quote any of their ſtupid *Gazetteers*, but, however, as I know the Fellows are but Puppets that ſqueek what is dictated to them, by thoſe that hire them, I ſhall take Notice of one Thing they have ſaid upon this Occaſion. One of them, thinking to be very arch upon a grave Subject, ſpeaking of the Law now deſired by the Nation to limit the Number of Placemen in the Houſe, ſays, "As to the wiſe Suggeſtion, that in ſuch a Situation of Things, it would have become the Legiſlature to paſs a Law for diſabling Placemen, it is really enough to make one laugh; for what would this have been leſs than paſſing an Act, that the Deſerters ſhould be the Majority?"

I ſhall take no Notice of the dull Attempt at being witty; but here, in a Kind of Triumph, it is own'd that the Majority in the Legiſlature is owing to the Places. I fancy, if ſuch a Thing had been publiſh'd in this Paper, the Publick would ſoon hear of the Printer's being removed to a Lodging, that would be no Advantage to his Trade.

An Imitation of the ſecond Chorus in the ſecond Act of Seneca's Thyeſtes.

AT length the gods, propitious to our pray'rs,
Compoſe our tumults, and conclude our wars;
The ſons of *Inachus* repent the guilt
Of crowns uſurpt, and blood of parents ſpilt.
For impious greatneſs, vengeance is in ſtore;
Short is the date of all ill-gotten power.
Give ear, ambitious princes, and be wiſe,
Liſten, and learn wherein true greatneſs lies;
Place not your pride in roofs that ſhine with gems,
In purple robes, nor ſparkling diadems,
Nor in dominion, nor extent of land;
He's only great, who can himſelf command;
Whoſe guard is peaceful innocence, whoſe guide
Is faithful reaſon, who is void of pride,
Checking ambition, nor is idly vain
Of the falſe incenſe of a pop'lar train;
Who without ſtrife or envy can behold
His neighbour's plenty, and his heaps of gold;
Nor covets other wealth, but what we find,
In the poſſeſſion of a virtuous mind.
Fearleſs he ſees, who is with virtue crown'd,
The tempeſt rage, and hears the thunder's ſound;
Moſt truly noble, who contemning fate,
In midſt of ſpears and javlins keeps his ſtate;
Compos'd and firm he ſtands, nor ſhrinks to feel
The piercing arrow, or the pointed ſteel;
Diſdaining chance, regardleſs he looks down,
Ever the ſame, whether ſhe ſmile or frown;
Serenely, as he liv'd, reſigns his breath,
Meets deſtiny half way, nor ſhrinks at death.
Ye ſovreign lords, who ſit like gods in ſtate,
Awing the world, and buſtling to be great;
Boaſt not of power, nor of imperial ſway,
Vaſſals yourſelves, who ev'ry luſt obey.
The reins of empire ill befit thoſe hands,
Where paſſion governs, and where rage commands.
What is this fame, for which our kings are ſlaves? knaves.
The breath of fools, the blaſt of flatt'ring
A peaceful conſcience, and a generous breaſt,
Of all the gifts of fortune, are the beſt.
What need of arms, and inſtruments of war,
Or batt'ring engines, which deſtroy from far?
Who lord of his own appetites can be,
The greateſt king, and conqueror is *he*.
Whom worldly luxury, or pomp allure,
They tread on ice, and find no footing ſure.
Place me, ye gods, in ſome obſcure retreat,
O! keep me innocent, make others great:
In quiet ſhades, content with rural ſports,
Give me a life, remote from guilty courts;
Where free from hopes or fears, in humble eaſe,
Unheard of I may live and die in peace.
Happy the man, who thus retir'd from ſight,
Studies himſelf, and ſeeks no other light.
But moſt unhappy he, who ſits on high,
Expos'd to ev'ry tongue, and ev'ry eye;
Whoſe follies blaz'd about, to all are known,
And are a ſecret to himſelf alone:
Worſe is an evil fame, much worſe, than none.

Concluſion of COUNTRY-INNOCENCE: *Or, The* RURAL REPAST. *(See p. 251.)*

THUS,-thro' thy own victorious ſtrength,
Sweet *Galatea!*—now at length—
(So well canſt thou thy weapon wield,)
Th' inteſtine *hurly-burly*'s quell'd.
The lovely laſs, with decent ſpeed,
Does, now, the *buttermilk* proceed
(Mixture divine of ſweet and ſour!)
Out of the proſtrate *churn* to pour,
Into a veſſel, neat and clean;
A ſweet, well-glaz'd, well-ſcalded *ſtean*.
The *luſcious liquid*, as it flows,
Its worth more fully does diſcloſe:
Richly our noſtrils it regales;
A pure, refreſhing ſcent exhales,
More fragrant, than the fineſt poſies
Of *pinks*, *auricula*'s, and *roſes*,—
Of *lupins*, *jeſſamine*, or *lillies*,
Cum violis, & *caryophyllis*.
Herein,—of *rural nymphs* the niceſt,—
(As of *coſmetics* quite the choiſeſt,)
The ſilveriz'd wild *tanſey* ſteep,—
Which, in reſerve, the *fair-ones* keep.
With this, the *damſels*, half-undreſs'd,
Each heaving, plump, round, beauteous *breaſt*,
Their ruddy *hands*, and luſty *arms*,
And *neck*, and *face*, full-fraught with charms,
Do make, (whene'er they think it meet,)
Still more enchanting, clean, and ſweet.
To *waſh* the *butter*, now, ſhe hies;
And, here, her utmoſt care employs
To make it pleaſant, and moſt pure:
Whereof, that ſhe may be ſecure,
Freſh water oft ſhe takes; and then,
Waſhes it o'er and o'er again:
And, after theſe her laſt efforts,
Forms into *prints* of various ſorts;
Or, into pieces, rowls it round,
Full *eighteen ounces* to the *pound*.
The concave, oblong *wooden-vaſe*,
She carries, with becoming pace,
In triumph to the *pump*; and waſhes,
With loud, reiterated daſhes:—
Knocks up the ſounding lid, and pours
The water out;—then, briſkly ſcours:
And, laſtly,—does the *trophy* take,
And hangs it on th' appointed *ſtake*.
At length, the lovely labour ends:—
She calls to her domeſtick friends,
And ev'ry lad and laſs invites
To feaſt their longing appetites.
'Come, *boys!*-come, *girls!*-at preſent, leave
'Your deſtin'd work:—come, and receive,
'Ye faithful hinds, and luſty ſwains,
'A *ſweet reward* for all your pains.
'Here!—here's for each a well-fill'd *cup!*
'Here's good *brown-bread!*-come, *bite* and *ſup*.

'Tis

'Tis now high time to *break* your *faſt*:
Take therefore, lads, this *rare repaſt*;
Nor belly baulk, nor fancy bilk,
But ſtuff your wems with *buttermilk*.'
Sweet *Galatea!*—curious maid!
What ſhou'd we do without thy aid?
Whither might hungry *ruſtics* roam?
What wou'd of us poor *binds* become,—
Without thy helping hand, unable,
To deck, with *wholſome food*, our table?
Nay, *palates nice*, and *ſqueamiſh quality*,
Wou'd be quite loſt, without their *Galaty*;
And modiſh ladies, ſtrangely mutter,
Had they no *cream*, nor choice good *butter*.
Wondrous, it very well may ſeem,
That they ſhou'd *foreign ſops* eſteem,
When there's, *at home*, more *wholſome fare*,
And much more worthy of their care.
If *maſters* will unbrace each nerve,
With reaſon may ye ſmile, that *ſerve*.
As juſtly at the ladies laugh ye,
While they genteely ſip their *coffee*.
For, ſure, it argues no great ſenſe,
Raſhly to part with *health* and *pence*.
Let *tid-bits* then, and trifling *tea*,
To *toaſt* and *buttermilk*, give way.
For *buttermilk* (the learned tell us)
Beſtows *long-life* on *country-fellows*.
'Tis purely prov'd by doctor *Baynard* *;
That I the compliment don't ſtrain hard.
As for your *courtly belles*, and *beaux*,
To *ſimple fare*, invet'rate foes,
(Whom thus the *faſhion* ſtill deceives,)
Let 'em ſtill chuſe, of *pois'nous leaves*
Decoctions vile;—contemn poor *gaffers*;
And make a meal of *thin-ſpread wafers*.
Let *bo'-go' hogs* e'en take their fill,
And gorge their guts with *gallic-ſwill*:
Let 'em indulge unnat'ral wiſhes,
With *dainties nice*, and toſs'd up *diſhes*.
But give to *Tit'rus*, in their ſtead,
A good, thick luncheon of *brown-bread*;
And, of choice *buttermilk* good ſtore:
Kind heav'n, give *this!*—I need no more.

TITYRUS.

To the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD.

SWEET is thy voice, and manly is thy ſtrain,
Nor does thy wak'ning trumpet ſound in vain.
Then ſtill go on, proclaim thy Maſter's laws,
Warm'd with the promiſe of thy Lord's applauſe,
In that important, that tremendous day,
When ſeas ſhall vaniſh rocks ſhall melt away;
When the great Judge impartially ſhall trace
The various actions of the human race.
In *Zion*'s right, thou friend to *Zion* riſe;
Plead her fair cauſe, and ſhew the heav'nly prize.
Let ſinners know, the dreadful day will come,
When *Zion*'s enemies ſhall ſurely mourn;
Greatly their bold unrighteous deeds bewail,
When ſenſual joys, with ſenſual life ſhall fail.
Shew, that the man will hardly bear the touch,
Who dreads the being *righteous over much*.
Yet ſpare the man, where room to ſpare can be;
Let vice, not man, receive the laſh from thee.
And oh! beware! nor let thy zeal condemn,
For bare opinions, weak imperfect men.
If I my brother judge, my views, if wrong,
Condemn myſelf, from my ungovern'd tongue.
'Tis but in part we ſee, in part we know,
From diff'rent ſtations diff'rent proſpects flow:
Yet all may lead to the ſame point in view,
Which men, thro' various paths, laboriouſly purſue.
Here we but gain a glimpſe, ſtrait clouds ariſe;
Thoſe clouds ſhall vaniſh, when we reach the ſkies.
Mean while a humble mind our God requires,
Warm'd with cœleſtial hopes, and heavenly fires;
A mind which loves its God with all its heart,
And kind aſſiſtance does to all impart.
O then beware! ——————
Leſt in abſtracted thoughts, grown too refin'd,
Thou by raſh cenſure hurt'ſt thy pious mind.
When thou behold'ſt a face to *Zion* turn,
Joy in his joys, nor give the ſaint to mourn.
Point him the bliſs which from religion flows,
And all the charms of piety diſcloſe.
Tell how the Saviour left the realms on high,
Became a man, that he for man might die;
Save the repentant ſinner from the rod,
And once again reſtore him to his God;
Begot anew, to purity of heart,
He lives the Chriſtian, and performs his part.
Theſe are important truths; ſuch truths purſue,
Which, ſtrict obedience, always keep in view.
From frantick impulſe guard thy faithful breaſt,
Nor give admittance to ſo falſe a gueſt.
Theſe were of late our modern prophets boaſt,
Too eaſy of belief, in ſtrong impulſes loſt.
Aſk them their force; they honeſtly declare,
How ſtrong! how urgent! thoſe impreſſions were.
Take *Lacy*'s word, thus far he freely own'd,
That he their pow'r, *next to reſiſtleſs* found.
Thus, by indulging, what he ſhould have prov'd,
He ſold himſelf a ſlave to what he lov'd.
What ſpirit rul'd! whence thoſe impulſes came!
Their falſe predictions loudly do proclaim.
They ſtifle truth, whilſt airy phantoms riſe,
And fill the clouded mind, with dark ſurmiſe;

* *In a Diſcourſe on* Longevity; *annex'd to his Letter to Sir* John Floyer, *concerning* cold Immerſions, *&c.*

Blow up the man, with enthus'aſtick rage,
And ev'ry pow'r, tumultuouſly engage;
Drive him to actions, which he did deteſt,
And raiſe a tempeſt in his doubtful breaſt:
At length the pangs of diſappointment riſe,
Croſs'd in his hopes, (once rapt above the ſkies)
He ſinks confounded, and uncertain dies.
Thus *Ætna*'s fires, in mighty priſons pent,
Labour for room, and roar to find a vent;
Thro' all obſtruction, madly force their way;
A hideous ruin, o'er the plain diſplay.
Guard then thy mind, thy truſt with care diſcharge,
By calm reflection all thy pow'rs inlarge;
Let goſpel truths, alone, thy pen record,
The truths of Jeſus, whom thou own'ſt thy Lord.
Theſe be thy theme! whilſt hills to hills reſound,
And the vales echo the returning ſound
Of ſong divine (all by thy voice inſpir'd)
From thouſand tongues, with love to goodneſs fir'd:
Ten thouſand tongues ſhall ſing their Maker's praiſe,
Whilſt thou, by truths divine, their paſſions raiſe.
Reaſon and paſſion in this ſcheme unite,
Here reaſon ſhines illuſtriouſly bright.
By her we judge what truths our God reveals,
And 'ſcape impoſture's ſnares, which ſhe in night conceals;
Try every proof which revelation gives,
Reaſon accords, faith triumphs, hope revives,
To righteous paths returns the wand'ring mind,
From open vice, and ſecret faults refin'd.
Thus may'ſt thou viſit ev'ry diſtant place,
Plow the rough ſeas, the *Georgian* mountains trace;
Teach the *American*, how good his claim,
Learn him to liſp his bleeding Saviour's name;
To know that God from whom all life derive,
And who eternal life will to obedience give.
May truth and goodneſs guide this great deſign;
May'ſt thou the ſteep aſcent of heavenly wiſdom climb.

Lines by a young Student of Chriſt-Church *in* Oxford, *upon receiving an Account of his Friend's Death, a learn'd Youth, at* Rome, *in* Auguſt, 1738.

L—*G*—*N*, dear partner of my ſoul,
Accept what pious paſſion meditates
To grace thy fate: ſad memory,
And grateful love, and impotent regret,
Shall wake to paint thy gentle mind,
Thy wiſe good nature, friendſhip delicate
In ſecret converſe, native mirth,
And ſprightly fancy, ſweet artificer
Of ſocial pleaſure; nor forgot
The noble thirſt of knowledge and fair fame;
That led thee far thro' foreign climes
Inquiſitive; but chief the pleaſant banks
Of *Tyber*, ever honour'd ſtream,
Detain'd thee viſiting the laſt remains
Of ancient art, fair forms exact
In ſculpture, columns and the mouldring bulk
Of theaters. In deep thought wrapt,
Of old renown thy mind ſurvey'd the ſcenes
Delighted, where the firſt of men
Once dwelt familiar; *Scipio*, virtuous chief,
Stern *Cato*, and the patriot mind
Of gentle *Brutus*, beſt philoſopher.
Well did the gen'rous ſearch employ
Thy blooming years, by virtue crown'd, tho' death
Unſeen oppreſt thee, far from home
A helpleſs ſtranger; no familiar voice,
No pitying eye chear'd thy laſt pangs,
O worthy longeſt days! for thee ſhall flow
The pious ſolitary tear,
And thoughtful friendſhip ſadden o'er thy urn.

APOLLO, BACCHUS, *and the* GRACES, *in* VAUX-HALL GARDENS.

SAYS *Apollo*, to *Bacchus*, 'For a frolick let's fly
'To yon leſs'ning ſpeck, in the ſkirts of the ſky;
'To the earth, where we'll viſit man's whimſical race,
'And rove, till we fix on ſome favourite place;
'Or ſome ſhade, to which nymphs, bleſt with ſwains, ſhall retire; [lyre:
'Allur'd by the charms of your tun and my
'For theſe, when united, muſt ſweetly controul
'The wav'ring impulſes of each human ſoul.'
'Agree'd,' ſays blithe *Bacchus*. So their godſhips deſcend; [bend
Quickly range o'er this ball, and at laſt gaily
To a grove whoſe wing'd choriſters raviſh the ear; [our tent here;
When *Apollo* ſays, ſmiling, 'We muſt pitch
'For ſee, where the *Graces* exult in their bower! [gick power,
'By your nectar, my warbling, and their ma-
'Brighteſt joys ſhall riſe round, and dark ſpleen mix with wind.'— [kind.
They open'd the ſcene, and inchanted man-

To Madam B——,

Parturit almus Ager —— VIR.

FOrgive the muſe! one ſingle frown might kill;
To pleaſe, ſhe uſes all her little ſkill;
Conſcious of faults, yet takes the reed with fear, [ear:
Smooth flows the ſong, that's muſick to your
So in the ſun —— when ſcarce taught to fly,
The feather'd young their tender pinions try,
With wary flight they gain the neighbouring bough,
Joy at the ſcene, but tremble to purſue.
Oh! whither now the beauteous ſeaſon leads!
Or nigh the ſtream, or o'er the verdant meads!
Thoſe

Thoſe meads where *Hexham*'s antient turrets riſe,
Thoſe ſtreams where *Tine* her fruitful urn ſupplies.
Wrapt in ſoft thoughts, methinks I ſee you ſtray,
Thoughts which alone firm virtue can convey;
Calm as your ſoul, all nature ſtands confeſt,
Clear is the ſky, and undiſturb'd your breaſt.
Thus the fair ſex in happy days of old,
Faſhioned like you in more than common mould,
With ſecret tranſports view'd the dawning ray,
Nor paſs'd a life of indolence away.
Let taſteleſs ſloth the modern lady ſtain,
And the poor beau breed megrims in his brain;
To raiſe loſt ſpirits coſtly fumes prepare,
Nor draw luxuriant, balmy morning air!
Madam, be yours to tread the chilly dew,
Fear not—even ſnakes are harmleſs things to you!
How gay the liv'ries of the month appear!
Maia the faireſt daughter of the year.
In various ranks there downy cowſlips grow,
Laviſh of ſweets here virgin roſes blow;
In yonder ſhade the love-ſick turtle ſighs,
In ſighs as warm the haſty mate replies;
While larks triumphant hov'ring on the wing,
In raptures loſt, uninterrupted ſing.
And oh! to make the landſkip fully bleſt,
Come, blooming health, in angel luſtre dreſt;
Propitious Zephyrs, make a gentle gale,
Waft the bright goddeſs to this peaceful vale.
Here goodneſs dwells——Can goodneſs recommend?
She ſmiles, ſhe comes, celeſtial joys deſcend.

SYLVIUS.

On the Proſpect of a WAR.

AWAKE, *Britannia*'s guardian pow'r,
Each riſing danger wiſely view:
Britons thy wonted aid implore,
And wholly ſeek ſupport from you.

When threat'ning dangers moſt appear,
How oft are firmeſt treaties broke!
When no reſtraints there are to fear,
To keep thoſe treaties,—'tis a joke.

But ceaſe,—and view yon ancient wall,
Thoſe floating bulwarks on the main.
Then fear, thou too aſpiring *Gaul*,
Then dread, thou haughty coward *Spain*.

No more upbraid the watchful pow'r,
Nor deign to drop one ſingle tear!
She ſtill protects this happy hour,
Nor have you, *Britons*, ought to fear.

'Tis true, a while ſhe ſeem'd to ſleep,
Whence barb'rous foes might better know,
That ſtill *Britannia* rules the deep,
Nor fears united force, her foe.

To the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD.

On ETERNAL MISERY.

HEAR, *Whitefield*, hear, and anſwer, if you can;
Learn you from nature's *wiſe*, and *perfect* plan,
That heav'n deſign'd *ne'er-ending woe* for *man?*
Behold this *earth*, with *every beauty* gay;
See, all-rejoicing, ſhine the *god of day*;
The *feather'd ſongſters* hear, in every grove,
Fearleſs of *future woe*, ſweet warbling *love*;
The *flow'ry mead*, the *wide-ſpread down* ſurvey, [*kins* play;
Where graze the *herds*, and where the *lamb-*
And when aſcends the peaceful *queen of night*,
Let the fair *ſtarry hoſt* attract thy ſight:
From *every view* can ought be underſtood,
But *one* Creator, *infinitely good?*
Say, through *all nature* canſt thou find *one* trace,
That *pain eternal* waits the *human race?*
Or learn'ſt thou *this* from *kindneſs* and from *grace?*
What *goſpel*, what *glad-tidings* will thee tell,
Where *boundleſs mercy* can erect its *hell?*
Where *goodneſs*, quite *immenſe*, can *ceaſe* to flow;
And, with *unpitying eye*, view *endleſs* woe?
Think, teacher, think; and anſwer,——Art thon *ſure*,
That *mercy*, which for *ever* muſt endure,
Extends *no longer* to the *ſons of men*,
Than the *ſhort life* of *threeſcore years* and *ten?*
Is *ſuch* God's *favour* to his *creature* man;
His *wrath eternal*, and his *love* a *ſpan?*

EXTEMPORE *on the* Speaker's *ADDRESS to the* King *the laſt Day of the* SESSION.

MATCHLESS in *colour*, peerleſs in it *weight*,
Gold from intrinſick *worth* derives its *rate*.
As nicely ſtandard *Onſlow*'s eloquence,
The ſmootheſt *ſounds*, with the ſublimeſt *ſenſe*.

The MONKEY. *A Tranſlation of the* 20*th* FABLE *of the Archbiſhop of* Cambray.

AN arch old *monkey* being dead,
His ghoſt was to the ſhades convey'd,
Where *Pluto*'s gloomy palace ſtands:
Pug humbly of the god demands,
If he ſuch favour might obtain,
To ſee the living once again.
The god conſented, ſign'd a paſs,
That he ſhou'd animate an aſs,
At his return, left, as before,
He ſhou'd his antick ſports run o'er.
But now his wanton pranks ſo well
He play'd before the god of hell;
That *Pluto*'s countenance awhile
Became ſerene, and ſeem'd to ſmile:

Th'

Th' inexorable god, well pleas'd,
Of all his fears his vot'ry eas'd,
Complying with his full requeſt,
T' aſſume what form ſhould pleaſe him beſt.
Pugg into *parrot* enter'd then,
That he might ſtill converſe with men.
He ſcarce to his new manſion came,
E'er he was purchas'd by a dame,
A chattering goſſip in her doatage,
Who plac'd him in a gilded cage;
All day talk'd to him, call'd him dear,
And ply'd him oft with dainty chear.
Wiſe dame! thy words as rational,
As all replies that come from *Poll*.
How ſoon canſt thou to birds impart
Thy grating, ſhrill, and deaf'ning art!
But wiſer *Poll!* who joins in one,
His old and new profeſſion:
Who can with affectation raiſe
His head; his wings, an hundred ways,
Expand, and with his crackling bill,
Tho' granny's deaf, delight her ſtill.
For ſhe whole afternoons would peer
Thro' ſpectacles at the little dear,
And all the while contented ſit,
Concluding ev'ry word was wit.
But *Poll* at length came to his end,
To ſay the cauſe, I can't pretend;
Whether b' impertinence or wine,
For much to both he did incline,
And always went his grannam's half,
Whene'er ſhe choſe to talk or quaff.
The ghoſt a ſecond time th' abode
Revifits of th' infernal god;
Who now, to ſilence the loud fool,
Damn'd him, for penance, in a pool,
To animate a fiſh. But ghoſt
Thought here his parts wou'd all be loſt,
And ſo began black *Dis* to move,
With the old farce he'd play'd above.
And as a prince is ſeldom wont
To reject the prayers of ſycophant,
A ſecond time he did obtain
A paſs, to animate a *man:*
A gaudy beau, who for his parts,
His chatt'ring, cap'ring, and ſuch arts,
Will not be thought by me alone,
Monkey, and *parrot*, both in one;
A merry-andrew that will laugh,
And ſeem to play the wiſeſt auf;
Will interrupt beſt converſations,
With his inſipid, dull narrations;
Be full of words for a whole day,
Yet nothing to the purpoſe ſay.
Hermes, who is a god profound,
Obſerving oft this ſtrange compound,
Said to him with a ſmile, I know,
Thy various changes, ſenſeleſs beau!
The antick geſtures thou haſt got,
And ſome few words, thou knoweſt not
The meaning of—take theſe from thee,
And then a cypher thou wilt be.
A pretty parrot, and an ape,
Are fitteſt implements to ſhape
A coxcomb, who with modiſh airs,
In all ſocieties appears.
Yet oh! how many are there ſeen,
With artful cringes, ſtudied mien,
And volubility of tongue,
Paſs for fine gentlemen, among
The ſons of men—who moſt abide
In favour of a rich outſide. *P. R.*

To SILVIA.

WHY, *Silvia*, all this needleſs pain,
To be thought more than common;
Indeed, fair maid, 'tis all in vain,
In ſpite of all, 'tis very plain,
You are a very woman.

Whoever hears your ſhort-breath'd ſighs,
Or ſees your boſom pant,
Who marks the languiſh of your eyes,
Or the warm bluſhes as they riſe,
Muſt ſee what 'tis you want.

Then pr'ythee act a natural part,
No longer ſpoil your charms;
Throw off this thin diſguiſe of art,
Freely in ſmiles confeſs your heart,
And take me to your arms.

MOLLY *and* FANNY *compared.*

WHEN *Molly*'s hideous form I view,
And *Fanny*'s lovely face;
Which to avoid, and which purſue,
Seems not a doubtful caſe.

Look upon *Fanny*, and you'll find
Both wit and beauty join
With ev'ry virtue of the mind,
To make her all divine.

If ought engaging there can be,
You'll ſurely ſee it there;
She's courteous, affable, and free,
And as an angel fair.

But *Molly* is by all allow'd,
To ſhare of every evil;
She's aukward, vain, deceitful, proud,
And black as any devil.

Who to gain *Molly* ſhall deſire,
Is ſure to be undone;
She who can all mankind admire,
Can ne'er be true one.

Kind fate! my *Fanny* let me have,
And waft her to my arms;
No other bleſſing will I crave,
But triumph in her charms. *A. B.*

Raphaelis d' Urbin Epitaphium.

ILLE hic eſt Raphael, timuit, quo ſoſpite, vinci
Rerum magna parens, quo moriente, mori.

ENGLISHED.

HERE *Raphael* ſleeps, whom nature fear'd, alive;
But trembled at his death, leſt ſhe ſhould not ſurvive.

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

THE Printer and Publiſher of *Common-Senſe* were taken into Cuſtody, for that Paper of *June* 23, but ſoon admitted to Bail.

SUNDAY, *July* 1.

Three Marching Regiments, under the Command of General *Witham*, who has been in *Scotland* ſix Years, arriv'd at *Finchley*, *Hampſtead*, *Highgate*, and Parts adjacent.

MONDAY, 2.

Three of the Malefactors condemn'd laſt Month at the *Old Baily*, were executed at *Tyburn*; the Boy and another having been repriev'd for Tranſportation. (See p. 307.)

TUESDAY, 3.

Mr. Alderman *Heathcote*, and Sir *John Lequeſne*, Kt. and Alderman, were choſen Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* for the Year enſuing; Mr. *Townſend* having ſworn off, and Mr. *Groſvenor* refuſing to ſerve, as being a Diſſenter (ſee p. 308.)

MONDAY, 9.

Their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales* ſet out for *Tunbridge-Wells*, and arriving at *Southborough*, were receiv'd by the Miniſter and chief Inhabitants of *Tunbridge-Wells*, to the Number of 200, all on Horſeback, with Cockades in their Hats; when a Gentleman, at their Deſire, made the following Addreſs to their Royal Highneſſes.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſſes,

TO permit me, in the Name of the Miniſter and principal Inhabitants of *Tunbridge-Wells*, to congratulate your Royal Highneſſes on your Arrival in this Country; a Country ever zealous for its Liberties, and remarkable for its Loyalty. The many Bleſſings we enjoy under his Majeſty's auſpicious Reign, muſt render every Branch of his Royal Houſe moſt dear to us, whilſt there remains a Senſe of Gratitude and Duty.

Therefore 'tis our ſincereſt Wiſh, that thoſe amiable Pledges of your Royal Loves, which the Almighty has bleſt you with, may beget a long Race of Kings and Heroes, till Time ſhall be no more.

To which his Royal Highneſs was pleaſed to give the following Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

We return you many Thanks for this kind Addreſs.

TUESDAY, 10.

The moſt remarkable Thing this Month, was the following Order of Council, viz.

Whereas many and repeated Depredations have been committed, and many unjuſt Seizures have been made in the *Weſt-Indies* and elſe-where, by *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's* and Ships acting under the Commiſſions of the King of *Spain* or his Governors, contrary to the Law of Nations, and in Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the Crown of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, whereby his Majeſty's trading Subjects have not only ſuſtained great Loſſes, but have alſo ſuffered in their Perſons by the Cruelties and Barbarities which have been exerciſed by the ſaid *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*: And whereas his Majeſty has cauſed repeated Inſtances and Repreſentations to be made from Time to Time at the Court of *Spain*, in order to obtain Redreſs and Satisfaction for ſuch injurious Treatment and unjuſt Practices, and to prevent the like Violences for the future: And whereas a Convention for making Reparation to his Majeſty's Subjects for their Loſſes by the ſaid Depredations and Seizures, was concluded between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain* on the Fourteenth Day of *January* laſt, N. S. by which Convention it was ſtipulated, that a certain Sum of Money ſhould be paid at *London* within a Term in the Convention ſpecified, as a Balance admitted to be due on the Part of *Spain* to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, which Term did expire on the Twenty-fifth Day of *May* laſt; and the Payment of the ſaid ſtipulated Sum, as agreed by the abovementioned Convention, has not been made, by which Means the ſaid Convention has been violated and broke on the Part of the Crown of *Spain*, and his Majeſty's Subjects remain without any Reparation or Satisfaction for their many, great, and grievous Loſſes; his Majeſty hath therefore taken this injurious Proceeding of the Crown of *Spain* into his ſerious Conſideration, and his Majeſty having determined to take ſuch Meaſures as are neceſſary for vindicating the Honour of his Crown, and for procuring Reparation and Satisfaction to his injured Subjects, is pleaſed by and with the Advice of his Privy-Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That general Reprizals be granted againſt the Ships, Goods, and Subjects of the King of *Spain*, ſo that as well his Majeſty's Fleet and Ships, as alſo all other Ships and Veſſels that ſhall be commiſſionated by Letters of Marque or general Reprizals, or otherwiſe by his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, ſhall and may lawfully ſeize all Ships, Veſſels, and

Goods

Goods belonging to the King of *Spain* or his Subjects, or others inhabiting within any the Territories of the King of *Spain*, and bring the ſame to Judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majeſty's Dominions; and to that End, his Majeſty's Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the Draught of a Commiſſion, and preſent the ſame to his Majeſty at this Board, authorizing the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral to iſſue forth and grant Letters of Marque and Reprizal to any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or others whom the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall deem fitly qualified in that Behalf, for the apprehending, ſeizing, and taking the Ships, Veſſels, and Goods belonging to *Spain*, and the Vaſſals and Subjects of the King of *Spain*, or any inhabiting within his Countries, Territories, or Dominions; and that ſuch Powers and Clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid Commiſſion, as have been uſual and are according to former Precedents: And his Majeſty's ſaid Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are alſo forthwith to prepare the Draught of a Commiſſion, and preſent the ſame to his Majeſty at this Board, authorizing the ſaid Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral, to Will and Require the High Court of Admiralty of *Great Britain*, and the Lieutenant and Judge of the ſaid Court, as alſo the ſeveral Courts of Admiralty within his Majeſty's Dominions, to take Cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon all and all Manner of Captures, Seizures, Prizes, and Reprizals of all Ships and Goods that are or ſhall be taken, and to hear and determine the ſame, and according to the Courſe of Admiralty, and the Laws of Nations, to adjudge and condemn all ſuch Ships, Veſſels, and Goods, as ſhall belong to *Spain*, or the Vaſſals and Subjects of the King of *Spain*, or to any others inhabiting within any of his Countries, Territories, and Dominions; and that ſuch Powers and Clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid Commiſſion, as have been uſual, and are according to former Precedents: And they are likewiſe to prepare and lay before his Majeſty at this Board, a Draught of ſuch Inſtructions as may be proper to be ſent to the Courts of Admiralty in his Majeſty's foreign Governments and Plantations for their Guidance herein; as alſo another Draught of Inſtructions for ſuch Ships, as ſhall be commiſſionated for the Purpoſes aforementioned. *From the Council Chamber at* Whitehall, *the Tenth Day of* July, 1739.

Jo. Cant' Lan. Ebor' Wilmington, P. Godolphin, C. P. S. Dorſet. Holles Newcaſtle. Cholmondeley. Torrington. Ar. Onſlow.

WEDNESDAY, 11.

Advice came, that the *Britiſh* Conſuls at *Malaga*, *Alicant*, and other Ports of *Spain*, had given Directions to the Commanders of *Britiſh* Ships to depart with the utmoſt Expedition.

TUESDAY, 17.

Edward Vernon, Eſq; lately made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, ſet out for *Portſmouth*, to ſail with the firſt fair Wind, with the Men of War under his Command, for the *Weſt-Indies*. Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was at the ſame Time made Rear of the Blue.

Sir *John Norris* commands a Squadron of 26 Sail of the Line of Battle, and 3 Fire-Ships, in the Channel.

FRIDAY, 20.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the 5 following Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Francis Trumball*, a Quaker, for robbing Mr. *Thomas Brown*, of a Silver Watch, on the Highway, near *Brook-houſe*, *Hackney*.—*George Broderick*, formerly a Poſt-Boy, for robbing *William Reynolds* on the Highway, of a Silver Watch, a Mourning Ring, and ſome Silver.—*Thomas Bridge*, for the Murder of his Wife in *Baldwin*'s Gardens.—*David Roberts*, for High Treaſon, in diminiſhing the current Coin of this Kingdom.—*Sarah Kingman*, for picking the Pocket of *Moſes Wheeler*, of 3 Shillings.

SATURDAY, 21.

Notice was given by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that, in Purſuance of his Majeſty's Commiſſion under the Great Seal, Letters of Marque or general Reprizals againſt the Ships, Goods, and Subjects of the King of *Spain*, were ready to be iſſued to any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or others, who are willing to fit out any Ship or Veſſel againſt *Spain*, whom their Lordſhips ſhall deem fitly qualify'd for the ſame, upon their giving the uſual Security, not to take, or any Ways moleſt, the Ships, Goods, or Effects of the Subjects of his Majeſty, or his Allies.

A large Horſeman's Sword, ſuppoſed to be made between 3 and 400 Years ago, was dug up near the Shore of the Woolſtaple, where the Abutments of the new Bridge are to be built. It has a Baſket Hilt, and the Pomel as big as a ſmall Turnip; and altho' it had been buried in the Shore ſo long, under Water for the moſt Part of the Time, the Goodneſs of the Steel has prevented its being injured much with Time. Several ancient Coins were likewiſe dug up, particularly one of the Emperor *Domitian*, of Copper. Alſo ſeveral Coins of Copper and Braſs of Q. *Elizabeth*, K. *James* I. and K. *Charles* I.

THURSDAY, 26.

The Parliament which ſtood prorogued to *Thurſday*, *Aug.* 9. was order'd to be further prorogued to *Thurſday*, *Oct.* 18.

The Embargo was order'd to be taken off the Shipping, and the next Day the Admiralty ſent Directions to all the Sea Ports accordingly.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, 28.

A Proclamation was publiſh'd, allowing a further Time for Sailors, &c. to enter on board the Fleet, and aſſuring them of ſix Months Pay, provided they enter on or before *Aug.* 24.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

MR. *Cheſter*, Brother to *Tho. Cheſter*, Eſq; Member of Parl. for *Glouceſterſhire*, to Mrs. *Bromley*, Relict of *William Bromley*, Eſq;

Mr. *Edw. Neave*, an eminent Soap-boiler, to Miſs *Jane Hudſon* of *Mouſley*.

Mr. *Winchester*, Surgeon, to Miſs *Grant*, Daughter of Mr. *Grant*, one of the Common-Council Men for *Queen-hith* Ward.

John Nourſe, of *Woodeaton*, in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq; to the eldeſt Daughter of *Paul Jodrell*, of *Chancery-Lane*, Eſq;

Lieut. *Bateman*, to Miſs *Margaret Tomlin*, an Heireſs of about 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

Legh Maſter, Eſq; Member for *Newton* in *Lancaſhire*, to Miſs *Anne Smith*, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

The Lady of *Gerard Napier*, Eſq; Brother to Sir *William Napier*, Bart. ſafely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Lady Viſcounteſs *Limerick*, in *Ireland*, of a Son.

The Lady *Bridges*, Siſter to the Counteſs of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, and Wife to *Charles Fielding*, Eſq; of a Son.

Dutcheſs of *Portland* delivered of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

WILLIAM *Thorne*, of *Horn-Caſtle*, *Lincolnſhire*, Eſq; formerly one of the Directors of the *S. S.* Company.

Right Rev. Dr. *Francis Hutchinſon*, Lord Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor* in *Ireland*.

At *Cooperſhall* in *Eſſex*, *William Archer*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Berks*.

The Wife of *Stephen Biſſe*, Eſq; Member for *New Romney*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Victualling, &c.

Rev. Mr. *John Wright*, Lecturer of *Stepney*, ſuddenly.

Mr. *William Jones*, formerly an Attorney in the Common Law, but latterly a Civilian. He was noted for one of the deepeſt Baſs Voices in the Kingdom.

The Rev. Dr. *Naylor*, Dean of *Wincheſter*, and Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Sarum*.

At his Seat at *Melton-Conſtable* in *Norfolk*, aged upwards of 70, Sir *Philip Aſtley*, Bart. of *Melton-Conſtable* aforeſaid, and of *Hill-Morton* in *Warwickſhire*. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, now Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, Bart.

——— *Morſon*, Eſq; formerly an eminent Banker in *Lombard-ſtreet*.

Hon. *George Monſon*, Eſq; Brother to the Lord *Monſon*.

Mr. *Pemberton*, an eminent Bookſeller in *Fleetſtreet*.

Mr. *Sam. Woollaſton*, one of the Common-Council Men of *Farringdon*-Ward within.

Spark Moleſworth, of the *Temple*, Eſq; only Brother of Sir *John Moleſworth*, Bart. abroad.

In *Cornwall*, Sir *John Coryton*, Bart.

At *Chelſea*, Mrs. *Chriſtiana Davis*, who for ſeveral Years ſerved as a Dragoon undiſcover'd in the Royal *Iriſh* Inniſkilling Regiment; but receiving a Wound in K. *William*'s Wars at *Aghrim* in *Ireland*, ſhe was then diſcover'd; tho' her Comrade had not the leaſt Suſpicion of her being a Woman: She behaved with great Valour, was afterwards in *Flanders*, and was very uſeful in a Battle or a Siege to ſupply the Solders, &c. with Water and other Neceſſaries, even to the Mouth of a Cannon. She, for her courageous Behaviour, obtain'd his late Majeſty's Letter for an Allowance out of *Chelſea* College of 1 *s. per* Day, which ſhe receiv'd till her Death. And her Corpſe, according to her Deſire, was interr'd amongſt the old Penſioners in *Chelſea* Burying-Ground, and three grand Vollies fired over her Grave.

At *Caermarthen*, Sir *John Rudd*, Bart.

Rev. Dr. *Baron*, Dean of *Norwich*.

Rev. Dr. *Burgh*, Chanter of *Emely* in *Ireland*, and Miniſter of *Fetbard* in the County of *Tipperary*.

In *Water-Lane*, *Fleet-ſtreet*, one *Anne Deacon*, an elderly Woman, who uſed to aſk Alms at Church Doors and elſewhere, in whoſe Room, after her Deceaſe, were found 100 Guineas, 35 l. in Silver, and a Bond of 150 l. on a conſiderable Tradeſman.

Rev. Mr. *Gibſon*, M. A. Fellow of *Lincoln-College*, and Chaplain to the Duke of *Hamilton*.

Hon. Mrs. *Charlotte Weldon*, eldeſt Daughter of *William Paſton*, late Earl and Viſcount *Yarmouth*, by his Lady *Charlotte Jemia Maria Boyle*, natural Daughter to King *Charles* II.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Cookeſey*, nominated by the Dean and Chapter of *Worceſter*, to the Living of *Wimbleton* in *Surry*.

Dr. *Wynn*, elected Canon Reſidentiary of *Sarum*, in the room of Dr. *Eyre*, deceas'd.

Dr. *Zachary Pearſe*, made Dean of *Wincheſter*, in the room of the late Dr. *Naylor*.

Mr. *George Farwell*, preſented to the Living of *Biſhops-Lediard* in *Somerſetſhire*.

John Evanſon, M. A. to the Prebendary of *Somerſley*, in the Cathedral Church of *Chicheſter*.

John Thomas, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Llancarvan*, *Glamorganſhire*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

RT. Hon Sir *William Yonge*, Bart. and Knt. of the *Bath*, made Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Carnarvon*.

Mrs. *Groſvenor* made Houſekeeper of *Somerſet-Houſe* Palace.

His Majeſty has made the following Promotions of General Officers.

The Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Shannon*, and the Marquis de *Montandre*, to be Field-Marſhals of his Majeſty's Armies.

General *Evans* and General *Wade*, Generals of the Horſe.

The Major-Generals are promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant-Generals.

The Brigadier-Generals, to that of Major-Generals; *Thomas Paget*, Eſq; the youngeſt of them.

And moſt of the old Colonels are made Brigadier Generals.

Hon. *George Wade*, Eſq; General of the Horſe, made Commander in Chief of all and ſingular his Majeſty's Forces in *South-Britain*.

Lieut. Gen. *Jaſper Clayton*, made General and Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Forces in *North-Britain*, in the Room of General *Wade*.

Francis Godolphin, Eſq; made Lieut. Gov. of the Iſle of *Scilly*.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Follyard*, of *Lavenham*, *Suffolk*, Linen-draper.

John Martin, of *Abington*, *Berks*, Taylor and Saleſman.

Lewis Pouchet, of *Chriſt-Church*, *Middleſex*, Weaver.

James Edwards, of *Conduit-ſtreet*, St. *George Hanover-Square*, *Middleſex*. Grocer.

John Batten, of the *Old Artillery Ground*, *Middleſex*, Weaver.

Jonathan Hyron, of *New Bond-ſtreet*, *Hanover-Square*, Linen-draper.

Alexander Gordon, late of St. *Anne*, *Weſtminſter*, Merchant.

Joſeph Morley, of *Craven-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*, Woodmonger.

James Broadhurſt, late of *Fore-ſtreet*, *London*, Grocer.

John Gimbart and *Richard Gimbart*, of *Southwark*, Brewers and Partners.

William Bradley, of *Gedney*, Dealer in Wool.

Thomas Bateman, of St. *Sepulchre's*, *Middleſex*, Butcher.

Thomas Moulden, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, *London*, Goldſmith.

John Lance, of *Stratton-ſtreet*, St. *George Hanover-ſquare*, Dealer in Wines.

George Burnett, of *Tooly-ſtreet*, St. *Olave*, *Southwark*, Egg-Merchant.

Woolf Huffmaſter, of *New Windſor*, *Berkſhire*, Victualler.

Thomas Ford, late of St. *Catharine Coleman*, *London*, Victualler.

Joſeph Matthews, of St. *Olave*, *Southwark*, Button-ſeller.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	93 ¾ a 94	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	15*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.*	none
—*Annu.*	107 ⅜ a 8½ a 8	*Lon. ditto*	10 ⅞
Bank	137 ¼ a ½	3 *per C. An.*	½ 98 a 97
—*Circ.*	3*l.* 5*s.*	*Salt Tallies*	½ a 1*l.* ½
Mil. Bank	115	*Emp. Loan*	105 ½
India	154 a 153 ¾	*Equiv.*	112
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 5*s.* a 12*s* a 8	*Lot. Tick.*	5*s.*

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 8	*Bilboa*	38 ⅞
D. Sight	35 6 a 5 ½	*Leghorn*	49 ⅛ a ¼
Rotter.	35 10 2 ½	*Genoa*	52
Hamb.	34 6 2 ½ a 5	*Venice*	50 ⅛ a ¼
P. Sight	30 15/16 a 31	*Lisb.*	5*s* 5*d* ⅛ a ¼
Bourdx.	30 ¾	*Oport.*	5*s* 5*d* ¼
Cadiz	39 ⅝ a ¾	*Antw.*	36 6
Madrid	39 ½	*Dublin*	9 ¼ a ⅛

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29 33	*Oats*	11 14
Rye	12 16	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 17	*Peaſe*	28 28
H. Beans	19 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 18
P. Malt	19 24	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *June* 26. to *July* 24.

Chriſtned	Males 580, Females 555		1135
Buried	Males 766, Females 788		1554
Died under 2 Years old			636
Between	2 and 5		147
	5	10	60
	10	20	61
	20	30	105
	30	40	153
	40	50	126
	50	60	120
	60	70	57
	70	80	58
	80	90	27
	90 and upwards		4
			1554

Hay 36 to 42*s.* a Load.

WE

WE have often long Paragraphs publiſhed in our News-Papers by Way of Letters from the *Hague*, which we do not think deſerve a Place in our Collection, becauſe they are all ſuppoſed to be cooked up here. However, we ſhall give our Readers one of thoſe lately publiſhed, which was as follows, *viz.* "*Hague*, *July* 17, N. S. 'Tis juſt now reported here, that through the Vigilance and Activity of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, a Diſcovery has been made of a formidable Deſign laid to invade *Great Britain*, in favour of the Pretender, which, 'tis ſaid, was to have been executed by *Spain*, *Sweden*, and a third Power, which every Body imagines muſt be *France*. This unqueſtionably muſt have been the Cauſe of the great Armament made at this Time by the Court of *Great Britain*, and not merely its Conteſts with *Spain*; and this occaſioned the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador, in his laſt Conference with the Members of the Government, not only to make a freſh Demand of the Succours ſtipulated by antient Treaties, but likewiſe that their High Mightineſſes would enter into a ſtricter Alliance with his *Britannick* Majeſty than hitherto, for their mutual Security, and for the Defence of their juſt Rights. That Miniſter, at the ſame Time alſo repreſented, that the Conduct of *Spain* was ſuch as would no longer admit of the Ways of Negotiation, and as the Republick had its Grievances to be redreſſed, his *Britannick* Majeſty propoſed to act in Concert with it, in order to force that Power to do Juſtice to the Subjects of the two Nations. Which Propoſals their High Mightineſſes, as uſual, took Time to conſider on. Many Colonels and *Dutch* Officers already ſollicit to go into *England*, in caſe the 6000 Men be ſent thither."

This ſuppoſed Letter we have given our Readers, becauſe we look upon it as the Forerunner to the Diſcovery of a Plot at Home; though we are convinced, that no Man of the leaſt Conſequence will be found to be concerned in any ſuch Plot or Deſign. That ſuch Deſigns may be laid abroad, when we are at Variance with any Foreign Power, requires no great Vigilance or Activity to diſcover; for ſuch Deſigns will certainly be laid by every Foreign Power, that may have any Difference with us: But ſuch Threats, or ſuch Deſigns, will never, we hope, frighten our Adminiſtration from vindicating the Honour, or aſſerting the Rights, of the Nation, againſt any Power that ſhall dare to injure the one, or invade the other; for while our Adminiſtration preſerves the Affections of the People, and that Influence which this Nation may always have upon the Councils of every Potentate in *Europe*, they may as much deſpiſe ſuch Threats and Deſigns, as they were deſpiſed during the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*.

We have long Accounts from *Spain* of the great Advantages that will be made in that Kingdom by the late Reduction or Abolition of Penſions and extravagant Salaries, and by reducing the Expence in all other Branches of their Civil Government. This ſhews the good Intention of their Miniſters, and if they can ſupport this Meaſure, that Kingdom may ſoon make as great a Figure in *Europe* as it formerly has done; for they have a vaſt publick Revenue, but it has for many Years been diſſipated and conſumed in uſeleſs Penſions, extravagant Salaries, and unaccountable Charges for the Support of their Civil Government, which prevented their being able to ſupport any great Armies at Land, or to ſend any formidable Squadrons to Sea.

From the ſame Place we hear, that Mr. *Keen*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter, delivered, ſoon after the Beginning of laſt Month, a Declaration to the Marquis *de Villarias*, the Subſtance of which was as follows. "That beſides what relates to the *South-Sea* Company, and the *Aſſiento* Treaty, his *Britannick* Majeſty inſiſts upon the King's executing, without Delay, the Engagements which he contracted by the Convention, ſigned at the *Pardo* the 14th of laſt *January*; that his Majeſty ſhall likewiſe renounce the Right he pretends to have to viſit the *Engliſh* Ships in the Seas of the *Weſt-Indies*; that this Renunciation muſt be inſerted in the new Treaty to be concluded between the two Crowns; that the King ſhall acknowledge the Juſtice of the Rights on which are founded the Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhments on the Confines of *Georgia* and *Carolina*; Conditions which his *Britannick* Majeſty thinks he has the more Right to inſiſt upon, inaſmuch as the Payment of the 95,000*l.* bears no Manner of Proportion with the great Expences the *Britiſh* Nation is put to in the preſent Juncture; and that if theſe Conditions were not accepted, he (Mr. *Keen*) and Mr. *Caſtres*, muſt break off all Conferences, and return home." And by later Accounts we are told, that towards the End of the ſame Month, the ſame Miniſter, upon the Receipt of an Expreſs from *London*, went to Court and declared, that Affairs between the two Crowns were ſo circumſtanced, that his *Britannick* Majeſty was determined to permit his Subjects to make Repriſals upon the *Spaniards*. But as that Miniſter is not yet retired from the Court of *Madrid*, nor the *Spaniſh* Miniſter from this, we ſhall not promiſe, that theſe Accounts are authentick.

The *French* Squadron, conſiſting of four Men of War of the Line, and a Frigate of 18 Guns, arrived at *Stockholm* the 19th of laſt Month; but we do not hear, that either they, or the *Swediſh* Squadron, have as yet undertaken any Thing in the *Baltick*.

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. *PERUVIAN* Tales. Vol. 3. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 12mo, price 3 *s.*

2. Laugh and lie down. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 1*s.*

3. Sermo Pedestris. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

4. The pious Youth. A Poem. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

5. An Imitation of *Horace*'s ſixteenth Epode. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

6. Don *Sancho*. By *E. B.* Sold by the Author, price 6*d.*

7. The univerſal Songſter. Printed for Meſſ. *Hazard*, *Ward*, and *Chandler*, price 2*s.*

8. The Stag-Chace, *&c.* A Poem. Printed for *J. Shuckburgh*, price 1*s.*

LAW.

9. * The Pleas of the Crown. In 2 Parts. By Serj. *Hawkins*. The 3d Edit. Sold by *S. Birt*, *D. Browne*, *J. Shuckburgh*, and *J. Stagg*, folio, price 1*l.* 10*s.*

10. A Treatiſe of common Recoveries. By *N. Pigott*, Eſq; Printed for *J. Shuckburgh*, 4to, price 6*s.* ſew'd.

11. A Summary of Deſcents in Fee ſimple. Sold by *Ward* and *Chandler*, price 6*d.*

12. Laws relating to the Poor. By *R. Foley*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Woodward*, pr. 4*s.* 6*d.*

13. In Honorem Legis Oratio ſcripta Hon. Rich. Verney. Printed for *J. Wilcox*, pr. 1*s.*

14. * Rules and Orders of the High Court of Chancery. The 4th Edit. enlarg'd. Printed for *J. Worrall*, 8vo, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

15. A new Abridgment of the publick Statutes. By *J. Cay*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Goſling*. In 2 Vols. Folio, price 2*l.* 5*s.*

16. An hiſtorical View of the Court of Exchequer. Printed for *T. Waller*, 8vo, pr. 3*s.* 6*d.*

17. A Summary of the Crown Law. By Serj. *Hawkins*. Printed for *T. Waller*. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 10*s.*

18. * The Hiſtory of the common Law of *England*. By Sir *M. Hale*, Kt. The 3d Edit. Printed for *T. Waller*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

19. The true Character of Mr. *Whitefield*. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 6*d.*

20. The Conduct of Mr. *Whitefield* vindicated. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 6*d.*

21. A Continuation of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Journal. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 1*s.*

22. A Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 6*d.*

23. Enthuſiaſm explain'd. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 6*d.*

24. A Dialogue between Mr. *Whitefield* and Mr. *Garnor*. Printed for *J. Cricbley*, pr. 4*d.*

25. The Life of Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *M. Watſon*, price 3*d.*

26. The mock Preacher. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

27. Dr. *Trapp* vindicated from the Imputation of being a Chriſtian. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

28. An Anſwer to Dr. *Trapp*'s four Sermons againſt Mr. *Whitefield*. By *R. Seagrave*, A. M. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, and *R. Hett*, price 6*d.*

29. A compleat Account of the Conduct of Mr. *Whitefield*. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

30. The Methodiſts. By *T. H.* Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

31. Dr. *Trapp* try'd and caſt. Sold by *J. Noon*, price 6*d.*

32. College Wit ſharpen'd. Printed for *J. Wadham*, price 6*d.*

33. * Reflexions upon Polygamy. The 2d Edit. Printed for Meſſ. *Rivington*, *Waltboe*, and *Woodward*, price 2*s.* in Sheets.

34. A Philoſophical Diſſertation upon the Inlets to human Knowledge. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

35. Rules and Directions relating to the Militia. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 6*d.*

36. The Odes, *&c.* of *Horace* tranſlated into *Engliſh* Proſe; with Notes. Book I. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 1*s.*

37. Miſcellanies in Proſe and Verſe. By Meſſ. *Bellamy*, Vol. 1. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 12mo, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

38. Modern Book-keeping. By *R. Hayes*. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

39. The preſent State of Matrimony. Printed for *J. Hawkins*, price 1*s.*

40. Matrimony. Printed for *T. Read*, pr. 1*s.*

41. A Deſcription of ſome curious and uncommon Creatures; being an Addition to two former Books on the ſame Subjects. Printed for *R. Ware*, 12mo, price 2*s.*

42. Memorials and Characters. Numb. 9. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s.*

PHYSICK.

43. *Boerhaave*'s Treatiſe of the *Materia Medica*, &c. Printed for *G. Hawkins* and *E. Littleton*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

44. The Truth unveiled for the Publick. By *Omnelio Pitcairne*, M. D. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

45. An Account of Mrs. *Stephens*'s Medicines in *Ireland*. Sold by *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s.*

46. A Treatiſe on Diſſolvents of the Stone. By Dr. *Lobb*. Printed for *J. Buckland*, pr 5*s.*

47. Obſervationes de Aere & Morbis Epidemicis, Plymuthi factæ. *A. Joh. Huxham*, M. D. Apud *S. Auſten*, 8vo, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

POLITICAL.

48. A View of the Political Tranſactions of *Great Britain*, ſince the Convention was approved by Parliament. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

49. *French* Counſels deſtructive to *Great Britain*. Sold by *J. Brett*, price 1*s.*

50. An Addreſs to the true Proteſtants of *Great Britain*, Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d.*

51. A Diſplay of *French* Politicks. By a true *Briton*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

52. The true Intereſt of the Princes of *Europe* at this Juncture. Printed for *J. Brett*, pr. 1*s.*

53. A Dialogue which lately paſſed between the Knight and his Man *John*. Printed for *W. Lloyd*, price 1*s.*

[*The reſt in our next.*]

THE
LONDON MAGAZINE.
AUGUST, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 335.

SOON after the Beginning of laſt Seſſion of Parliament, the Gentlemen of our Club foreſaw, that ſome Queſtion relating to the Convention, which had juſt before been concluded with *Spain*, would probably come before Parliament, and conſequently would become the Subject of a Debate at ſome of our future Meetings; our Converſation therefore turned, at a Meeting we had, the 6th of *February* laſt, upon, what Papers were neceſſary to be ſeen, in order to give Gentlemen a thorough Light into that grand Affair; upon which Occaſion, ſeveral Things were propoſed, which were unanimouſly approved of; but *L. Junius Brutus* having ſaid, that if he were a Member, he would move for the two following Reſolutions, *viz.* That an humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions for laying before Parliament, Copies of all Letters written, and Inſtructions given by the Secretaries of State, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, to any of the Governors of the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, or any Commander in Chief, or Captains of his Majeſty's Ships of War, or his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of *Spain*, or any of his Majeſty's Conſuls in *Europe*, ſince the Treaty of *Seville*, relating to any Loſſes ſuſtained by his Majeſty's Subjects, by Means of Depredations committed by the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, in *Europe* or *America*, which had not before been laid before Parliament. And,

That an humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions for laying before Parliament, Copies of ſuch Memorials or Repreſentations, as had been made either to the King of *Spain* or his Miniſters, ſince the Treaty of *Seville*, relating to Loſſes ſuſtained by his Majeſty's Subjects, by Means of Depredations committed by the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, in *Europe* or *America*, which had not before been laid before Parliament.

As ſeveral Gentlemen thought that theſe two Queſtions might admit of ſome Debate, it was reſolved to make this the Queſtion of the Day, whereupon L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up, and ſpoke in favour of the Reſolutions he had propoſed, to the Effect as follows,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

AS his Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, acquainted us, that the Treaty or Convention lately concluded with *Spain*, would be laid before us in this Seſſion of Parliament, and as we muſt preſume, that when it is laid before us and taken into Conſideration, ſome Sort of Propoſition or Motion will be made, either for approving or diſapproving of that Treaty, we ought therefore to have every Thing laid before us that may any Way relate to it, or to the long Negotiation that was carried on for bringing it about. When I ſay ſo, Sir, I do not mean that we are either to approve or diſapprove of any Thing that has been done by his Majeſty: In all ſuch Caſes we are to look upon what has been done, as done by his Majeſty's Miniſters, and their Doings we may cenſure, we may condemn, we have often too good Reaſon to condemn. What may be the Fate of this Convention, or what Fate it may deſerve to meet with in this Houſe, I ſhall not now pretend to determine; but that we may neither juſtify nor condemn, applaud nor cenſure, without a good Reaſon, I think it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to know, how Matters ſtand, at preſent, between us and *Spain:* What are the chief Cauſes of the Diſputes that have ſo long ſubſiſted between the two Nations: And what Meaſures have been taken for clearing up or putting an End to thoſe Diſputes.

For this Purpoſe, Sir, it is certainly as neceſſary for us to ſee the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to the Governors of our Plantations, or to any Commander in Chief, or Captains of his Majeſty's Ships of War, eſpecially ſuch of them as have been ſtationed in the *Weſt-Indies*, relating to the *Spaniſh* Depredations, as it is for us to ſee the Letters received from them; and as you have already reſolved to addreſs for the latter, if you act conſiſtently, you muſt reſolve to addreſs for the former likewiſe; for it will be impoſſible to underſtand or comprehend fully the Meaning of thoſe Letters that have been received from them, without having at the ſame Time before you, the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to them, relating to the Depredations committed by the *Spaniards*. Nay, it muſt be allowed, that it is more neceſſary for us to ſee the Letters and Inſtructions that have been ſent, than to ſee the Letters that have been received; for it is not the Conduct of our Governors or Commanders, it is the Conduct of our Miniſters that muſt, upon the preſent Occaſion, be the Subject of our Enquiry; and their Conduct can appear only from the Letters and Inſtructions they have ſent.

As the *Spaniards*, Sir, have of late Years ſet up ſeveral unjuſt Claims againſt us, as they have under Colour of thoſe Claims, for ſeveral Years, without Intermiſſion, committed great Depredations upon our Merchants, and as our Miniſters could not but foreſee, that in their Way of Negotiating, it would be a long Time before the Diſputes between the two Nations could be adjuſted by Treaty, it was incumbent upon them to ſend, in the mean Time, ſuch Inſtructions to our Governors and Commanders in the *Weſt-Indies*, as were moſt proper for preventing any new Depredation; becauſe every new Depredation

dation that was committed, was not only a new Inſult put upon the Crown of *Great Britain*, and a new Loſs to our Merchants, but it was alſo a new Difficulty thrown in the Way of their Negotiation; for ſurely they were not ſo ſhort-ſighted as not to foreſee, that the higher our Demands roſe, the more difficult they would find it to obtain Redreſs by peaceable Methods. It was therefore their Duty to ſend ſuch Inſtructions to the Governors of our Plantations, and to the chief Commanders or Captains of his Majeſty's Ships of War, ſtationed in thoſe Parts, as might prevent any of our Merchant-Ships falling into the Hands of the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas*; but whether they have performed, or failed in their Duty, in this Reſpect, can be known only by ſeeing the Letters or Inſtructions they have ſent: We can get no proper Inſight into it, from any of the Letters they have received.

Then, Sir, as to the Letters and Inſtructions given to his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of *Spain*, and Conſuls in *Europe*, relating to any Loſſes ſuſtained by his Majeſty's Subjects, by Depredations committed by the *Spaniards*, in *Europe* or *America*, we have already reſolved to addreſs for the Letters received from them upon that Subject; which ſhews that we think it neceſſary for us to ſee thoſe Letters upon this Occaſion; but I ſhould be glad to know, what Uſe we can make of the Letters received from them, unleſs we have at the ſame Time before us, the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to them: The former muſt neceſſarily relate to the latter, and therefore it is impoſſible to underſtand, or make any Thing of the former, without ſeeing the latter. For my own Part, I ſhall not be at the Pains to peruſe, or ſo much as look into any of the Letters we have reſolved to addreſs for, unleſs I have at the ſame Time an Opportunity of ſeeing the Letters and Inſtructions now propoſed to be addreſſed for; and I muſt ſuſpect that thoſe who are againſt the Reſolutions now propoſed, are conſcious that ſome falſe Step or wrong Meaſure will appear from a full View of this Correſpondence, and that therefore they have a Mind to baffle the Effect of the Reſolutions we have come to, by getting a Negative put upon thoſe Reſolutions, which, 'tis now propoſed, we ſhould come to.

As our Miniſters abroad, Sir, act only by the Orders and Inſtructions they receive from hence, their Conduct cannot come properly under our Conſideration, till we have examined into the Conduct of thoſe that gave them their Orders or Inſtructions, unleſs it ſhould be ſaid that they had exceeded their Inſtructions, or not fulfilled, or diſobeyed, the Orders they received. Our firſt Buſineſs muſt therefore be, to examine into the Conduct of thoſe, who gave them their Orders or Inſtructions, and this we cannot do without ſeeing thoſe Orders and Inſtructions. Even if it ſhould be ſaid, that they had exceeded or acted contrary to their Inſtructions, it is what we cannot enquire into, nor form any Judgment of, without ſeeing thoſe Inſtructions; and therefore, I muſt think, that in either Caſe, it is more neceſſary for us, upon the preſent Occaſion, to have laid before us, the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſter in *Spain*, and Conſuls in *Europe*, than to have laid before us, the Letters that have been received from them: For which Reaſon, I cannot but be ſurprized, that any Gentleman who agreed to our addreſſing for the latter, ſhould oppoſe our addreſſing for the former.

Sir, The Indignities that have been put upon the Crown and Flag of *Great Britain*, the Inſults that have been put upon the Nation, and

the Injuries that have been done to our Merchants and Seamen, have been ſo great, ſo frequent, and ſo long continued, that I am amazed how the Affair could continue ſo long in the Shape of a Negotiation. Conſidering the Treatment ſome of his Majeſty's Subjects had met with, and the Dangers our Trade lay expoſed to, it became abſolutely neceſſary for us to make Remonſtances to the Court of *Spain* in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and to inſiſt upon a ſpeedy and categorical Anſwer. If we had done ſo, it is hardly poſſible the Affair could have remained ſo long in the Shape of a Negotiation; it muſt, long before now, have come to an open Rupture, or a real, and not a ſham definitive Treaty; and therefore, I am apt to ſuſpect, that the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to our Miniſters abroad, have not been ſuch as they ought to have been. This, with ſome Gentlemen, may be a good Reaſon for not having thoſe Letters and Inſtructions made publick; but with me, it is a ſtrong, an unanſwerable Reaſon, for having all thoſe Letters and Inſtructions laid before this Houſe.

Theſe, Sir, are my Reaſons for the firſt Reſolution I have taken the Liberty to propoſe; and as for the other, it is of ſuch a Nature, that I am ſurprized how any Gentleman can think, that we can know any Thing of the Convention that is to be laid before us, or of the Negotiation that has been carried on for bringing it about, without ſeeing the Memorials and Repreſentations that have been made to the King of *Spain* or his Miniſters, relating to the *Spaniſh* Depredations. I hope, that, upon our Part at leaſt, there are no Secrets between our Miniſters and the Court of *Spain*, but what may be divulged to this Houſe, or even to the whole Nation: I hope the Memorials and Repreſentations drawn up and ſent to *Spain* by our Miniſters, contain nothing but a plain Repreſentation of our Rights, and of the Injuries we have ſuffered, and an honeſt, tho' peremptory Demand of Satisfaction, Reparation, and Security. If this be the Caſe, the laying them before this Houſe, can be attended with no bad Conſequence: It can no Way interrupt the Courſe of our Negotiations, nor can it bring a Cenſure upon any Man that was concerned in drawing them up. If I had moved for the Memorials, Repreſentations, or Anſwers, that had been delivered to his Majeſty, or any of his Miniſters, in the Name, and by Order of the King of *Spain*, it might perhaps have been ſaid, that the laying of ſuch Papers before this Houſe, would interrupt the Courſe, and might prevent the Effect of our peaceable Negotiations; becauſe the Court of *Spain* might from thence draw a Pretence, for refuſing to correſpond or treat any longer with thoſe, who could conceal nothing that was wrote or ſaid to them. Tho' I do not think there is much in this Argument, and tho' I am of Opinion, that we ought, upon this Occaſion, to ſee even the Memorials, Repreſentations, or Anſwers, delivered by the Court of *Spain*, yet I purpoſely avoided including them in my Motion, that there might be no Pretence for making an Objection againſt it; for I am ſure, the Court of *Spain* can have no Pretence for taking it amiſs, that a *Britiſh* Parliament ſhould be allowed to ſee thoſe Memorials and Repreſentations that have been drawn up by *Britiſh* Miniſters.

It is not ſo much as pretended, Sir, that the Treaty or Convention to be laid before us is a definitive Treaty. His Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, has told us, that it is not a definitive Treaty: He has told us, that thoſe Grievances and Abuſes, which have hitherto in-

interrupted our Commerce and Navigation in the *American* Seas, and all other Diſputes between the two Nations, except that of Reparation to our fellow Subjects for their Loſſes, remain yet to be regulated and ſettled by Plenipotentiaries. I wiſh the only Article that is ſettled, may not appear to have been ſettled to our Diſadvantage. But this is not the only Thing we are to enquire into, when we come to examine this Convention. If the Court of *Spain* appeared to be in an Humour to give us full Satisfaction, with reſpect to all the other Matters which they have been allowed of late Years to diſpute with us, our agreeing to ſuch a preliminary Convention, and even our yielding a little with reſpect to the Article that is ſettled, may, perhaps, be juſtified: But if, on the contrary, the Court of *Spain* appeared to be in no Humour to give us a proper Satisfaction, with reſpect to any one of the Matters now in Diſpute between us, conſidering the Danger our Trade and Navigation lies expoſed to, by the unjuſt, and hitherto unheard of Claim they have ſet up, of ſearching our Ships in the open Seas, it was ridiculous in us to agree to any Preliminaries, without having that Point firſt ſettled to our Satisfaction, and ſtill more ridiculous to accept of any partial Reparation for the Loſſes our Merchants and Seamen have already ſuſtained by their Depredations. Therefore, when we come to examine into this Convention, the chief Point that will come under our Conſideration muſt be, to know what Humour the Court of *Spain* ſeems to be in, and what we may expect by the Delay which this preliminary Convention muſt occaſion; and, I ſhould be glad to know, how we can form any Judgment as to this Point, without ſeeing at leaſt thoſe Memorials and Repreſentations, which our Miniſters have thought fit to make to the King of *Spain* and his Miniſters; for, from what his Majeſty has told us of the Convention, I am ſure we can form no Judgment as to this Point, from any Article in the Convention itſelf.

I do not know, Sir, what ſome Gentlemen may think his Majeſty means by ordering the Convention to be laid before us. Perhaps they may think, that we ought only to read it over, and thereupon preſent a polite Addreſs in the modern Way, applauding the Wiſdom of his Majeſty's Meaſures, that is to ſay, the Wiſdom of thoſe who adviſed him to take ſuch Meaſures. But, I muſt think, his Majeſty does not mean any ſuch Thing. He means, I am ſure, that we ſhould not only read it, but examine it thoroughly, and that, after we have examined the whole Affair to the Bottom, we ſhould give him our honeſt and ſincere Opinion. This, I am convinced, is what his Majeſty means by ordering the Convention to be laid before us; and this we cannot comply with, till at leaſt all the Papers now moved for be laid before us; therefore in Duty to his Majeſty, as well as out of Regard to our own Honour, we ought to agree to the two Reſolutions I have taken the Liberty to propoſe.

The next Speech I ſhall give you upon this Occaſion, is that which was made by M. Tullius Cicero, *who ſpoke to the following Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I BELIEVE no Gentleman who has the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe ſuppoſes, that we are not to examine into the Nature of the Convention lately concluded with *Spain*, or that his Majeſty intends we

we ſhould not. I am ſure I do not ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing: On the contrary, I hope, that when it is laid before us, we ſhall not only examine thoroughly every Article of it, but alſo that we ſhall examine into the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs both at home and abroad; which we muſt do, before we can form a right Judgment of the Convention his Majeſty has agreed to. When the ſeveral Articles are particularly examined, and all Circumſtances duly conſidered, we ought then to give our moſt ſincere Opinion and Advice to his Majeſty; and, from the View I have of our preſent Circumſtances, and what I have heard or know of that Convention, I believe the Opinion of this Houſe will be, that the concluding and ratifying the Convention was one of the wiſeſt Meaſures his Majeſty could take; and our Advice, I doubt not, will be, that his Majeſty ſhould proceed upon the Foundation laid by that Convention, and endeavour by peaceable Methods to put an End, by a definitive Treaty, to all the Diſputes now ſubſiſting between the two Nations.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that in order to examine thoroughly into the Nature of the Convention, and into the Circumſtances of our Affairs both at home and abroad, it will be neceſſary for us to have a great many Papers laid before us. But in calling or addreſſing for Papers of any Kind, we ought at all Times to be extremely cautious, eſpecially in calling for Papers relating to any Tranſaction which is not then finally concluded; for no Man will pretend to ſay, that it is conſiſtent with good Politicks to lay Secrets of State, or Papers that contain any ſuch Secrets, before ſuch a numerous Aſſembly. If there were none preſent but ſuch as have a Right to be here, perhaps the Danger might not be ſo great: A Secret of great Importance might, perhaps, remain a Secret, notwithſtanding its being communicated to this Houſe; becauſe, I am perſuaded, there is no Gentleman who has the Honour of having a Seat in this Houſe, that would reveal any Thing he thought might tend to the Prejudice of his Country: But, as there is always a great Number of Perſons preſent that have no Right to be here, ſome of them, perhaps, unknown to any Member of this Houſe, we cannot ſuppoſe, that any of our Proceedings, or any Thing that has been once laid before us, can be kept ſecret from foreign Courts, eſpecially from thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to diſcover every Thing that paſſes amongſt us.

Let us therefore conſider, Sir, that by addreſſing for Papers relating to an Affair then under Negotiation between us and a foreign Court, we may lay his Majeſty under a very great Difficulty: We may either lay him under the Neceſſity of refuſing his Parliament what they aſk for, which I am ſure he would be loth to do, which he has never yet done; or we may lay him under the Neceſſity of divulging Secrets, which muſt neceſſarily diſturb the Negotiation he is carrying on, if not entirely prevent its Effect. For this Reaſon, when we find ourſelves obliged to take an Affair into our Conſideration, before it is brought to a final Concluſion, I do not think it would be a bad Politick in this Houſe, to lay it down as an eſtabliſhed Maxim, never to addreſs for any Papers upon ſuch Occaſions, but to leave it entirely to his Majeſty, to order ſuch Papers to be laid before us, as he might think neceſſary for giving us a proper Light into the Affair, and ſuch as he knew might be ſafely communicated.

To apply what I have ſaid to the Caſe

Caſe now before us: It muſt be allowed, Sir, that the Convention lately concluded with *Spain*, relates to an Affair not yet finally ended. It relates to an Affair now under Negotiation between the two Courts; for, I ſhall readily agree, that the Articles of the Convention can at beſt be called but a Sort of preliminary Articles, which are to be further explained and perfected by a definitive Treaty; and if a ſatisfactory Treaty may be obtained by peaceable Means, and in Conſequence of theſe preliminary Articles, which no Man can ſay is impoſſible, it would be wrong in us to do any Thing, or to call for any Paper, which, by being made publick, might diſappoint ſo good an Effect. Now, as this Convention was, as every preliminary Agreement muſt be, preceded by a Negotiation, ſome Things may have paſſed during that Negotiation, which the Court of *Spain* would not deſire to be made publick, which they would even look on as a high Affront, in caſe they ſhould be made publick. We know how jealous Princes are even of what is called the Punctilio of Honour, we know how jealous they muſt always be in this Reſpect; and therefore we muſt know, that it is always dangerous to publiſh the Tranſactions of a Negotiation till ſome Time after it has been concluded. While ſuch Tranſactions remain ſecret, many Things may be ſaid and done by both Parties without much Notice, which either Party would think himſelf in Honour obliged to reſent in the higheſt Manner, in caſe they ſhould be made publick. Therefore, with regard to thoſe Memorials and Repreſentations that have been ſent to the Court of *Spain*, and muſt conſequently be already known to that Court, it would not perhaps, at preſent, be very prudent to publiſh them; becauſe it might alter the preſent good Humour which that Court ſeems to be in, and might render it impoſſible for us to obtain either Satisfaction, Reparation, or Security, any other Way but by Force of Arms.

This, I ſay, Sir, might be the Effect of publiſhing ſome of thoſe Papers, which the Court of *Spain* has already ſeen; but with reſpect to thoſe Papers they have not, nor can be ſuppoſed to have ſeen, ſuch as the Inſtructions and Letters ſent to our Miniſter in *Spain*, and Conſuls in *Europe*, or any Commander in Chief, or Captains of his Majeſty's Ships of War, it would certainly be extremely imprudent to publiſh them at preſent. As the Diſputes between *Spain* and us, were come very near to an open Rupture, before their agreeing to this Convention, we do not know but that there were Inſtructions or Letters ſent to the Commanders in Chief, or Captains of his Majeſty's Ships of War, relating to ſome Deſign againſt ſome one Part or other of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, that was to have been executed, in caſe they had not agreed to the Terms propoſed; and if there were any ſuch Letters or Inſtructions ſent, the communicating them to this Houſe, and conſequently making them known to the Court of *Spain*, might not only be the Cauſe of their breaking off all further Conferences with us, but at the ſame Time it would put them upon their Guard, and inſtruct them how to provide againſt any ſuch Deſign for the future.

Then, Sir, with regard to the Inſtructions or Letters ſent to our Miniſter in *Spain*, or Conſuls in *Europe*, if we reflect upon what is uſual in all Caſes of Negotiation, we cannot ſo much as deſire his Majeſty to lay all ſuch Letters and Inſtructions before us; for every one knows, that in all Negotiations there are

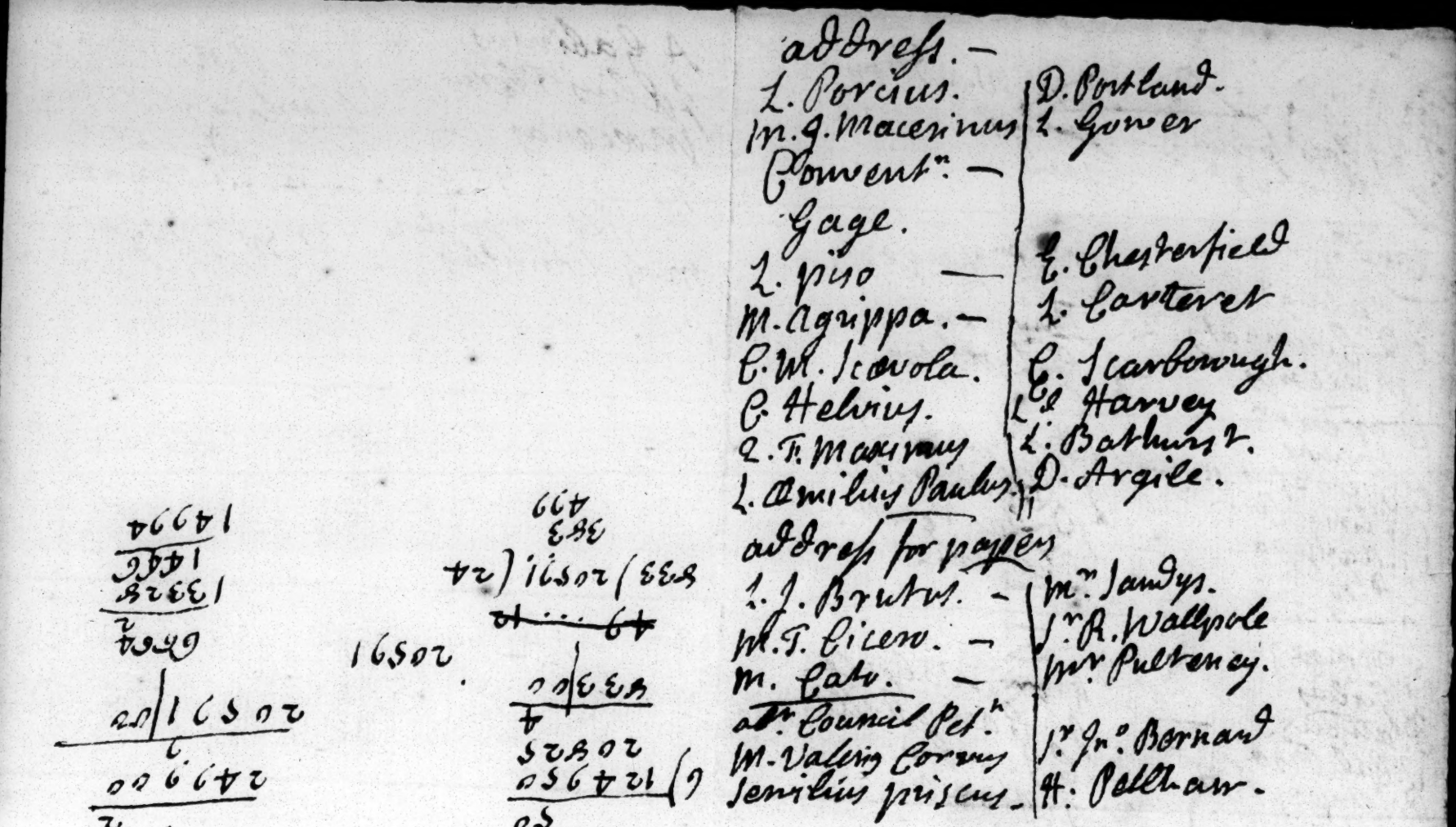
private,

private, as well as publick Letters and Inſtructions, ſent to thoſe who are employed in carrying on the Negotiation: There are Letters or Inſtructions ſent them, which they are to communicate to thoſe, with whom they are negotiating; and by theſe, they are generally ordered to make high Demands, and few Conceſſions: But theſe Letters and Inſtructions, are generally qualified by others of a private Nature, which they are to conceal from thoſe with whom they negotiate; and by theſe they are inſtructed to paſs from ſome Demands, or make ſome Conceſſions, according to the Humour they find the Court in, to which they are ſent, and according to the Propoſitions that may be made by that Court. In ſhort, theſe private Letters and Inſtructions, generally contain the utmoſt their Court or Prince will do for the Sake of Peace; and to make ſuch Letters or Inſtructions publick, before the Negotiation's being broke off, or concluded by a definitive Treaty, would be doing the greateſt Injury to that Court and Nation, from which ſuch Letters or Inſtructions had been ſent.

This, I ſay, Sir, we know to be the Caſe, with regard to almoſt every Negotiation that has ever happened, or that can ever happen; therefore we muſt preſume, that it is the Caſe with regard to thoſe Inſtructions or Letters, that have been lately ſent to our Miniſters or Conſuls in *Spain*; and as the Negotiation between us and the Court of *Spain*, is far from being concluded, as I hope, and every Gentleman as well as I, muſt wiſh, that it may not be broke off, till it is brought to a happy Concluſion; we cannot deſire his Majeſty to order all the Letters and Inſtructions, that have been lately ſent to our Miniſters or Conſuls in *Spain*, to be laid before this Houſe.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that in order to know how Matters ſtand at preſent between us and *Spain*, the Cauſes of our preſent Diſputes, and the Meaſures his Majeſty has taken to put an End to them, it would be proper for us to ſee all the Papers that have been mentioned, and a great many more than have been now moved for. We cannot propoſe to acquire a full and perfect Knowledge of theſe Matters, and of the Circumſtances of Affairs at home and abroad, without having a compleat Knowledge of all the Negotiations that have been lately carried on, or are now carrying on, not only between us and *Spain*, but between us, and every other Power in *Europe*; but this is a Knowledge, which every one muſt admit, his Majeſty neither can, nor ought to communicate to Parliament. I have ſhewn, that the communicating all thoſe Papers that are now moved for, might be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence; and even the Hon. Gentleman himſelf who moved for thoſe Papers, allows, that we ought not to deſire all the Memorials, Repreſentations, and Anſwers, received from the Court of *Spain*, to be laid before us; becauſe our rendering the Contents of ſome of them publick, might put a Stop to our Negotiations, and make the Court of *Spain* refuſe to treat any longer with us. Are not we, Sir, to apprehend the ſame Conſequence, from our rendering publick the Memorials and Repreſentations that have been made to the King of *Spain*, or his Miniſters? For the Memorials and Repreſentations that have been made by us, muſt relate to, and may probably recite a great Part, if not the whole Subſtance, of thoſe we have received.

What are we then to do in ſuch a Caſe, Sir? We cannot deſire a full and perfect Knowledge of all ſuch Affairs. We muſt content ourſelves with ſuch a Knowledge as may be ſafely communicated to us, without injuring the publick Affairs of the Na-


address. —
L. Porcius. — D. Portland.
M. G. Macerinus — L. Gower
Comens. —
Gage.
L. Piso — E. Chesterfield
M. Agrippa. — L. Carteret
C. M. Scævola. — E. Scarborough.
C. Helvius. — L. Harvey
Q. T. Maximus — L. Bathurst.
L. Æmilius Paulus. — D. Argile.
address for papers
L. J. Brutus. — Mr. Sandys.
M. T. Cicero. — Mr. R. Wallpole
M. Cato. — Mr. Pulteney.
Ad. Council Pet.
M. Valerius Corvus — Mr. Jno. Bernard
Senilius priscus — H. Pelham.

M. T. Cicero. — I. W. Wyndham
T. L. Capito Cic. — Lord Egremont
L. L. Brutus. — Lord Lyttelton

Land Forces

L. Valerius Flac. — I. W. Grenville.
L. Q. Cincinnatus. — Thos Pelham.
Mecenas. — G. Lyttelton
Emperor
Thanks.
C. Cicero jun. — Ld Chancellor
C. Plinius Cæc. — Ld Chancellor
M. Agrippa. — Ld Chancellor
L. Pleo. — Chester.
C. Hedrius.
Q. T. Mazey.
L. Tullius — Hon: Walpole.
Flaccus. — T. Townshend
C. Gal: Piso — T. Carter.
C. Lempr. Paul. — G. Howe.
Horatius.

A Gabinius. — W. Pitt.
Tullius Tiro — W. Pitt.
Mecenas — Lord Lyttelton

L. Manl: Torq. — C. Montague
C. Vib: Temp. — Ld. Westmorland.
M. T. Cambles. — T. W. Wynne.

Nation: And we muſt leave it to his Majeſty to judge, what may be ſafely communicated. We may depend upon his Goodneſs, and the Regard he has for his Parliament, that he will, upon this Occaſion, communicate to us every Paper, and every Tranſaction, relating to the *Spaniſh* Depredations, that can be ſafely communicated: But his Wiſdom, and the Regard he has for the Honour and Intereſt of his Kingdoms, muſt prevent his communicating to us any Thing that ought not, that cannot be ſafely made publick; and we ought not, by an unſeaſonable Addreſs, to raiſe a Conteſt in his Royal Breaſt, between his Goodneſs and Wiſdom, or between the Regard he has for his Parliament, and the Regard he has for the Honour and Intereſt of his Kingdoms.

The Reſolutions we have already come to, I did not, 'tis true, oppoſe; but it was not, Sir, becauſe I entirely approved of them. It was, becauſe I did not ſee any Thing in them, but what his Majeſty, I thought, might comply with: I did not apprehend that by any of them, there were Papers called for that might not be ſafely made publick: But with regard to the two laſt Reſolutions, the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe, the Caſe is very different. At firſt View I ſee, that by each of them there are Papers called for, which it may not be ſafe to make publick: Some of thoſe Papers, I think, may probably be ſuch, as would diſcloſe the Secrets of our Government, or interrupt, if not put a full Stop to, the Courſe of our Negotiations: Therefore I muſt look upon the Addreſſes propoſed by thoſe Reſolutions, to be of ſuch a Nature, that there is the higheſt Probability of his Majeſty's not being able to comply with them; and whilſt I have the Honour to have a Seat in this Houſe, I ſhall always be ready to give my Teſtimony againſt our reſolving to deſire any Thing of his Majeſty by an Addreſs, which I think he cannot, conſiſtently with the Honour of his Crown, or the Intereſt of his Kingdoms, fully comply with.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope every Gentleman will ſee, that there is a great Difference between the Addreſſes we have agreed to, and the two Addreſſes now propoſed. By the former, we deſire nothing of his Majeſty, at leaſt ſo far as we can comprehend, but what he may comply with, without promulgating the Secrets of his Government, or running the Riſk of defeating thoſe Negotiations he is carrying on, for ſecuring the Trade and Navigation of his Kingdoms. By the latter we are to deſire of his Majeſty, what I think I have ſhewn, he cannot, in all probability, ſafely comply with. This is the proper Diſtinction between the Addreſſes we have agreed to, and the Addreſſes now propoſed; and every Gentleman that makes this Diſtinction, may eaſily ſee a good Reaſon for his giving a Negative to the latter, notwithſtanding his having given his Aſſent to the former; for all thoſe who think there is any Thing deſired by the Addreſſes now propoſed, which his Majeſty cannot ſafely comply with, muſt, I think, in Duty to their Sovereign, give their Negative to the Queſtion.

I ſhall conclude with obſerving, Sir, that it would be highly imprudent in us at preſent, to preſent any Addreſs that his Majeſty could not fully comply with; for if foreign Courts, and particularly the Court of *Spain*, ſhould be informed, that the Parliament had begun to preſent Addreſſes which the King could not comply with: If they ſhould hear that his Majeſty had, in the leaſt Article, refuſed to comply with the

Requeſt of his Parliament, they would immediately begin to preſume, that a Breach was to enſue between King and Parliament: They would then begin to believe, that there is ſome Truth in what they have ſo often been told, by the Libels ſpread about in this Kingdom; that the People of this Kingdom are a divided People; that they are diſaffected to their Sovereign; and that the Parliament have now begun to do, what they have often done, what I hope they will always do, when there is a juſt Occaſion, which I am ſure is far from being the Caſe at preſent; I mean, that the Parliament had begun to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the People, againſt the King and his Miniſters. This Preſumption, Sir, would make not only the Court of *Spain*, but every Court we have any Difference with, leſs pliable, or more unreaſonable than they are at preſent; and at the ſame Time, it would give the other Courts of *Europe* ſuch a contemptible Opinion of us, as would of Courſe prevent their joining in any Alliance with us; by which Means, we would render it not only impracticable to obtain Satisfaction from the Court of *Spain* by fair Means, but impoſſible to obtain it by Force of Arms; and as this would be one of the moſt unfortunate Situations this Nation could be reduced to, I am ſure every Gentleman that has a Regard for his native Country, and views the Queſtion now before us in this Light, will join with me in putting the Negative upon it.

The only other Speech I ſhall give you upon this Subject, is that of M. Cato, *who ſpoke in Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I WISH his Majeſty's Name were not ſo much made uſe of in this Houſe, as it uſually is. Some Gentlemen ſeem to affect talking in his Majeſty's Name, of every publick Meaſure that happens to be mentioned in this Houſe, tho' they know that when we enquire into any publick Meaſure, or into the Management of any publick Tranſaction, we enquire into it, and we paſs our Judgment upon it, as a Thing done, not by his Majeſty, but by his Miniſters. Therefore, I wiſh they would alter a little their Manner of talking, and inſtead of the Word Majeſty, make uſe of the Word Miniſters, or if they pleaſe, Miniſter. If they ſhould ſay now, for Example, in the preſent Caſe, that we ought never to deſire any Thing of the Miniſter, which we think he cannot ſafely comply with; it would be a more proper Manner of expreſſing themſelves, and more conformable to the Rules of Proceeding in Parliament, than to ſay, that we ought never to deſire any Thing of his Majeſty, which we think he cannot ſafely comply with; and I muſt leave it to Gentlemen to conſider, what Sort of a parliamentary Maxim it would be, to reſolve, that when we find ourſelves obliged, when the unfortunate State the Nation is in makes it neceſſary for us, to take an Affair into Conſideration before it is finally concluded, we ought never to call for any Papers upon ſuch an Occaſion, but to leave it entirely to the Miniſter, to lay, or order ſuch Papers to be laid before us, as he knew he might ſafely communicate to thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to enquire into his Conduct. This, I confeſs, would be a Maxim extremely convenient for Miniſters, and therefore I am not at all ſurprized to hear it come from the Corner from whence it does.

But, Sir, to be ſerious upon the Subject now before us; for conſidering the unfortunane Situation the Affairs not only of this Nation, but of *Europe*, are in at preſent, it is a

Subject

Subject of as ſerious a Nature, as ever came before a *Britiſh* Parliament: I muſt obſerve, that when this Houſe reſolves to take any particular and extraordinary Affair into Conſideration, it is impoſſible for his Majeſty to know what Papers, or other Things may be neceſſary for giving us a proper Light into the Affair. His Miniſters may perhaps know, but in former Ages, Miniſters have been known to conceal induſtriouſly from their Sovereign, many Things they knew, and ſuch as they ought in Duty to have acquainted him with; and therefore our Parliaments never truſted to the King's Miniſters for giving him Information in this Particular. They conſidered themſelves, the Affair which was to come before them, they conſidered what Papers, or other Things, would be neceſſary for giving them a proper Light into the Affair, and if thoſe Papers were ſuch as muſt be communicated by the Crown, they addreſſed his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give Directions for laying ſuch or ſuch Papers before them. It is therefore from the Addreſſes of this Houſe only, that his Majeſty can know what Papers may be neceſſary to be laid before us upon any ſuch Occaſion; and, when his Majeſty ſees what we addreſs for, he may then judge, whether the Papers called for, or any of them, be ſuch as ought not to be made publick.

I ſay, Sir, his Majeſty may, upon ſeeing our Addreſs, judge whether any of the Papers we call for be ſuch as ought not to be made publick; but, ſuppoſe his Majeſty judges that ſome of them are of ſuch a Nature, this is no Reaſon for not laying them before Parliament, if they be ſuch as either Houſe thinks neceſſary for giving them a proper Light into the Affair under their Conſideration. Upon ſuch Occaſions, his Majeſty may order ſuch Papers as contain no Secrets, to be laid before the Houſe; and he may at the ſame Time acquaint them, that there are others which ought not to be made publick: In which Caſe, the Houſe may, if it pleaſes, appoint a ſecret Committee, and deſire that thoſe Papers that ought not to be made publick, may be laid before their Committee; which Committee extracts from thoſe Papers ſuch Things only as are neceſſary for the Information of the Houſe, with relation to the Affair then under Conſideration, without mentioning or divulging any of thoſe Things that ought to be kept ſecret. By this Means, Sir, the Houſe may have full Information with reſpect to any Affair they are to paſs Judgment upon, or give their Opinion of, without the leaſt Danger of expoſing the Secrets of the Government; for no Stangers are ever allowed to be preſent in any ſecret Committee, not even Members of the Houſe unleſs they are of the Committee; and, I hope it will not be ſaid, that there may not be found at all Times in this Houſe, a Set of Gentlemen that are as capable of keeping a Secret, and as incapable of betraying the Secrets of their Country, as any of his Majeſty's Miniſters; nor do I think it would be any Reproach to our preſent Miniſters, if I ſhould ſay, that every Gentleman in this Houſe has as great a Regard for his native Country, and as great a Concern for its Proſperity, as they have.

If the Hon. Gentleman's Maxim were to be admitted as an eſtabliſhed Maxim for our Conduct in this Houſe, we could never addreſs for Papers relating to any publick Affair that had been tranſacted within the ſame Century; for there is no publick Affair but what may have, but what may probably have ſome Papers belonging to it that ought not

to be made publick. Even ſuppoſe the Affair we are to enquire into, were an Affair finally concluded, yet there may be Papers belonging to that Affair, if it be ſuch a one as has lately happened, which relate to ſome Affairs then upon the Anvil, and which therefore ought not then to be made publick. At this Rate, Sir, we muſt always leave it entirely to his Majeſty, that is to ſay, to his Majeſty's Miniſters, to lay no Papers before us but ſuch as they think may be ſafely communicated to Parliament; in which Caſe, every one muſt ſee, that we could never enquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter, while he continues a Favourite of the Crown; for no Miniſter will ever think it ſafe to lay any Paper before Parliament, that may lay a Foudation for, or may any way ſupport an Accuſation againſt himſelf; and, upon this Maxim, he would always have an Excuſe for not laying ſuch Papers before Parliament, by ſaying, that they contain Secrets relating to ſome Affair in Agitation, which muſt not be diſcovered till that Affair is brought to a Concluſion.

This ſhews, Sir, how ridiculous it would be to eſtabliſh ſuch a Maxim, and therefore, I hope we ſhall continue to follow the antient Maxim of this Houſe, which has always been, to call for all ſuch Papers as we thought might contribute towards giving us a full and perfect Knowledge of the Affair we were to enquire into, without regarding whether or no the Papers we thought neceſſary for this Purpoſe were ſuch as might probably contain ſome Secrets of State. If any of them are of ſuch a Nature, we may appoint a ſecret Committee for examining into them, and reporting ſuch Parts of them as are neceſſary for our Information; but, till his Majeſty has acquainted us that ſome of them are of ſuch a Nature, we have no Occaſion for appointing ſuch a Committee. This therefore can be no Objection againſt our addreſſing for all or any of the Papers now propoſed to be addreſſed for; but, for my own Part, I cannot ſo much as imagine, that there are any important Secrets, I mean ſuch as the Honour or Intereſt of the Nation is concerned in keeping ſecret; I ſay, I cannot imagine, that there are any ſuch in our late Negotiations with *Spain*, or in any of our late Tranſactions relating to the *Spaniſh* Depredations. I am ſure they have made no Secret of the Claims they have lately ſet up againſt us, nor of the Inſults they have put upon us: On the contrary, they ſeem to be fond of publiſhing them, that the World may know how contemptuouſly they have uſed us. I do not know but that there may be ſome Secrets that ought to be diſcovered, Secrets, in the diſcovering of which, both the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation may be deeply concerned; but this ſurely can be no Argument againſt our calling for Papers by which ſuch a Diſcovery may be made; and, if any of the Papers now called for can be ſuppoſed to contain Secrets of ſuch a Nature, it is a ſtrong Argument for agreeing to the Motion; for, without ſuch an Addreſs, we can hardly expect to have them laid before us.

If a Preſumption, that the Papers to be called for were ſuch as ought not to be made publick, ſhould be allowed to be an Objection of any Weight againſt the Reſolutions now propoſed, it muſt be allowed, Sir, that it was an Objection of equal Weight againſt every Reſolution we have agreed to. If the Governors of our Plantations, or any Commander in Chief, or Captains of his Majeſty's Ships of War, had any

any Inſtructions about a Deſign that was to have been executed againſt the *Spaniards*, in caſe they had not agreed to this Convention; may not we as reaſonably ſuppoſe, that in ſome of the Letters received from them, thoſe Inſtructions are referred to, or recited, as we can ſuppoſe that the Memorials, Repreſentations, or Anſwers of the Court of *Spain*, are referred to, or recited, in thoſe which we ſent to that Court? And, if thoſe Letters bear any ſuch Reference or Recital, will not the laying them before this Houſe diſcover our Deſigns to the *Spaniſh* Court, as much as if the Inſtructions themſelves were laid before us? If our Negotiators at the Court of *Spain* had private as well as publick Inſtructions, muſt not the Letters received from them relate to their private as well as publick Inſtructions? And will not the laying thoſe Letters before us, as much diſcover their private Inſtructions, as if thoſe private Inſtructions themſelves were laid before us? Therefore, if we were never to addreſs for any Papers, but ſuch as, we are certain, may be ſafely made publick, we ought not to have addreſſed for thoſe Papers we have already reſolved to addreſs for; but this can be no Reaſon againſt our addreſſing for Papers of any Kind: There can be no Reaſon againſt our addreſſing for all Papers that are neceſſary for diſcovering to the Bottom any Affair we have reſolved to enquire into, except that of the Riſk ſome People may run by a ſincere and thorough Enquiry.

As the late Convention with *Spain*, Sir, was intended, or ought to have been intended, for obtaining a proper Satisfaction for the Inſults we have met with, full Reparation for the Loſſes our injured Merchants and Seamen have ſuffered, and effectual Security for our Trade and Navigation in Time to come, it is impoſſible for us to form any right or mature Judgment of that Convention, without ſeeing all Papers that any way relate to the *Spaniſh* Depredations. Can we determine what may be thought a proper Satisfaction for the Inſults we have met with, without knowing what thoſe Inſults are? Can we determine what may be thought a full Reparation for the Loſſes our Merchants and Seamen have ſuſtained, without knowing what thoſe Loſſes are? Or can we determine what may be thought an effectual Security for our Trade and Navigation in Time to come, without knowing all the Pretences the *Spaniards* have ſet up for diſturbing them, and what Foundation they have for all or any of theſe Pretences? And, can we come at a ſufficient Knowledge in either of theſe Reſpects, without peruſing and examining all the Papers upon the Subject? Therefore, if we have a Mind to go to the Bottom of this Affair, which it is highly neceſſary we ſhould, if we have a Mind to do any Thing more than read over, and blindly approve of this Convention, we muſt have laid before us all the Papers we have already reſolved to addreſs for, together with thoſe now propoſed to be addreſſed for; and, when we have ſeen them, we may from thence find it neceſſary to addreſs for ſome others; but in order to judge of the Convention, it cannot be neceſſary for us to enquire into all the Negotiations we have lately had with every other Power in *Europe*.

Indeed, if upon Enquiry it ſhould appear, that this Convention is both diſhonourable and diſadvantageous for this Nation: If it ſhould appear, that we have thereby got no Satisfaction, nor ſo much as the Promiſe of Satisfaction for any one Inſult that has been put upon us: If it ſhould appear, that we have

not

not got a full Reparation, nor ſo much as the Promiſe of a full Reparation, for the Loſſes our Merchants and Seamen have ſuſtained: If it ſhould appear, that we have got no Security, nor ſo much as the Promiſe of any Security, for our Trade and Navigation in Time to come; it would then, Sir, be incumbent upon us, to appoint a Day for reſolving into a Committee to take the State of the Nation into our Conſideration; and, in that Caſe, I ſhall grant, that it would be neceſſary for us to addreſs his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give Directions for laying before a ſecret Committee to be appointed for that Purpoſe, a full and exact Account of all our late Negotiations; in order that we might have a full View of the Circumſtances the Nation is in, not only with reſpect to its domeſtick Affairs, but alſo with reſpect to foreign Affairs. Without ſuch a View, it would be impoſſible for this Houſe to come to any proper Reſolutions, or to give his Majeſty any proper Advice. If the Nation has been brought into ſuch Diſtreſs, as to be obliged to accept of ſuch a diſhonourable and diſadvantageous Treaty, rather than attempt to vindicate our Honour and our Rights by Force of Arms, we cannot expect that thoſe who brought us into ſuch Diſtreſs will ever be able to relieve us. If any Relief be poſſible, it muſt come from Parliament; and it is not the firſt Time the Parliament has relieved this Nation from the utmoſt Diſtreſs. But, in ſuch Caſes, we muſt have a full View of our Affairs; we muſt not ſhew ſuch a Complaiſance for our Miniſters, as to deny ourſelves any neceſſary Information, for fear of bringing them into Difficulties.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will appear, that there is nothing in either of the Addreſſes now propoſed, but what his Majeſty may comply with, but what he certainly will comply with. If there be any of the Papers now propoſed to be called for, of ſuch a Nature as ought to be kept extremely ſecret, his Majeſty may tell us ſo, and we may then appoint a ſecret Committee for inſpecting them, and reporting ſuch Parts of them as may be ſafely communicated. This may perhaps be the Caſe, with regard to ſome of the Papers we have already reſolved to addreſs for: There is as great a Probability, that this may be the Caſe with regard to ſome of them, as there is of its being the Caſe with Regard to ſome of the Papers now propoſed to be addreſſed for; but if there were not, it would be no Reaſon for our not calling for a Sight of Papers that are abſolutely neceſſary for our Information, in a Caſe that is to come before us, a Caſe in which both the Honour and Intereſt, I may ſay, the very Being of this Nation, make it neceſſary for us to be fully informed.

In all parliamentary Enquiries, Sir, the Sovereign of theſe Kingdoms can never be led by Motives founded upon the Honour of his Crown, or the Intereſt of his Kingdoms, to refuſe his Parliament any Thing they think neceſſary for their Information, with reſpect to the Affair they have reſolved to enquire into: He may be led ſo to do, by the Advice of bad Miniſters, who never give him ſuch Advice, but for the Sake of ſcreening themſelves from that national Vengeance that is ready to fall upon them. But his preſent Majeſty has too much Wiſdom and Goodneſs to follow any ſuch pernicious Advice: He knows, that the following of ſuch Advice, has ſometimes proved fatal even to Crown itſelf; and has never as yet, thank God! long preſerved the guilty Criminal. His Majeſty's Goodneſs will in all Caſes induce him to give

give the utmoſt Satisfaction to his People, and from his Wiſdom we muſt preſume he knows, that in giving Satisfaction to his People, conſiſts the Security of his Crown, and the Happineſs of his Kingdoms.

Therefore, Sir, what his Majeſty may, or may not, comply with, is a Queſtion that cannot enter into the preſent Debate. The only Queſtion that can enter into the preſent Debate is, what Papers may, or may not, be neceſſary for our Information, with regard to the Affair that is ſoon to come before us; for whatever Papers we may think neceſſary for that Purpoſe, his Majeſty will, upon our Requeſt, ſignified to him in the uſual Manner, certainly order to be laid before us.

For this Reaſon, Sir, the only Queſtion now under our Conſideration is, Whether the Papers now propoſed to be addreſſed for, are ſuch as are neceſſary for giving us ſuch a Light into the preſent Circumſtances of our Affairs, with Regard to *Spain*, as may enable us to form a right Judgment of the Convention that is, I hope, ſoon to be laid before us? And with reſpect to this Queſtion, Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt in this Debate, has fully ſhewn, That the Papers now propoſed to be addreſſed for, are not only neceſſary, but more neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion, than the Papers we have already reſolved to addreſs for. Nay, it is a Queſtion that ſeems not to be diſputed, even by thoſe who have ſpoke againſt the Reſolutions now propoſed; for they have grounded the Whole of their Reaſoning upon a Suppoſition, that ſome of the Papers now propoſed to be addreſſed for, may be ſuch as ought not to be made publick; and as I have ſhewn that this can be no Argument againſt our addreſſing for them, I am perſuaded every Gentleman who has a real Deſign that we ſhould examine thoroughly into the Nature of the Convention, that is to be laid before us, or that we ſhould be able to form any Judgment of it, will be as ready to give his Aſſent to the Reſolutions now propoſed, as he was to give his Aſſent to thoſe we have already agreed to.

As there is nothing, Sir, in either of the Reſolutions propoſed, but what his Majeſty may comply with, as there is nothing but what he will certainly comply with, therefore, from our agreeing to theſe Reſolutions, no foreign Court can preſume, that a Breach is like to enſue between his Majeſty and his Parliament; nor can they from thence be induced to believe, what the Hon. Gentleman ſays has been told them by ſome Libels lately publiſhed in this Kingdom. For my Part, I know of no ſuch Libels: I do not know that it has been aſſerted in any Libel lately publiſhed, that the People of this Kingdom are generally diſaffected to his Majeſty and his Family. I am perſuaded no ſuch arrogant Lie has been aſſerted in any Libel lately publiſhed, unleſs it be in ſome of thoſe lately publiſhed in Favour of keeping up numerous Armies in Time of Peace. But ſuppoſe ſuch a Lie to have been publiſhed in ſome ſuch Libel, I do not believe that foreign Courts are ſuch minute Politicians as to build any Hopes upon, or give any Credit to what is aſſerted in ſuch infamous Libels. They build upon a better Foundation, becauſe they generally ſend ſuch Miniſters here, as can give them a true Information of the Diſpoſition of the People; and from them they know, that the People are generally well affected towards his Majeſty and his Family, however much they may be diſſatisfied with ſome of his Majeſty's Miniſters.

This, thank God! Sir, is as yet the Diſpoſition of our People. But if they ſhould long continue under the

the Inſults they have met with: If they ſhould be long amuſed with tedious and fruitleſs Negotiations, or ſham Treaties; and if they ſhould find the Parliament ſupporting and applauding ſuch Meaſures, God knows, where they may fly for Relief. They may then, indeed, become generally diſaffected, as well as diſſatisfied; and this perhaps is what ſome foreign Courts are driving at; but it is to be hoped they will, by the Wiſdom and Integrity of this Houſe, be diſappointed in their Aim. If they are not, the moſt perfect Harmony between King and Parliament, would add but little Weight to our Negotiations at any foreign Court; for it is upon the Affections of the People, that the Weight and Credit of our Government muſt always depend.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that we may happen to be in ſuch Circumſtances, that a Harmony between King and Parliament would be a Misfortune, inſtead of being a Bleſſing to the Nation; for, if our People ſhould ever become generally diſſatisfied with an Adminiſtration, the happieſt Thing that could befal this Nation, would be the Parliament's eſpouſing the Cauſe of the People, not againſt the King, but for the King, and againſt his Miniſters; for, the Cauſe of the King and People muſt always be the ſame; but that Cauſe and the Cauſe of a Miniſter may often be different, may ſometimes be in direct Oppoſition. Therefore, if this Nation ſhould ever happen to be ſo unfortunate as to be under an Adminiſtration generally diſliked by the People, the wiſeſt Thing the Parliament could do, would be to adviſe, or even render it neceſſary for the King, to make a thorough Change, as to the Perſons employed in the Adminiſtration. Such a Breach as this would be, upon ſuch an Occaſion, the only Means that could effectually reſtore the Influence and the Character of the Nation at all foreign Courts; becauſe they would then expect to ſee, in this Nation, a new Set of Miniſters, and new Meaſures. They would expect to ſee a Miniſtry choſen, and Meaſures concerted, by the Advice of a free and independent Parliament, and with the Approbation of a brave and a free People; and from ſuch a Miniſtry, and ſuch Meaſures, this Nation has always reaped great Honour, and great Advantage.

I ſhall conclude, Sir, with ſuppoſing the worſt that can be ſuppoſed from our agreeing to theſe Reſolutions: Suppoſe that his Majeſty ſhould be induced by bad Counſel to refuſe ſo reaſonable a Requeſt in his Parliament. This, indeed, is hardly to be ſuppoſed; but, if it ſhould unfortunately happen to be the Caſe, it would be a full Proof that there are ſome bad Counſellors about his Majeſty, and this Diſcovery would be a great Advantage to the Nation; for it would then become our Buſineſs and our Duty to find out thoſe bad Counſellors, and to remove them from his Majeſty's Counſels. Could the removing of bad Counſellors from about the Perſon of our King, any way derogate from the Weight or Influence of his Negotiations at foreign Courts? No, Sir, it would give great Satisfaction to his whole People, and new Vigour to all his Counſels, and conſequently would greatly add to the Weight of his Negotiations at every Court in *Europe*. So that in the worſt Light in which we can put the Queſtion now before us, we muſt allow, that our agreeing to it is not only neceſſary, but that it will be attended with great Advantages to his Majeſty in particular, and to the Nation in general; and, as this plainly appears to be the Caſe, I therefore hope it will be unanimouſly agreed to.

THE

THE next Debate I ſhall give you an Account of, related likewiſe to the late famous Convention with *Spain*; and was occaſioned by our having ſeen the ſeveral Petitions that were preſented to Parliament againſt that Convention; for upon ſeeing them, a Queſtion was ſtarted and debated in our Club, Whether the Petitioners ought to be admitted to be heard by their Counſel againſt that Convention?

But as your Readers may be curious to ſee the Petitions that were preſented againſt this Convention, and as our Club is at the Expence of having Copies of all ſuch Papers, I ſhall firſt give you the Subſtance of ſome of the moſt remarkable of theſe Petitions.

The firſt I ſhall give you, is that which was drawn up in the Name of, and ſigned by divers Merchants, Planters, and others, trading to and intereſted in the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, in Behalf of themſelves and many others; ſetting forth, "That the Petitioners had laſt Seſſion made their humble Application to Parliament, ſetting forth the continued Depredations committed by the *Spaniards* on the high Seas of *America*, upon the *Britiſh* Shipping and Property; their barbarous and inhuman Treatment of the *Britiſh* Sailors on the taking of their Ships, and their carrying them afterwards into Slavery in *Old Spain*, (the *Spaniards* making it their conſtant Practice to attack and board all *Britiſh* Merchant Ships they met with in the *American* Seas, under Pretence of ſearching for Goods, which they deemed contraband, according to their arbitrary Will and Pleaſure, contrary to the Law of Nations, and in manifeſt Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns) and that by theſe unjuſt and violent Proceedings of the *Spaniards*, the Trade and Navigation to and from *America*, was rendered very unſafe and precarious, inſomuch that the Inſurances had greatly riſen on theſe Accounts only; and that the Petitioners having been heard by their Counſel, did, as they apprehend, fully make out in Proofs, every one of the Allegations of their ſaid Petition, to the entire and unanimous Satisfaction of Parliament; upon which Application, the following Reſolutions were agreed on, *viz.*" (Here the Petitioners recited the Reſolutions of the preceding Seſſion, for declaring the Rights of this Nation, * and for addreſſing his Majeſty to uſe his Endeavours for the Preſervation of thoſe Rights; and then they went on as follows, *viz.*)

"That a Convention had ſince been entered into between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, which his Majeſty has been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to order to be laid before Parliament; and the ſame having been publiſhed by Authority, the Petitioners obſerve with the utmoſt Concern, that the *Spaniards* are ſo far from giving up their groundleſs and unjuſtifiable Practice of viſiting and ſearching *Britiſh* Ships, ſailing to and from the *Britiſh* Plantations, that they appear to have claimed the Power of doing it as a Right, by having inſiſted that the Differences which have ariſen concerning it, ſhould be referred to Plenipotentiaries, to be diſcuſſed by them, without even agreeing to abſtain from ſuch Viſitation and Search, during the Time that the Diſcuſſion of this Affair may laſt; that the Petitioners are under the greateſt Apprehenſions, ſince *Spain* has contended, that a Point ſo inconteſtably clear, both by the Law of Nations, and all the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, ſhould come under Debate, that the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries will

* *See our* Magazine *for* September *laſt, p.* 435, 436.

be inſtructed not to give it up; and that, if the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce to and from our own Colonies ſhould be left in Suſpence, and in a precarious Situation, it muſt be attended with the moſt fatal and pernicious Conſequences to the Petitioners, whoſe Perſons and Fortunes will thereby be in the Power of the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*, without any Proſpect of Relief, the Petitioners having already too ſeverely experienced the Juſtice of the *Spaniſh* Courts and Governors, to conſider them as any Security; and therefore praying, that the Petitioners may have an Opportunity of being heard, and that they may be allowed to repreſent to Parliament, the great Importance of our Trade to and from our own Plantations in *America*, the clear and indiſputable Right which we have to enjoy it, without being ſtopp'd, viſited, or ſearched by the *Spaniards*, on any Pretence whatſoever; and the certain and inevitable Deſtruction of all the Riches and Strength derived to this Kingdom from that Trade, if a Search of *Britiſh* Ships, ſailing to and from the *Britiſh* Plantations, be tolerated upon any Pretext, or under any Reſtrictions or Limitations, or even if the Freedom of this Navigation ſhould continue much longer in this State of Uncertainty."

At the ſame Time, we had a Copy of another Petition read to us, which was drawn up and preſented in the Name and by Order of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council aſſembled; ſetting forth, "That the Citizens of *London* are too deeply intereſted in whatever affects the Trade of this Nation, not to expreſs the utmoſt Anxiety for the Welfare of that only Source of our Riches; and it is with a Concern the Petitioners are unable to expreſs, that they perceive the Trade to his Majeſty's *American* Colonies ſtill continues expoſed to the Inſults of the *Spaniards*, who under unwarrantable and injurious Pretences, continue to ſtop, ſearch, and make Prize of *Britiſh* Veſſels, navigating the *American* Seas, in manifeſt Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; and that the Petitioners apprehend, that the Trade from theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms to his *American* Colonies is of the utmoſt Importance, and almoſt the only profitable Trade this Nation now enjoys unrivaled by others; and, that the Petitioners were induced to hope, from his Majeſty's known Goodneſs and paternal Care of his Subjects, ſupported by the vigorous Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Equipment of a very powerful Fleet, that his Majeſty's trading Subjects in the Seas of *America*, as well as in all other Parts of the Ocean, would not only have received a full Satisfaction for all their Loſſes, occaſioned by the *Spaniſh* Depredations, but alſo an undoubted Security for their Navigation and Commerce in Time to come; and, that a reaſonable and adequate Reparation would likewiſe have been obtained for the Barbarities and inhuman Cruelties exerciſed by that Nation on the *Engliſh* Seamen, who have had the Unhappineſs of falling into their mercileſs Hands; and expreſſing their great Concern and Surprize to find, by the Convention lately concluded between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, that the *Spaniards* are ſo far from giving up their, as the Petitioners apprehend, unjuſt Pretenſions of a Right to viſit and ſearch our Ships in the open Seas of *America*, that this Pretenſion of theirs is amongſt others referred to the future Regulation and Deciſion of Plenipotentiaries appointed on each Side, whereby the Petitioners apprehend it is in ſome Degree admitted;

mitted; and, that the Petitioners conceive they have too much Cauſe to fear, if the Right pretended to by *Spain*, of ſearching *Britiſh* Ships at Sea, be admitted in any Manner or Degree whatſoever, that the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects in or to *America* will become ſo precarious, as to depend in a great Meaſure upon the Indulgence and Juſtice of the *Spaniards*, of both which they have given, for ſome Years paſt, ſuch Specimens, as the Petitioners think this Nation can have no Cauſe to be ſatisfied with; and expreſſing the Apprehenſions of the Petitioners, that ſuch a precarious Situation as this, muſt inevitably expoſe the Trade, in and to the *American* Seas, to continual Interruptions and Alarms, as well as to frequent Loſſes; and that to theſe unhappy Cauſes, the Petitioners apprehend the preſent low State of the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America* may, in a great Meaſure, be attributed; and that, if the cruel Treatment of the *Engliſh* Sailors, whoſe hard Fate has thrown them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, ſhould be put up without any Reparation, the Petitioners apprehend it may be the Means of deterring Seamen from undertaking Voyages to the Seas of *America*, without an Advance of Wages, which that Trade, or any other, will not be able to ſupport; and, that the Petitioners therefore having laid before Parliament, the high Importance this Trade is of to the Kingdom in general, and this City in particular, thought it their indiſpenſable Duty to repreſent to Parliament, the fatal Conſequences of leaving the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce any longer in Suſpence and Uncertainty; and therefore expreſſing their Hope, that the Parliament will take it into mature Deliberation, and do therein, as ſhall ſeem meet."

There were many other Petitions preſented upon this Subject, particularly, from the Maſter, Wardens, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of the Society of Merchants Adventurers within the City of *Briſtol*; from the Merchants trading from the Port of *Liverpoole* to his Majeſty's Plantations in *America*; from the Merchant Company of the City of *Edinburgh*; from the Merchants of *Glaſgow* trading to the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, &c. which being all much to the ſame Effect, it is not neceſſary to give the Subſtance of any more of them; and there were likewiſe Petitions preſented from the Truſtees of *Georgia*, and from the Owners of ſeveral Ships that had been ſeized and confiſcated by the *Spaniards*, repreſenting each their particular Caſe, and complaining of the Convention, which you, I know, cannot ſpare Room for; and therefore, I ſhall only obſerve, that as the Petition from the Merchants and Planters prayed to be heard upon ſeveral Articles ſet forth in their Petition, a Queſtion was ſtarted and debated in our Club, Whether they ſhould be admitted to be heard by their Counſel? In which Debate, the firſt that ſpoke in favour of the Queſtion was *M. Valerius Corvus*, whoſe Speech was in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

FROM the Number of Petitions that are now ready, or preparing to be preſented to us, againſt our late Convention with *Spain*; from the Rank and Character of the ſeveral Petitioners; and from the Allegations ſet forth in the Petition that is now before us; we have great Reaſon, I think, to conclude, that our Convention is far from being ſuch a one as it ought to be. From the great and conſiderable Bodies of Merchants,

that have petitioned, or are preparing to petition againſt it, and from our ſeeing not ſo much as one Petition in its Favour, we muſt conclude, that the whole Body of our Merchants think it a moſt diſhonourable, diſadvantageous, and dangerous Treaty. On the other hand, Sir, we ought in Charity to believe, that our Miniſters who negotiated this Convention, and our Miniſters who adviſed his Majeſty to ratify it, thought it either a good one, or at leaſt, the beſt that our preſent Circumſtances would permit us to inſiſt on. Therefore, when this Convention comes to be examined in this Houſe, we ought to conſider ourſelves as Judges in an Affair, in which the whole Body of our Merchants, Planters, and Sailors, are Plaintiffs, and our Miniſters and Negotiators Defendants; and, in an Affair of ſuch Importance, an Affair in which the Parties concerned are of ſo great Conſequence, ſurely it will be allowed, that it behoves us not only to have the beſt Information, both as to Matters of Right and Matters of Fact, but alſo to have all the Proofs and Arguments that can be brought upon either Side of the Queſtion, ſtated and laid before us in the moſt methodical, the fulleſt, and the cleareſt Light.

For this Reaſon, Sir, it is, I think, abſolutely neceſſary for us, not only to refer this Petition to the Committee who are to conſider of the Convention, which I am confident no Gentleman will oppoſe; but I likewiſe think it abſolutely neceſſary, to allow the Petitioners to be heard before that Committee, either by themſelves or Counſel, with regard to this Convention, which they ſo heavily, and, I am afraid, ſo reaſonably complain of; and, if our Miniſters and Negotiators have a Mind to juſtify their Proceedings, they may move, or get one to move for them, that Counſel may at the ſame Time be heard in favour of this Child of theirs, which, like other monſtrous Births, is in ſome Danger of being ſmothered upon its firſt Appearance in the World. As I have no intimate Correſpondence with them, nor with any one of them, I cannot pretend to gueſs at what they may, in this Caſe, reſolve on; but, as I have always had a good Correſpondence with our Merchants and Planters, I may venture to ſay, that ſuch of them as are now Supplicants at our Bar, will be glad of being admitted to be heard by their Counſel upon this Occaſion; and will be far from grudging any Expence, that may be neceſſary for giving us a full and clear View of the important Affair that is ſoon to come before us: Therefore, I ſhall conclude what I am to ſay upon the preſent Occaſion with a Motion to this Effect, That the Petition now preſented to us be referred to the Conſideration of the Committee of the whole Houſe, who are to conſider of the Convention between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, concluded at the *Pardo*, *Jan.* 14, 1739, N. S. and the ſeparate Articles belonging thereunto, with the ſeveral Ratifications thereof; and, that the Petitioners, if they think fit, be heard upon their Petition, either by themſelves or Counſel, before the ſaid Committee.

This, Sir, I take to be ſo reaſonable a Propoſition, that I hope no Gentleman will oppoſe it: However, before I make my Motion, I ſhall beg Leave to obſerve, that in all Trials at Law, even in criminal Trials, where by the common Method of Proceeding, Counſel are not admitted to be heard, wherever a Point of Right or Law comes to be diſputed, Counſel are always admitted to ſpeak, as to ſuch Points, for the better Information of the Judg-

es; and yet, I hope, I may be allowed to preſume, that our Judges, eſpecially of late Years, are as much Maſters of the Laws of their Country, as the ſeveral Members of this Houſe can be ſuppoſed to be of the Law of Nations, and of the ſeveral Rights and Privileges which are founded upon that Law, or upon the particular Treaties now ſubſiſting between us and *Spain*. Therefore, when any ſuch Right or Privilege comes to be diſputed before us, there is at leaſt as great a Neceſſity for admitting Counſel to be heard upon ſuch Points for our Information, as there can be for admitting Counſel to be heard upon any Point of Law for the Information of our Judges.

If we attend, Sir, to the Petition now upon our Table, we ſhall from thence ſee, that when the Convention comes to be taken into Conſideration, there are ſeveral Matters of Right that muſt be enquired into, and ſome of them may, perhaps, be diſputed even by ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe. We know that the *Spaniards* have lately pretended to a Right to viſit and ſearch *Britiſh* Ships, ſailing to and from the *Britiſh* Plantations: This is a Right which, I believe, no Gentleman in this Houſe will pretend to juſtify; however, as the *Spaniards* do pretend to juſtify it, or at leaſt have exerciſed it, it is a Point of Right, which ought to be fully inquired into, before we can judge of the Convention. But there is another Point of Right or Law that will, I believe, be diſputed even in this Houſe, and that is, Whether this Right of Viſiting and Searching our Ships in the open Seas, which the *Spaniards* lay Claim to, is not in ſome Degree admitted by us, by our agreeing to refer this Pretenſion of theirs to the future Regulation of Plenipotentiaries? For if there is the leaſt Ground, even for the *Spaniards* to alledge, that we have, by ſuch Reference, in any Degree admitted of this Pretenſion, ſurely every Gentleman who has a Regard for the Honour and Happineſs of his Country, will condemn a Treaty which gives the *Spaniards* any Ground to ſay ſo. And whether they may not from this Treaty have, or pretend to have, ſome Ground for ſaying ſo, is a Point of Right, which the Petitioners ſeem to apprehend, and which ſeveral Gentlemen in this Houſe, as well as I, think we have Reaſon to apprehend, tho' our Apprehenſions will certainly be ſaid to be groundleſs, by all thoſe who are Favourers of the Convention. But as this is a Point which will, and muſt be judged of by Foreigners as well as by us, we ought to have it fully argued, before we paſs any Judgment upon it.

As this Point in particular, Sir, depends upon the Law of Nations, and upon the Conſtruction that is uſually put upon preliminary Articles or Conventions, we cannot ſuppoſe that the Petitioners are capable of giving us any Light into this Affair; and therefore, if it were but for the Sake of this Point only, we ought to allow them to be heard by their Counſel upon this Occaſion. There may be other Points of Right, which ought to be enquired into: I believe there are ſeveral others, which we ought to inſiſt on, as the undoubted Rights and Privileges of this Nation; and yet the general Reference contained in this Convention, may hereafter give *Spain* a Pretence to ſay, that even we ourſelves admitted them to be ſuch as were diſputable. For this Reaſon, Sir, before we paſs any Judgment in an Affair of ſo great Conſequence to the Honour, Trade, and Navigation of this Kingdom, we ought ſtrictly to examine into the Import and Meaning of thoſe Words in the firſt Article, by which it is agreed,

'That

'That the Plenipotentiaries reſpectively named by their *Britannick* and *Catholick* Majeſties, ſhall confer, and finally regulate the reſpective Pretenſions of the two Crowns, as well with relation to the Trade and Navigation in *America* and *Europe*, and to the Limits of *Florida* and of *Carolina*, as concerning other Points, which remain likewiſe to be adjuſted.' I ſay, Sir, we ought ſtrictly to examine into the Import and Meaning of this unlimited Reference, before we paſs any Judgment; and as the Import and Meaning of theſe Words muſt entirely depend upon the Law of Nations, and the Nature of preliminary Conventions, we cannot expect full Satisfaction, as to this Point, from the Petitioners; we can no Way expect full Satisfaction, but by hearing learned Gentlemen argue upon it, who have made ſuch Points their particular Study.

I believe, Sir, it will be admitted by every Gentleman, both within Doors and without, that a definitive Treaty, containing a full and expreſs Acknowledgment of all our Rights and Privileges, would have been much better than this preliminary Convention: Conſidering the vigorous Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament laſt Seſſion, conſidering the Spirit which at preſent prevails among all Ranks and Degrees of Men in this Kingdom, and conſidering the great Expence the Nation was put to laſt Summer, I believe it was what moſt Men expected: Yet notwithſtanding, if none of our undoubted Rights or Privileges are rendered doubtful, or any Way invalidated, by this preparatory Way of Treating, we may excuſe our Negotiators for agreeing to ſuch Preliminaries for the Sake of Peace, provided it appears, they had good Reaſon to hope that thoſe Preliminaries would be ſoon followed by a ſincere and ſatisfactory Treaty; but, I hope, Sir, this Nation is not yet brought ſo low, nor are we ſo fond of Peace, as to give up any of our Rights, or agree to any Thing, for preſent Eaſe, that may lay a Foundation for conteſting ſome of our moſt valuable Rights in Time to come. Such an unlucky Situation, I hope, I am convinced, the Nation is not yet reduced to, whatever ſome Gentlemen may be, who perhaps conſider their own immediate Eaſe, more than they conſider either the Honour, or the Intereſt of their Country.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, there were no Matters of Law or Right to be explained to us, ſuppoſe it were no Way neceſſary to have the Law of Nations, or the Nature of preliminary Conventions explained to us, yet the Facts that are to be laid before us upon the preſent Occaſion, are ſo numerous, and of ſuch various Kinds, that it is not poſſible to have them methodically and regularly ſummed up, without the Aſſiſtance of Counſel. We muſt ſee that it will be neceſſary for us, to examine a great many Witneſſes, with regard to thoſe Depredations that have been committed by the *Spaniards*, both before and ſince the Treaty of *Seville*; with regard to the Importance of our Trade to and from our Plantations in *America*; with regard to the Dangers that Trade may be expoſed to, if a Search of *Britiſh* Ships, ſailing to and from the *Britiſh* Plantations, ſhould be tolerated upon any Pretext, or under any Reſtrictions; and with regard to ſeveral other Points I could mention: Every one of theſe Witneſſes may be able to give us an Account of ſome of the Facts he knows; but from daily Experience we may ſuppoſe, that even thoſe Accounts will be but lamely and indiſtinctly given, unleſs we have Counſel at our Bar, who know how to put the proper Queſtions to them; and

and when all the Witneſſes have been examined, we cannot ſuppoſe that any of the Petitioners will be able to ſum up the Evidence, to digeſt all their Teſtimonies under their proper Heads, and to make ſuch Remarks upon each Point of Evidence, as may be neceſſary for putting it in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt Light; for when a Subject is very copious, and a great many Facts of divers Kinds to be related, it is not poſſible for any Gentleman, not exerciſed in the Art of Speaking, or not accuſtomed to ſpeak before a numerous Aſſembly, let his Qualifications otherwiſe be never ſo great, to give a regular, diſtinct, and full Account of the Whole.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I think it muſt appear, that it will be extremely proper for us, to have the Aſſiſtance of Counſel upon this important Occaſion. Nay, it is what, I think, thoſe Gentlemen muſt be fond of, who are the greateſt Friends to the Convention; for if it any Way deſerves thoſe high Encomiums that have been made upon it, by ſome Gentlemen without Doors, the more clearly, the more diſtinctly, and the more fully, this whole Affair is laid before the Houſe, the more we ſhall be ſenſible of the great Honour and Advantage the Nation may reap by this preliminary Treaty; the more eaſy will it be for them to anſwer any Objection that may be made againſt it: For this Reaſon, I cannot ſuppoſe, that the Motion I am to make will meet with any Oppoſition; and therefore I ſhall add no more, but conclude with moving, That the Petitioners may be heard by themſelves or Counſel, as I have before mentioned.

The next Speech I ſhall give you upon this Queſtion, was that made by Servilius Priſcus, *who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

ALTHO' I am as fond as any Gentleman in this Houſe can be, of receiving all poſſible Information relating to the Convention we have lately concluded with *Spain*, tho' I ſhall be glad to have that Information laid before us in the moſt full and methodical Manner, yet, I cannot altogether approve of what the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe. And, indeed, it is becauſe I am for having all proper Information relating to that Affair, and for having that Information laid before us in the moſt natural, clear, and ſuccinct Manner, that I ſhall be againſt agreeing to ſome Part of his Propoſition. I ſhall willingly concur with him, in ordering the Petition now preſented to us, to be referred to the Committee who are to conſider of the Convention: I ſhall likewiſe concur with him, in allowing the Petitioners to be heard by themſelves before that Committee; but, I cannot concur with him, in giving them leave to be heard by themſelves or Counſel; becauſe, in the Caſe now before us, I do not think it proper to admit either thoſe who have already petitioned, or any of thoſe who may hereafter petition, to be heard by Counſel; and, my Reaſons for being of this Opinion, I muſt beg leave to lay before you.

I have a great Reſpect, Sir, for the learned Gentlemen of the Law, and ſhall always be glad to hear them hold forth at our Bar upon every proper Occaſion; but I hope they will excuſe me if I ſay, that I do not think their Manner of ſtating a Caſe, or relating Facts, the moſt natural: I hope they will pardon me, even if I ſhould ſay, that it may ſometimes ſerve to confound, inſtead of inſtructing their Hearers. Nay, as it is the Cuſtom among them to be ready to take

a Fee upon either Side of any Queſtion, that may occur either in this Houſe or any other Court of Judicature, they muſt make it their Buſineſs to learn how to dreſs up a bad Cauſe in ſuch fine Trappings, as to make it paſs for a good one. Therefore, in Caſes where no Matter of private Right or Property is to be diſputed, I ſhall always be againſt expoſing myſelf, or any other Gentleman in this Houſe, to the Danger of being confounded or impoſed on by Flowers of Oratory, or by an artful Manner of ſtating the Caſe, either on the one Side or the other; becauſe, I can ſay, for my own Part at leaſt, that I am afraid, leſt I ſhould, by ſuch Means, be perſuaded to think that a good Cauſe which is really a bad one, or that a bad Cauſe which is really a good one; and my Fears, in this Reſpect, always encreaſe in Proportion to the Importance of the Caſe, in which I am to give my Judgment.

After having thus ſhewn, Sir, the Danger of admitting Counſel to be heard before us, in any Caſe where it is not abſolutely neceſſary, I muſt obſerve, that with regard to Facts, we can, in no Caſe, ſuppoſe that Counſel can give us any Information, but ſuch as they are inſtructed to give by thoſe that employ them. In the preſent Caſe, it is the Petitioners that muſt inſtruct them what Facts they are to inſiſt on, what Witneſſes they are to call for proving thoſe Facts, and what may be the proper Queſtions to be put to each Witneſs; and, if we ſuppoſe the Petitioners capable of inſtructing their Counſel in all theſe Particulars, we muſt ſuppoſe them capable, by themſelves, of inſtructing this Houſe, and of giving us all the Information, as to Facts, that we could expect from their Counſel. I ſay, we muſt not only ſuppoſe them capable of doing it, but I am convinced they will do it in a more natural and ſuccinct Manner, than the learned Barriſters uſually do. Facts, Sir, are plain Things, they may be diſguiſed, but they cannot be cleared up by Eloquence; therefore, in all Caſes where nothing but Facts are to be enquired into, the more numerous the Aſſembly is that is to judge of them, the more Danger there is in allowing them to be ſtated or ſummed up by thoſe whoſe Profeſſion it is to be eloquent; and, for this Reaſon, I think, we ought, in the preſent Caſe, to have all thoſe Facts, that may be neceſſary to be laid before us, ſtated in the moſt plain and natural Dreſs, which we may expect from the Petitioners themſelves, but cannot from their Counſel.

Then, Sir, as to Points of Right or Law, I do not think it poſſible that any ſuch can ariſe with regard to the Convention. As to thoſe the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to mention, I do not think that any one of them will be diſputed in this Houſe. Surely, no Gentleman in this Houſe will ſay, that the *Spaniards* have a Right to ſearch any *Britiſh* Ship upon the High Seas: Nor do I believe that any Gentleman in this Houſe will deny the Importance of our Plantation Trade, or that it will be expoſed to great Dangers and Inconveniencies, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould be allowed to ſearch our Ships ſailing on the High Seas, upon any Pretext, or under any Reſtrictions. And, as to the Point, whether we can be ſuppoſed to have admitted, in any Degree, of ſuch a Search, by referring all Matters in Diſpute between the two Nations to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries? It is a Point, in which, I think, there can be no Queſtion: I am ſure no Gentleman in this Houſe will ſay, that from ſuch a Reference any ſuch Thing can be ſuppoſed. If a Man ſhould claim

claim 1000*l.* of me, may not I ſubmit to hear his Reaſons, and examine his Vouchers, tho' I know I owe him nothing? Does this Submiſſion ſhew any Acknowledgment in me, that that Sum, or any other Sum, is really due? So far otherwiſe, Sir, that I ſhould think myſelf bound in Charity to confer with him upon the Subject, to the End that I might have an Opportunity to convince him of the Unreaſonableſs of his Demand, or Falſhood of his Vouchers, and thereby prevent his being induced to ruin himſelf, by commencing an unjuſt Law-Suit againſt me. This, I ſay, I ſhould think myſelf bound in Charity to do, eſpecially if that Neighbour and I were in ſuch Circumſtances as made it our mutual Intereſt to cultivate a mutual Friendſhip; and, that this is the Caſe between *Spain* and us, I believe no Gentleman will deny. This, Sir, is all we have done, with regard to the preſent Diſputes between *Spain* and us: We have agreed to hear what they have to ſay, for no other End but to convince them that there is not the leaſt Foundation for the Claims they have lately ſet up; and this we have done out of Charity to them, as well as out of Regard to our own Intereſt, in order to prevent an open Rupture between two Nations, whoſe mutual Intereſt it is to live in mutual Friendſhip. By the Reference we have agreed to, we cannot be ſuppoſed to have given up, or in the leaſt invalidated, any of our Rights or Privileges. We cannot be ſuppoſed to have admitted, in any Degree, of any of their Claims: At leaſt no ſuch Suppoſition can be made by any, but thoſe who have a Mind to ſuppoſe ſo, only for the Sake of finding Fault with the Convention.

This Nation, thank God! Sir, is far from being in any unfortunate Situation. I hope it never will be reduced to the fatal Neceſſity of giving up any of its valuable Rights or Privileges, for the Sake of Peace. I hope no Man has any Influence in his Majeſty's Counſels, that for any ſelfiſh Conſideration would adviſe him to do ſo. I am ſure his Majeſty would reject ſuch Advice with the utmoſt Diſdain; and therefore, no Man, if he were wicked enough, will be bold enough, to give it. But there are ſome Perſons in the Nation, tho' none in this Houſe, who are Enemies to his Majeſty and his Family; and as ſuch Perſons place all their Hopes in Inſurrections and Invaſions, they endeavour to make the World believe, that this Nation is reduced to the loweſt and moſt contemptible Condition, by which they hope to ſerve a double Purpoſe; for, at the ſame Time, that it contributes towards rendering our own People diſaffected, they think it will encourage Foreigners to invade us, or to provoke us to War, by refuſing to do us Juſtice. This may have ſome Effect upon ſome ignorant and unthinking People, but no Man of Senſe can be ſo impoſed on; and it is now, I hope it will always be, in our Power, as ſoon as we think it neceſſary, to make our Enemies ſenſible, that our Forbearance proceeded from our Wiſdom, and not from our Weakneſs or Puſillanimity.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, it will appear, that none of thoſe Points of Right that have been mentioned, can come to be diſputed in this Houſe; and ſurely, we have no Occaſion to hear Counſel, as to Points of Right which no Man will conteſt. But now, ſuppoſe they were all to be conteſted, even in that Caſe, we could have no Occaſion to take up our Time with hearing Counſel. All the Points that have been mentioned, and all the Points of Right that can come

before us upon the preſent Occaſion, are of a publick Nature; and, with reſpect to Matters of publick Right, there are many Gentlemen in this Houſe, that underſtand them better, and can explain them more fully and clearly, than any Lawyer, whoſe Time is chiefly employed in ſtudying the municipal Laws of his Country. I believe there is not a Gentleman in this Houſe but would chuſe, I am ſure I would chuſe, to hear the Hon. Gentleman himſelf upon ſuch a Subject, rather than any Lawyer in the Kingdom. It is in Matters of private Right or Property only, where the hearing of Counſel can be of any Advantage to us; becauſe, as ſuch Matters are generally more perplexed than Matters of a publick Concern, Gentlemen who do not make it their particular Study, cannot be ſuppoſed to know all the Laws and Cuſtoms that may relate to them, or the Precedents by which they ought to be regulated.

In ſuch Caſes, Sir, in all Caſes where the private Right or Property of any Man in the Kingdom is to be affected, by any Thing that is to paſs in this Houſe, I know it is uſual to admit the Petitioners to be heard by their Counſel; but I know no Inſtance where Counſel have been admitted, in any Caſe, where national Rights or Privileges only could be ſaid to be affected. I am far from thinking that any national Right or Privilege can be in the leaſt affected, by our late Convention with *Spain*; but, if this were the Caſe, I think it would be a bad Precedent to admit Counſel to be heard upon ſuch an Occaſion. I know the Subject has a Right to petition, even upon ſuch Occaſions: I ſhall always be, not only for preſerving that Right, but for encouraging the Practice. But, in all Caſes, we have a Right to hear them or not, as we ſee Cauſe; and, in Matters of a publick Concern, we ſeldom hear them even by themſelves. In Money Bills we never do: In ſuch Bills it is almoſt a general Rule, not ſo much as to receive Petitions againſt ſuch Bills; and it would be extremely inconvenient to introduce the Practice of hearing Counſel, in Caſes of a publick Nature. If ſuch a Practice ſhould become frequent, our Seſſions of Parliament would become not only annual, but continual. We would be obliged to ſit from one Year's End to the other; in which Caſe, it would become neceſſary to revive the antient Cuſtom of paying Wages to our Parliament Men; and, as Money is now of much leſs Value than it was when that Cuſtom prevailed, it would likewiſe become neceſſary to encreaſe thoſe Wages, which would be a new and a heavy Charge upon all the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs in the Kingdom.

Whoever therefore may be the Parties, Plaintiff and Defendant, when we come to take this Convention into our Conſideration, it muſt, I think, Sir, appear to be a Precedent of a very dangerous Nature, to admit the Petitioners againſt it, to be heard by their Counſel. For my own Part, I am far from thinking, that the whole Body of our Merchants, Planters, and Seamen, will appear as Plaintiffs againſt it. What Means may have been uſed for ſpiriting up Petitions againſt it, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but, I believe, if any Means had been made uſe of for ſpiriting up Petitions in its Favour, we ſhould have had as many Petitions of the one Side as of the other; for, I cannot but think, that the greateſt Part of our Merchants, Planters, and Seamen, will always be for preſerving Peace, if poſſible. And as to thoſe who were concerned in negotiating this Treaty, I believe they think it ſtands in

no

no Need of Counſel for its Juſtification: I believe, they think it will ſpeak ſufficiently for itſelf; therefore, I believe, they will not deſire to have it recommended by the Arts of Eloquence; and, as I think the admitting of Counſel to be heard againſt it, is not only unneceſſary, but in ſeveral Reſpects dangerous: As I think it would be taking up a great Deal of our Time to very little Purpoſe; I ſhall therefore conclude, with moving for an Amendment to the Hon. Gentleman's Motion; which is, That the Word, *either*, and the Words, *or Counſel*, may be left out of the Queſtion.

[*The reſt of this* DEBATE, *and this* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AS one Extream is apt to make Way for another, I have often thought, ſince the Riſe of the Methodiſts, that the Enthuſiaſm with which they appear to be acted, was in a great Meaſure owing to the prevailing Degeneracy, Corruption, and Irreligion of the preſent Times. Tho' all Extreams are unreaſonable, yet Men are apt to dwell only upon the Abſurdity of that Extream, to which they have a preſent Averſion, which makes them ſee that Abſurdity in a glaring Light; and this, without great Care, will throw them into the oppoſite Extream. Thus Men have often gone from the Extream of Infidelity and Immorality, into that of Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm; and from Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm, into Infidelity and Immorality: And as Irreligion in ſome Men, has occaſioned Enthuſiaſm and Bigottry in others; ſo Enthuſiaſm and Bigottry in ſome, have thrown others into the contrary Extream, of a Neglect and Contempt of all Religion: And theſe two Extreams have almoſt divided the World between them. This muſt give the wiſe and diſcerning Few, who conſider Things calmly, without Paſſion or Prepoſſeſſion, a great deal of Concern. As both the Extreams I have mention'd are very pernicious to Mankind, and have occaſioned the greateſt Miſchiefs to Society, they cannot be too much guarded againſt; that true, genuine Religion, the greateſt Friend to Society, may be preſerved by us: And thoſe Pieces, which are calculated to guard Men againſt both or either of theſe Extreams, equally deſtructive to true Religion, deſerve well of the Publick. Among theſe we muſt reckon the Biſhop of *London*'s late *Paſtoral Letter*, againſt *Lukewarmneſs* on the one Hand, and *Enthuſiaſm* on the other; of which, as it ſeems to me to be wrote with a truly Chriſtian Spirit, I ſhould be glad if you would give an Extract, eſpecially of the latter Part of it, in your next *Magazine*, in order to the making it as publick as poſſible. *I am,*

Sir, Yours, &c.

We ſhall the rather comply with our Correſpondent's Requeſt, as that Part of the Biſhop's Letter contains an Abſtract of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Journals, and ſo will ſerve to give our Readers a farther Account of the Spirit of *Methodiſm*. (See p. 340, *&c.*)

EXTRACT *from the ſecond Part of the Biſhop of* London's PASTORAL LETTER *to the People of his Dioceſe, being a* Caution againſt ENTHUSIASM.

THE other Extream, (ſays his Lordſhip) into which ſome ſerious and well-meaning Chriſtians are apt to be led, is ENTHUSIASM, or a ſtrong Perſuaſion on the Mind, that they are guided in an *extraordinary* Manner, by immediate *Impulſes* and *Impreſſions* of the Spirit of God. And this is owing chiefly to the Want of diſtinguiſhing aright between the *ordinary* and *extraordinary* Operations of the Holy Spirit.

The *extraordinary* Operations were thoſe, by which the Apoſtles and others, who were entruſted with the firſt Propagation of the Goſpel, were enabled to work Miracles, and ſpeak with Tongues, in Teſtimony that their Miſſion and Doctrine were from God. But theſe have long ſince ceaſed; and the *ordinary* Gifts and Influences of the Spirit, which ſtill continue, are convey'd in a different Manner, and for Ends and Uſes of a more private Nature; and, however real and certain in themſelves, are no otherwiſe *diſcernible* than by their *Fruits* and *Effects*, as theſe appear in the *Lives* of Chriſtians.

We are firmly perſuaded in general, that we live under the gracious Influence of the *Holy Spirit*, and that he both excites and enables us to do good. But that this or that *Thought* or *Action* is an Effect of the ſole Motion or immediate Impulſe of the Spirit without any Co-operation of our own Mind; or that the Holy Spirit, and our natural Conceptions, do reſpectively contribute to this or that Thought or Action, in ſuch a *Meaſure*, or to ſuch a *Degree*; theſe are Things we dare not ſay; both becauſe our Saviour has told us, that we know no more of the *Workings* of the Spirit, than we know of the Wind, *from whence it*

cometh, and whither it goeth, and becauſe we clearly ſee, that all *Pretences* to that Knowledge, unleſs accompanied with the proper Evidences of a divine Inſpiration, would open a Door to endleſs Enthuſiaſm and Deluſion.

God forbid, that in this profane and degenerate Age, every Thing that has an *Appearance* of Piety and Devotion, ſhould not be conſidered in the moſt favourable Light that it is capable of. But at the ſame Time, it is ſurely very proper that Men ſhould be called upon for ſome reaſonable Evidences of a *divine* Commiſſion,

I. When they tell us of *extraordinary Communications* they have with God, and more than ordinary Aſſurances of a ſpecial *Preſence* with them.

This Day, I intended to ſtay on board to write Letters, but God being pleaſed to *ſhew* me it was not his Will, I went on Shoar again. Mr. *Whitefield*'s Journal I. p. 3.

Had much of the *Preſence* of God with me. Ibid. p. 18.

Had *much of God* with me to Day. Ib. p. 28.

I told the People that God *called* me, and I muſt away—Intended to preach at Fort *Simons*, &c. but, Lord, thou *calleſt* me elſewhere. Journ. II. p. 9.

God having *ſhown* both me and my Friends, that it was his *Will* I ſhould return for a While to *England*— I preached my Farewel Sermon. Ibid. p. 11.

The Kingdom of God is *within* me. Journ. III. p. 4.

My Oppoſers, would they but ſpeak, cannot but confeſs that God is *with me* of a Truth. Ibid. p. 18.

See ye not, ye Oppoſers, how you prevail nothing? Why do you not believe that it would not be thus, unleſs God was *with* me? Ibid. p. 33.

It is remarkable, that we have not had ſuch a continued *Preſence* of God among us, as we have had ſince I was threatened to be excommunicated. Ibid. p. 35.

Obſerving, Providence *called* me this Morning, I went with ſome Chriſtian Friends to *Bath*. Ibid. p. 37.

Our Maſter being *with us*, I preached with Power. Ibid. p. 58.

II. When they talk in the Language of thoſe, who have a ſpecial and immediate *Miſſion* from God.

Was ſoon convinced, that God has *ſent me hither* of a Truth. Journal I. p. 5.

The Eternal Almighty I AM, hath *ſent* me, and will, no doubt, protect me. Ib. p. 32.

This I know; what I have ſpoken *from God*, will come to paſs, (lo! it will come) and then ſhall Scoffers and Deſpiſers know that a *Miniſter of Chriſt* hath been amongſt them. Journ. II. p. 19.

Lord, open thou their Eyes, that they may ſee that this is thy *Doing*. Journ. III. p. 33.

Now know I more and more, that the Lord *calls me* into the Fields; for no Houſe or Street is able to contain half the People that come to hear the Word. Ibid. p. 90.

The Weather continued mighty fair, while I was delivering my *Maſter*'s Meſſage. Ibid. p. 95.

Nothing confirms me more in my Opinion that God *intends to work a great Work upon the Earth*, than to find how his Children of all Denominations every where wreſtle in Prayer for me. Ibid. p. 107.

III. When they profeſs to think and act under the immediate Guidance of a *Divine Inſpiration*.

Made a farewel Exhortation, as God *gave me Utterance*. Journ. I. p. 13.

God *aſſiſted* me to talk clearly of the New-birth and Juſtification by Faith alone, with one that oppoſed it. Journ. III. p. 8.

The Spirit of Supplication *increaſes in my Heart* daily. Ibid. p. 6.

I ſpoke with the *Demonſtration* of the Spirit. Ibid. p. 13.

Was *filled with the Holy Ghoſt*; which very much ſtrengthen'd my Body, and made my Feet like Hart's Feet. Ibid.

Expounded with ſuch *Demonſtration of the Spirit*, as I never ſpoke with before. Ib. p. 14.

God has given me a *double Portion of his Spirit* indeed. Ibid. p. 15.

I fear I ſhould *quench the Spirit*, did I not go on to ſpeak as he gives me *Utterance*. Ibid. p. 17.

God enabled me to ſpeak with ſuch *irreſiſtible Power*, that the Oppoſers were quite ſtruck dumb and confounded. Ibid. p. 24.

Felt the *Spirit of God* working in me mightily. Ibid.

Finding myſelf *ſtrengthen'd from above*, I went and expounded. Ibid. p. 40.

Bleſſed be God, I find myſelf much *refreſhed in Spirit*, and a new *Supply of Strength* given me. Thus ſhall it be done to the Man whom God delighteth to honour. Ibid. p. 41.

My Heart was *full of God*, and I ſpake as one having *Authority*. Ibid. p. 108.

IV. When they ſpeak of their Preaching and Expounding, and the Effects of them, as the ſole Work of a *divine Power*.

I had a great Hoarſeneſs upon me; but notwithſtanding, God enabled me to ſpeak *with Power*. Journ. I. p. 12.

God's *Holy Spirit* ſeem'd to be moving on the Faces of ſome of the Souls in the Ship. Ibid. p. 21.

Was enabled to read Prayers and preach *with Power*. Journ. II. p. 6, &c.

God hath been pleaſed to ſet his *Seal to my Miniſtry*, in a Manner I could not, I dare not, to expect, in *America*. Journ. III. p. 29, &c.

Preach'd and expounded with *great Power* and

and *Enlargement*—with *great Power* and *Demonſtration of the Spirit.* Ibid. p. 3.

Was told, my Preaching was attended with *uncommon Power.* Ibid. p. 16.

I expounded at the *Savoy.*—There, I think, I have commonly had *more Power* given me, than at any other Place. Ibid. p. 42.

I think, I never ſpoke with greater *Freedom* and *Power.* Ibid. p. 50.

Had *extraordinary Power* given me at the Society in *Nicholas ſtreet.* Ibid. p. 53.

Preach'd with *uncommon Power.* Ib. p. 54.

Extraordinary Power at *Poor-houſe* this Afternoon. Ibid. p. 55.

Preach'd with ſuch *Power* and *Demonſtration of the Spirit,* as I never ſaw before. Ibid. p. 87.

The Word came with *Power.* Ib. p. 90.

The Word of God came with *ſuch Power,* that all, I believe, were pleaſingly ſurprized. Ibid. p. 92.

I believe few, if any, were able to reſiſt the *Power,* wherewith God *enabled* me to ſpeak. Ibid. p. 102.

At *Kennington-Common* we had *extraordinary Preſence* of God among us. Ibid. p. 109.

People were ſo melted down on every Side, that the greateſt Scoffer muſt have own'd, that this was the *Finger of God.* Ibid. p. 110.

V. When they boaſt of ſudden and ſurprizing Effects as wrought by the *Holy Ghoſt,* in Conſequence of their Preaching.

The young Man's Convictions were ſtrong, and as far as I could find, a *thorough Renovation* begun in his Heart. Journ. I. p. 23.

The *Holy Ghoſt* powerfully work'd upon my Hearers. Journ. III. p. 6.

I expound near St. *James's-ſquare*; where one young Woman was lately *fill'd with the Holy Ghoſt.* Ibid. p. 42.

Five Days a Woman travail'd and groan'd, being in Bondage.—On *Thurſday* Evening, our Lord *got himſelf the Victory*; and, from that Moment, ſhe has been full of Love and Joy. It is to be obſerved, her Friends have accounted her mad theſe three Years, and accordingly have bled, bliſtered her, and what not. Ibid. p. 43.

We have Reaſon to think, that four, within this Fortnight, have been *born of God.* Ibid. p. 43.

Heard of one that had received the *Holy Ghoſt,* immediately upon my preaching Chriſt. Ibid. p. 72.

VI. When they claim the Spirit of *Prophecy.*

This I know, what I have ſpoken from God, *will* come to paſs. Journ. II. p. 19.

There certainly *will* be a *Fulfilling* of thoſe Things, which God *by his Spirit* hath ſpoken unto my Soul. Ibid. p. 35.

God *will* make his Power to be known in me. Journ. III. p. 3.

And yet I *ſhall* ſee greater Things than theſe. Ibid. p. 16.

There are many Promiſes to be *fulfilled* in me, many Souls *to be* called, many Sufferings *to be* endured, before I go hence. Ibid. p. 24.

We dined with ſeveral Chriſtian Friends with the kind Keeper of the Priſon, and rejoiced exceedingly at the Thoughts, that we ſhould, one Day or other, ſing together in ſuch a Place as *Paul* and *Silas* did. God prepare us for that Hour, for I *believe* it *will* come. Ibid. p. 35.

Yet a little While, and a ſuffering Time *will* come. I cannot follow him now, but I *ſhall* follow him afterwards. Ibid. p. 90.

Knowing not, what will befal me; ſaving that the *Holy Ghoſt* witneſſeth in every Place, that Labours, Afflictions, and Trials of all Kinds abide me. Ibid. p. 113.

VII. When they ſpeak of themſelves, in the Language, and under the Character, of *Apoſtles* of Chriſt, and even of *Chriſt* himſelf.

To preach the Goſpel at *Frederica* alſo; for therefore am I ſent. Journ. II. p. 7.

It came to paſs, that when Jeſus was returned, the People gladly received him.—Theſe laſt Words were remarkably preſs'd upon me, at *Savannah,* when I was *conſulting* God by Prayer, whether it was his Will that I ſhould go to *England.* Ibid. p. 18.

Howbeit, we muſt be caſt upon a certain Iſland. Behold, the Words are now fulfilled! Ibid. p. 28.

When I am *weak,* then am I *ſtrong.* Journ. III. p. 3.

We ſpeak what we do *know,* &c. Ib. p. 15.

I muſt go into every Place and City where I have been already; for therefore am I ſent. Ibid. p. 20.

The Time will come, when they ſhall thruſt you out of their Synagogues. Ib. p. 20.

Had another come in his own Name, him they would have received. Ibid. p. 29.

I really believe no leſs than 20,000 were preſent. Bleſſed are the Eyes which ſee the Things which we ſee. Ibid. p. 55.

Mr. *Weſley* is left behind at *Briſtol,* to teach the Way of God more perfectly. Ib. p. 65.

VIII. When they profeſs to plant and propagate a *new Goſpel,* as unknown to the Generality of Miniſters and People, in a Chriſtian Country.

At *Cardiff*—I offered *Jeſus Chriſt* freely even to them who mock'd, and ſhould have rejoiced if they would have accepted of him. Journ. III. p. 47.

I could have heartily wiſhed, all ſuch Scoffers had been preſent, that I might have offer'd them *Salvation* thro' *Jeſus Chriſt.* Ibid. p. 50.

I think, *Wales* is excellently well prepared for the *Goſpel* of Chriſt. Ibid. p. 51.

There is a moſt comfortable Proſpect of ſpreading the *Goſpel* in *Wales.* Ibid.

Recei'd

Receiv'd News of the wonderful Progreſs of the *Goſpel* in *Yorkſhire*, under the Miniſtry of my dear Brother *Ingham*. Ibid. p. 52.

Upon his Departure—The good Lord ſend ſomebody amongſt them, to water what his own right Hand hath planted. Ibid. p. 60.

Well may the Devil and his Angels rage horribly; their Kingdom is in Danger. Ib. 61.

Bleſſed be God, there is one coming after me, [Mr. *John Weſley*] who, I hope, will cheriſh the Spark of divine Love new kindled in their Hearts. Ibid. p. 64.

I was refreſh'd by a great Packet of Letters, giving me an Account of the Succeſs of the *Goſpel*, in different Parts. Ibid. p. 73.

A moſt comfortable Packet of Letters, giving me an Account of the Succeſs of the *Goſpel*. Ibid. p. 78.

If you aſk, with what View, or for what End, I have taken the Pains to extract the foregoing Paſſages, and to range them thus under the proper Heads; it is, that you may be able to make a Judgment for yourſelves, whether Perſons who aſſume ſuch a Character and ſpeak in ſuch a Language, ought not to give Proof of an *extraordinary Commiſſion* from God; and if they do not, whether the Part they act, and the Language they uſe, can be called by any other Name, than that of *Enthuſiaſm*?

If it be alledg'd in their Favour, That they are good Men, and mean well; let the Anſwer be, That good and well-meaning Men do oft-times deceive both themſelves and others; and in no Caſe ſo often, as in that of religious Zeal and Tranſport. And ſo far is a *good Intention* from taking off the Charge of Enthuſiaſm, that it is a neceſſary Ingredient in it; the proper Difference between an Enthuſiaſt and an Impoſtor being this; that the firſt is deceived himſelf, and, as long as he enjoys his own Thoughts, and modeſtly keeps within the Rules of Peace and Order, is to be *pitied*; but the ſecond *intends* to deceive others, and is therefore, in every Shape, to be *abhorred* and *deteſted*.

But there is one Thing in their Conduct, which it is hard to reconcile to *fair* and *ingenuous* Dealing; and that is, their endeavouring to juſtify their own *extraordinary* Methods of teaching, by caſting unworthy Reflexions upon the Parochial Clergy, as deficient in the Diſcharge of their Duty, and not inſtructing their People in the true Doctrines of Chriſtianity.

"It is moſt notorious, that for the *moralizing Iniquity* of the Prieſts, the Land mourns. We have preached and lived many ſincere Perſons out of our Communion. I have now converſed with ſeveral of the beſt of all Denominations; many of them ſolemnly proteſt, that they went from the *Church*, becauſe they could not find *Food* for their Souls; they ſtaid among us, till they were ſtarv'd out. I know, this Declaration will expoſe me to the Ill-will, not of all my Brethren, but of all my *indolent, earthly-minded, pleaſure-taking* Brethren. But was I not to ſpeak, the very Stones would cry out againſt them. Speak therefore I muſt, and will, and will not ſpare. God look to the Event. Whatever becomes of the Paſtors who feed themſelves, and not the Flock, I have born my Teſtimony, I have deliver'd my own Soul." Journ. III. p. 75.

Speaking of the Clergy who oppoſe their Methods: "What their real Reaſon is, whether Envy, or, *Maſter, in ſo doing thou reproacheſt us*, or ought elſe, ſhall one Day be manifeſted to Men and Angels." Ibid. p. 74.

"I perceive, People would be every where willing to hear, if the Miniſters were ready to teach the Truth, as it is in Jeſus." Ibid. p. 109.

This is a heavy Charge; and as it falls little ſhort of that of our Savour againſt the Scribes and Phariſees, ſo is it delivered with little leſs Authority. But I hope it is very far from the Truth; and if it be meant (as it ſeems to be) of the Generality of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, as preaching Morality, and not Chriſtianity, it is impoſſible for the Perſon who lays the Charge, to know whether it is true or not. And therefore it ought, at leaſt, to have been laid with greater Degrees of *Caution* and *Reſtriction*; and as it is not, one hardly knows what Name to give it. To call it a *raſh* Cenſure, is by far too gentle.

The Succeſs of Miniſters in the Diſcharge of their Duty, depends greatly upon the Eſteem and good Opinion of their People; and they who go about to repreſent the Parochial Clergy as unable or unwilling to teach their People aright, are ſo far anſwerable for defeating the good Effects that their Miniſtry might otherwiſe have. Unleſs they be weak enough to think, that *Itinerant Preaching* to confus'd Multitudes, is a more effectual Way to preſerve Religion among us, than Parochial Eſtabliſhments and a ſettled Miniſtry. At the ſame Time that People profeſs a greater Zeal for Religion than their Neighbours, they ſhould take Care not to indulge themſelves in ſuch Liberties, as evidently tend to weaken and undermine that, which, under God, is the *national Support* of it.

The aiming at high Flights in Religion, and depreciating the *ordinary* Methods of maintaining and propagating it, looks ſpecioufly, and will never want Admirers and Followers. But ſurely, an Endeavour to raiſe Religion to greater Heights, and greater Abſtractions from common Life, than Chriſt and his Apoſtles made and deſigned it, is attended with miſchievous Conſequences; from what Principle ſoever it proceeds, or with what Degrees of Zeal ſoever it may be accompanied. Some it draws from their pro-

per Buſineſs which God has required them to attend, and heats them by Degrees into a Kind of religious Frenzy, and ſeldom fails to lead them into *ſpiritual Pride*, and an inward Contempt of the Generality of their fellow Chriſtians, as of a *low* Size in Religion, compared with themſelves. And others are naturally led by it, to think it *impoſſible* for them to attain thoſe *Heights* in which Religion is made to conſiſt, and ſo to give over all Thoughts of being religious at all. With this latter View it was, that a zealous Advocate for Infidelity, ſome Years ſince, made it his Buſineſs to repreſent Chriſtianity, and the Duties of it, as of ſuch an *exalted* Nature, as might diſcourage the Generality of People from aiming at it, or thinking of it; in order to perſuade them to take the ſame free and unreſtrained Enjoyment of this World, that he himſelf was known to do. Whereas, nothing is more certain, than that the Chriſtian Religion is calculated for *common* Life, for Low as well as High, for Poor as well as Rich; and, that one great Part of the *Exerciſe* of Religion, is an honeſt and diligent Diſcharge of the Buſineſs of our ſeveral Stations; out of a Senſe of Duty to God who has placed us in them, and in the Hope of a future State of Happineſs which he has promiſed, as the Reward of our dutiful Compliance with his Appointment. If it were otherwiſe, Chriſt would have introduced into the World a new Religion no Ways ſuited to the *general* Situation and Circumſtances of Mankind, and have required ſuch a Courſe of Duty, as the greateſt Part of them are in no *Condition* to diſcharge.

There is a remarkable Paſſage in a late Journal, which ſeems to carry in it a great Deal of that Kind of *Diſcouragement*, which I have been ſpeaking of. It is, Word for Word, as follows:

"I write this, to ſhew how far a Man may go, and yet know nothing of Jeſus Chriſt. Behold here was one * who conſtantly attended on the Means of Grace, exact in his Morals, humane and courteous in his Converſation, who gave much in Alms, was frequent in private Duties; and yet, till about ſix Weeks ago, as deſtitute of any ſaving experimental Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, as thoſe on whom his Name was never called, and who ſtill ſit in Darkneſs and the Shadow of Death." Journ. III. p. 81, 82.

How it could be, that a profeſſed Chriſtian who conſtantly attended *the Means of Grace*, and was *frequent in private Duties*, did, all that While, *know nothing of Jeſus Chriſt*, is beyond my Comprehenſion. And I am as much at a Loſs to underſtand, what was that *ſaving experimental Knowledge* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for want of which, he could only be reckoned amo g *Heathens* and *Infidels*. We ought alſo to have been acquainted with the Circumſtances of the *ſudden Illumination*, by which that Knowledge is ſuppoſed to have been conveyed; to enable us to judge to what *Cauſe* or *Influence* it ought to be aſcribed. There is no Doubt, but God, when he pleaſes, *can* work upon the Minds of Men by extraordinary Influences; but, ſo long as there is no *Teſtimony* of their being the immediate Work of God, but the Whole reſts, in this and other like Caſes, upon the Imagination and Perſuaſion of the Perſon or Perſons concerned; others, who cannot ſee the Heart, nor the inward Operations upon it, muſt be excuſed, if they conſider it as *Enthuſiam* and *Deluſion*, till they ſee reaſonable Grounds for conſidering it in any other Light.

This Caſe may ſeem to bear ſome Reſemblance to the Converſion of *Cornelius*, as recorded in the Acts of the Apoſtles, but differs from it in three important Points; the firſt, that we are very certain, becauſe the Scripture has expreſly told us, that the whole Affair of conveying the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt to *Cornelius*, was ordered and carried on, under the *immediate Direction* and Guidance of God; the ſecond, that the Perſon whoſe Miniſtry God was pleaſed to make uſe of, was St. *Peter*, an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and whoſe divine Miſſion and Inſpiration were both unqueſtionable; and the third, that the Conveyance of the Holy Ghoſt was teſtified by an outward and ſenſible Evidence, namely, the *Gift of Tongues*.

It may, perhaps, be expected, that we ſhould at leaſt give his Lordſhip's Deſcription of Lukewarmneſs *in the firſt Part of his Letter, which is as follows.*

BY *Lukewarmneſs*, I mean an Opinion and Perſuaſion, that if Men go to Church as others do, and give the common Attention to the Buſineſs of their Stations, and keep themſelves from Sins of a groſs and notorious Nature, and are no way hurtful or injurious to their Neighbours; they are as good Chriſtians as they need be. By theſe, they reckon their Salvation ſufficiently provided for; without any Endeavour to grow better, and without examining their Hearts upon what Motives and Aims they act; "Whether the Evil they abſtain from, and the Good they do, be owing to a Senſe of Duty to God, and a View to a future Reward in the next World, or only to the Fear of Man and the avoiding of Shame and Reproach in this: "Whether, in attending to the Buſineſs of their Station, they act under a Senſe of Duty to God who has placed them in it, or have no higher Motive or Aim, than the carrying on their *worldly* Views: "Whether they are, on all Occaſions, as ready to *help* their Neighbours, as they are fearful

* Mr. *Seward*.

fearful to *hurt* them; and neither *covet* any Thing they enjoy, nor envy them the Enjoyment of it: "Whether they find any Degree of *Delight* in attending the publick Worſhip of God, and *endeavour* before-hand to put their Hearts into a proper Frame for Attention and Edification: "Whether they ſatisfy themſelves, that they have a real *Reliſh* of Devotion, by praying in *private*, as well as in *publick*: And, "Whether at the ſame Time, that they abſtain from the Sins of a groſs and more heinous Nature *themſelves*, they ſhew a ſerious Diſlike of them in *others*, and find an inward Concern at the Diſhonour that is done to God and his Laws.

By theſe Teſts, every one may judge of the *Progreſs* he has made in the Chriſtian Life; and, if he find none of thoſe Things within him, but that he has hitherto contented himſelf with a bare bodily Attendance upon the publick Worſhip of God, and following his daily Employment on other Days, and with abſtaining from the more groſs and notorious Acts of Sin, and from doing any Hurt or Injury to his Neighbour, and has reſted finally upon theſe, as the *Whole* that Chriſtianity requires of him; ſuch an one is to conclude himſelf to be as yet in a very *imperfect* State, or, in other Words, in the Number of the *Lukewarm*.

Craftſman, July 28. N° 681.

Obſervations on the State of our LAWS.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I SHALL not complain that the People of *England* are not made ſufficiently ſenſible of the Weight of the *Laws*; eſpecially thoſe, which I call *State penal Laws*; and if ſome of the *moral Laws* had been as punctually executed, I believe no Part of the Kingdom, unleſs the *Exciſe Office*, would have ſuffer'd by it.—By a Statute of 21 *James* I. and other preceding Statutes, a *drunken Man* is finable in 5*s*. for the firſt Offence; or, upon Non-payment, to be ſet in the Stocks 6 Hours; for the ſecond Offence, to give 10*l*. Security for his Appearance and good Behaviour till next Seſſion. No *Ale-houſe Keeper* is to ſuffer any of his Towns-men to ſit tippling at his Houſe; and any *Ale-houſe Keeper*, who ſhall be drunk himſelf, is not capable of following that Buſineſs for 3 Years. If *Magiſtrates* had been as vigilant in putting *theſe Laws* in Execution, as ſome have been in reading *Proclamations*, I think it cannot be doubted, that the Expence and Severity of the *Gin-Act* might have been ſaved to the Nation.——A Man may buy as much *Gin* as he pleaſes, and get drunk as often as he pleaſes, with Impunity; but he, who *ſells* it, whether to ſave a *Life*, or make a *Debauch*, incurs a ſevere Penalty. Would it not be thought ridiculous to take the Felony of *Self-murder* off from the *Suicide*, and fix it upon the *Gunſmith*, or *Sword-cutler*, who ſold the Weapon?

In the Reign of *James* I. *penal Laws* were ſo notoriouſly dangerous, that we find Lord *Bacon* writing againſt them; and I think his Judgment hath never been diſputed, or ever will be, unleſs by ſome of the ſtupid Drudges in the *Gazetteer*.

"* But the Neceſſity of this Work, *ſays he*, is ſtill greater in the *Statute Law*; for firſt there is a great Number of enſnaring *penal Laws*, which lie upon the Subject; and if, in bad Times, they ſhould be awak'd, and put in Execution, would grind them to Powder. There is a learned *Civilian*, who expounds the Curſe of the Prophet, *pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*, of a Multitude of *penal Laws*, which are more than Showers of Hail, or Tempeſts upon *Cattle*; for they fall upon *Men*.

There are ſome *penal Laws* fit to be retained, but their Penalty is too great; and it is always a Rule, that any over-great Penalty, beſides the Acerbity of it, deadens the Execution of the Law.

There is a farther Inconvenience of *penal Laws* grown obſolete and out of Uſe; for that it brings a Gangrene, Neglect, and Habit of Diſobedience, upon the *wholeſome Laws*, that are fit to be continued; ſo that our Laws endure the Torments of *Mezentius*, the *Living* die in the Arms of the *Dead*.

Laſtly, there is an Accumulation of Statutes, concerning *one Matter*, and they ſo croſs and intricate, that the Certainty of the *Law* is loſt in the *Heap*, as your Majeſty had Experience."

Whoever will count the Acts at the End of each Seſſion, from the Beginning of *Charles* I. to the End of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, will find that there have been made, within that Time, no leſs than 1612 *penal Statutes*. I had the Curioſity to look over the Penalties of one Seſſion, in which only had been paſs'd 30 *Acts*, and the *Penalties*, great and ſmall, were at leaſt 100. If the whole 1612 were proportionably larded, the Amount of *Penalties* would be 5373.—But, thank God, many Deductions are to be made; ſeveral of *theſe Acts* being annual, ſeveral repeal'd (both the *Act* and *Repeal* being in this Number) and many, ſuch as *Turn-pike Acts*, are determinable. But a more certain Account may be had of *capital Puniſhments*, from *James* I. to the 7th of his *preſent Majeſty*, in the firſt Volume of Sir *Matthew Hale's Hiſtory of the Pleas of the Crown*, page 697.

"Thus far of *Felonies*, in the Time of *James* I. In the Time of *Charles* I. I find no *new-enacted Felony*. I therefore come to the

* Bacon's *Works*, *Vol.* 4. *p.* 3.

the Time of *Charles* II.—Here, *says the Editor*, the Manuſcript breaks off, our Author having proceeded no farther; but to render the Work more compleat, it is proper to ſubjoin an Account of the *ſeveral Felonies*, which have been enacted ſince that Time; by which it will appear, that later Times have been no leſs fruitful in multiplying *capital Puniſhments* than former ones were.

In the Reign of *Charles* II. 3; one of which is repeal'd. In the Reign of *William* III. 6. In that of Queen *Anne*, 5. In that of *George* I. 15. During his preſent Majeſty's Reign, down to the 7th Year, 5. In all, 33."

Moſt of *thoſe Acts* have ſeveral Articles equally *capital*. I think, in all, 102, over and above the *Mutiny and Deſertion Act*, and the *Malt-Tax Act*; which, being annual, he hath not added; tho' in both there are Crimes puniſhable with *Death*.

I have often read, and heard, that it was the Right of an *Engliſhman* to complain. The only Uſe I ſhall make of that *Right*, at preſent, is to wiſh that I may live to ſee, in the *Votes of the Houſe of Commons*, a Committee appointed to examine what *penal Laws* are grown obſolete; and if, upon ſtrict Enquiry, any of them ſhould be found *ſuperfluous*, or *too rigid*, that they may be formally repeal'd—— And I apprehend, it would be no ſmall Security to the *Liberties of our Country*, to have a fundamental Law, that every *Bill* ſhould be promulgated a Year, at leaſt, before it could be confirm'd into a *Law*; or rather, that no *Law* ſhould be made *perpetual* till it had been try'd at leaſt for 3 Years, that the Senſe of the whole Nation might be known upon it from Experience.

Mr. *Sidney* had much the ſame Opinion of the *Law*, as it ſtood in his Time, as Lord *Bacon*. The Integrity of his Heart, and the Perſpicacity of his Judgment, give him the higheſt Place amongſt the *Advocates for Liberty*, the Subject upon which he wrote, and ſign'd his Opinion with his Blood. I always mention him with Reverence and Gratitude; ſince the Firmneſs on his Trial, which was ſo iniquitouſly carry'd on, with his open and undaunted Behaviour on the Scaffold, ſharpen'd the Minds of Men againſt the growing Tyranny of thoſe Times, and even after his Death facilitated the *Revolution*, in which no Doubt he would have been a principal Actor, had he been living, and very zealous for the Redreſs of thoſe Grievances, againſt which he wrote; eſpecially the State of our *Laws*, to which he afterwards fell a Sacrifice himſelf.

"In many Countries, *ſays he*, page 337. ſect. 26. and particularly in *England*, the *Laws* are ſo many, that the Number of them hath produced an Uncertainty and Confuſion, which is both dangerous and troubleſome; and the infinite Variety of *adjudg'd Caſes* thwarting and contradicting each other hath render'd theſe Difficulties inextricable. *Tacitus* imputes a great Part of the Miſeries ſuffer'd by the *Romans*, in his Time, to this Abuſe, and tells us that the *Laws* grew innumerable, in the worſt and moſt corrupt State of Things. By the ſame Means, in *France*, *Italy*, and *other Places*; where the *Civil Law* is render'd municipal, Judgments are in a Manner arbitrary; and tho' the Intention of our Laws be juſt and good, they are ſo numerous, and the Volumes of our *Statutes*, with the *Interpretations* and *adjudg'd Caſes*, ſo vaſt, that hardly any Thing is ſo clear and fix'd, but Men of Wit and Learning may find what will ſerve for a Pretext to juſtify almoſt any Judgment they have a Mind to give. Whereas the Laws of *Moſes*, as to the judicial Part, being ſhort and few, Judgments were eaſy and certain; and in *Switzerland*, *Sweden*, and ſome Parts of *Denmark*, the whole Volume, that contains them, may be read in a few Hours; and by thoſe Means no Injuſtice can be done, which is not immediately made evident."

At the Time, when Mr. *Sidney* wrote, there were not above *two Volumes of Statutes*, the firſt containing the Laws for the Space of 300 Years and upwards; but the Emendations and Additions to the Laws ſince that Time, ſwell'd them into *ſix Volumes*, 7 Years ago.

The Opinion of Lord *Bacon* and this *great Man*, (to whom the preſent Royal Family, the Nation, and all true Lovers of Liberty are ſo much beholden) ſhould, I think, be ſufficient Grounds for an Enquiry, in order to redreſs the Grievances complain'd of, if any ſhould be diſcover'd.

Common Senſe, Auguſt 4. N° 131.

PRINCES *ruin'd by their* MINISTERS.

IT is a common Obſervation, that thoſe who truſt all to Servants are in a fair Way of being undone. You ſee Men ſometimes become Bankrupts, while they are in a moſt profitable Way of Buſineſs: And it is generally found to be owing to their committing their whole Affairs to the Management of thoſe under them.

Look a little into higher Life, and you ſhall ſee a Man of great Fortune, who hath nothing to do but to receive ſo much Rent every Year, and to ſupport his Rank by ſpending it with a generous Oeconomy, always neceſſitous, always in Debt, and running out more and more every Year: But if you come to aſk him, what ſuch or ſuch a Tenant pays for his Farm, he can't tell; you muſt aſk his Steward; he knows no more of what his Eſtate produces, than you do. The Steward, in the mean Time, purchaſes a large Eſtate

for himself: He tells you, my Lord is a very good Sort of a Man, he never troubles his Head about any Thing: While all the rest of the World says, his Lordship is a Fool.

Let us go a Degree higher still, and apply this to the Affairs of a Nation. When the Stewards of the Commonwealth have to do with these very good Sort of Men, who never trouble their Heads about any Thing, there is a most spacious Field for Roguery.—Our Parliaments in this Nation are Checks upon our Ministers: It is they who are to call them to a strict Account for their Management——As they are not to be corrupted, they never will suffer a Pack of rapacious Fellows to go off with immense Plunder, and leave the Nation distress'd by their Dissipations and Mismanagements.—If the Person who is appointed to audit the Steward's Accounts combines with him for a Share, the Master is bought and sold.—In a Monarchy, the Prince and People may be both cheated; the Prince chuses the Ministers, and the People are to look after them. If the Prince makes a bad Choice, which is but too often the Case, and those who act for the People suffer them to go on in Male-Administration, there is nothing but Ruin can be the Lot of such a Nation.

Every Man that hath been conversant in Courts, must have seen that all the little Cunning they are Masters of, is employ'd to conceal the State of Affairs from the Master, and to palliate and disguise their Rogueries: He is like a Man curs'd with a bad Wife; he who is principally concern'd in the Infamy of her Course of Life, is the only Person that is not acquainted with it. In the mean Time, you shall see these People carry it with a high Hand;—when the Nation calls loud for Justice against them, they treat the whole Nation as a Faction, and call their very Blunders and Robberies his Majesty's Measures: Thus it sometimes goes on till the People can bear no more, till at last, perhaps, the Prince himself suffers for the Crimes of his perfidious Servants.

Among the many fatal Examples of this Kind, there is one very affecting in the History of *China*, which I shall give a short Account of.

Zunchin, the last Emperor of *China*, had all the Dispositions to incline him to govern mildly, yet we cannot call him a wise Man, who was so injudicious in the Choice of his Ministers and Officers. These Creatures made use of his Authority to gratify their own Passions, and extend their Ambition; the Consequence was, that the People were made uneasy; but their Grievances and Complaints never reach'd the Ears of their Emperor: The Ministers had fill'd the Court with their Tools and Creatures, and stopp'd all Passages of Complaint to the *Prince*. Thus they went on to abuse his good Dispositions, and may be said to have sold both the Empire and their Master.

A Rebellion was begun by *Ly* and *Chum*, who had both been Generals in his Army, and had been ill used by the Ministers, probably for no other Reason but because they would not be Slaves to their Power. They knew they should not be opposed by the common People, who would not fight to keep Scoundrels in the Administration and make them more insolent: As to those who had the Guard of the Emperor's Person, and the Government of the State, *Ly*, the Rebel, was sure he could gain them over, at any Time; and, accordingly, when the Officers and Magistrates, put in by these bad Ministers, saw the Rebellion look a little formidable, they enter'd into a Conspiracy for securing themselves. *Ly* sent some of his People, disguised as Traders, to treat with those Fellows; and Traders they were.—When the City was deliver'd up, and the unhappy Emperor retired within his Palace, he first with his own Hand put to Death his only Daughter, then he and his Empress hang'd themselves.—Before he dispatch'd himself, he writ with his own Blood what follows.

"The *Mandarins* are Traytors, they have perfidiously betray'd their Prince, and all of them deserve to be hang'd: It will be a laudable Piece of Justice to execute this Piece of Justice upon them; it is fit they should all suffer Death, that those who succeed them may be instructed, by their Example, to acquit themselves with Fidelity of their Trust. As for the People, they are not criminal, and deserve not to be punish'd; and therefore to use them ill will be Injustice. I have lost that great Empire, which descended to me by Inheritance from my Ancestors, by the Treachery of the *Mandarins*. In me is finished the Royal Line, which so many Kings, my Progenitors, continued down to me with all the Grandeur and Fame suitable to their Dignity: I will therefore for ever close my Eyes, that I may not see this Empire, descended to me from so many Generations, thus ruin'd and ruled by a Tyrant. I will go and deprive myself of that Life, for which I can never suffer myself to be indebted to the basest, and vilest of my Subjects. I have not the Confidence to appear before them, who, being born my Subjects, are become my Enemies and Traytors. It is fit the Prince should die, since his whole State is now expiring; and how can I endure to live, having seen the Loss and Destruction of that which was dearer to me than Life?"

Thus died the Monarch of a Kingdom as large as all *Europe*; he who commanded 100 Millions of Subjects was reduced to destroy himself and his Family, all brought upon him by the Villany of his Ministers at 32 Years of Age.

Craftsman.

Craftſman, Aug. 4, and 11.

Some Thoughts on the MINISTERIAL PARTY, *and the* OPPOSITION, *or* COUNTRY PARTY.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE Honour you have done me, by inſerting my Letter in your Paper of *June* 23. hath embolden'd me to give you my farther Thoughts upon the ſame Subject. (See p. 344.)

I do not, at preſent, recollect an Inſtance in any Hiſtory, where the Government hath been deſtroy'd by *popular Tumults*, till the *ruling Part* have, by *Art* or *Treachery*, got more Power than was conſiſtent with the Freedom of the State; ſo eaſy are the Populace to be manag'd: But when the People are once agitated; when provok'd by Inſolence and Oppreſſion, it is not wonderful that they ſhould run into another Extreme, and trample upon *that Authority*, ſo neceſſary to preſerve *Subordination*; whilſt they think, in their Fury, that they are only retaliating upon that *uſurped Influence*, which was tending to deſtroy them.

If the Wiſdom of Man could invent a *political Machine*, in which all the Wheels may act without prejudicing the others, I think it may be found, with a few additional Rivets, in the Form of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, where the Operations are ſeparate and independent in their reſpective Rotations, but ſtill giving Force to the grand Movement, in which all their Strength terminates. Now I take the capital Spring of our *Britiſh* Conſtitution to be our *elective Part of the Senate*, for which all Foreigners envy us. All our publick Calamities have proceeded from the Neglect, or wild Experiments upon *this Spring*. Some have ſuffer'd it to ruſt by Diſuſe; and others have precipitated the Motion by chymical Oils; but its own natural Compulſion gives the trueſt Vibration, and let it be duly wound up, it will keep its ſteady Influence, and give a juſt Force to the reſt.

We may hope that the unruly Ambition of *Monarchs* and *Miniſters*, is ſufficiently reſtrained by the well-digeſted Principles, Oeconomy, Liberty, and Self-defence, in the democratical Part of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution; and by the Gradation of *each State*, the Populace are more eaſily brought to *Subordination*, upon which the Vitals of Government ſubſiſt, and are likewiſe better train'd to the Obedience of Laws, as well as a Reverence of thoſe Magiſtrates, who act with Decency and Dignity. In a Word, the *Britiſh* Conſtitution is beſt in *Form*, and the whole Secret in *Practice* is to preſerve *each State* free and independent.

A Man muſt neither hear nor ſee, who is not hourly a Witneſs of our preſent Animoſities, and be more than a *Philoſopher*, or leſs than an *Engliſhman*, who hath not a greater Tendency to *one Side* than the *other*. For this Reaſon, as I hope there are many Perſons on *both Sides*, who really mean the Good of their Country, I think too much Caution cannot be given to prevent *perſonal Reſentment* and *Prejudice*.

Both Sides make Reflexions, which I ſhould be glad were often omitted, and I wiſh *neither* deſerv'd. The Caution thoſe well-meaning People, on *both Sides*, will uſe, who are more zealous to rectify, than prone to revenge, or covetous to gain, will be to conſider what *Points* have been oppos'd, and whether thoſe *Points* tended moſt to the Service of the *Miniſtry*, or the *People*; and what private Views *Oppoſers* could propoſe to themſelves; to compare the Event of Things, which have happen'd, with the probable Conſequences, which different Meaſures might have produced, and to weigh well the viſible Intereſts and Motives of the *different Adviſers* and *Actors*.

I am not fond of *Party Names*; but, for Diſtinction Sake, muſt uſe different Denominations. I ſhall therefore endeavour to take the leaſt invidious; the *miniſterial Party*, for one Side, and the *Oppoſition*, or *Country Party*, for the other.—I ſhall firſt conſider their different Behaviour, with Regard to the *Army*; and here let us remember that the Queſtion was never put, *Army*, or *no Army*; ſo that the *Country Party* cannot be ſaid to have oppos'd an *Army*, but only in Part as to the Number, which they were deſirous to reduce, becauſe a *great Army* is oppreſſive, diſagreeable to many Perſons, and dangerous to the whole Community. Beſides, the *Country Party* were inclin'd to bring the current Expences of the Year within the *Land-Tax* at 2s. in the Pound, and the *Malt-Duty*; that the *Sinking-Fund* might operate as originally intended, either to leſſen the *national Debt*, or diſcharge ſome *heavy Taxes upon our Manufactures*, that we might be the better able to ſupport a *War*, when the Defence of our Honour, or our Safety, ſhould make it become neceſſary.

Both Parties agreed that the Nation ought not to be left defenceleſs; and the *Country Party* was for ſupplying the Strength of the *Army*, in Time of Peace, by a *well-regulated Militia*, as ſuch a Force would be much larger, much cheaper, not ſo terrible to the People, but as uſeful and formidable againſt any *foreign Invaſion*.

And here every Body muſt judge for themſelves, whether at this preſent Conjuncture it would not have been more eligible to have had a *leſs Army* for 20 Years paſt, and as many Millions diſcharg'd of the *national Debt*, or to be in our preſent Circumſtances; and whether the *Army* hath been of more Service to the *Miniſter* or *People*; and what ambitious Views the *Country Party* could have in oppoſing the Number of Men kept up.

If *Kindred*, *Alliances*, or *private Friend-*

ſhips were to have prevail'd, the *Country Party* had as many Attachments as the *miniſterial Party* to the Gentlemen of the *Army*; but amongſt *good Engliſhmen*, theſe are only Conſiderations of an inferior Rank, and will always give Way to the publick Good.

The *Country Party* likewiſe complain'd of the Oeconomy of the *Army*; that *Regiments*, *military Governments*, and other *Commiſſions* have been often and long kept open, without any Saving to the Nation; and that the *Half-pay Officers* were not ſufficiently taken off from the Expence of the Publick.

What ambitious View could there be in this Complaint; which is ſo far juſt to a Demonſtration, that there is yet a large annual Article of *Half-pay*, tho' whoever attends any of our *Reviews* muſt obſerve from the Countenances of many Officers, that they could not be born at the Peace of *Utrecht*. I don't know whether we have not ſome *Field-Officers* of much the ſame Age, and even ſome *General-Officers* who had no Commiſſions in the late War.

The *Country Party* complain that too many *Place-men* and *Officers* ſit in the Houſe of *Commons*; and is there any one, who can think that the Conſtitution would be endanger'd, if no *military Man*, or *Clerk of an Office*, was capable of being in that Part of the Legiſlature?

The *Heſſian* and *Wolfenbuttle* Troops were oppos'd by the *Country Party*. Could this be done to ſatisfy *private Ambition*, or to gratify any *implacable Revenge*? But where *Miniſters* have the Management of *publick Money*, is the Caſe ſo clear? I think it is now pretty certain that we had no Occaſion for *thoſe Troops*; and conſidering that the preſent Prince of *Heſſe* is likewiſe King of *Sweden*, if any Credit may be given to our News-papers, we may have a very unwelcome Caution not to waſte any more of our Money upon an *Heſſian Militia*.

The *Country Party* was very ſtrenuous againſt the Revival of the *Salt-Duty*, which was taken off for a Year or two, upon a gracious Recommendation from the Throne, in Favour of our *poor Farmers*, *Tradeſmen*, *Manufacturers*, and *Labourers*; but notwithſtanding all their Efforts, the *miniſterial Party* prevail'd. (Vol. I. p. 381, *&c.*)

They likewiſe oppos'd the *Exciſe-Scheme*, which the *miniſterial Party* projected and puſh'd with their utmoſt Strength, but were at laſt oblig'd to give it up, for their own Security; and let us farther conſider whether the *Conſtitution* would not be much leſs under *miniſterial Influence*, if there was not one *Exciſe-Officer in England*. (V. II. p. 537, *&c.*)

But I do not remember that the *Land-Tax*, or *Malt-Duty*, have been lately oppos'd by the *Country Party*; in which, as to immediate Profit, they were more affected than in the *other Taxes*. In *this Point* therefore they cannot be accus'd of gratifying *private Diſcontent*, that they might in all Shapes, right or wrong, diſtreſs the *Adminiſtration*; ſince the Method of *Taxing*, more than the *Sum*, is what they have chiefly oppos'd in theſe Caſes, as they apprehend that *theſe Forms of Taxation* would give the Crown ſuch an Influence in *Elections* as might prove deſtructive of *that Equilibrium*, which is neceſſary to be preſerv'd between the *reſpective States of the Legiſlature*.

The *Frauds in the Cuſtoms* were urg'd as an Argument by the *miniſterial Party* for the *Exciſe-Scheme*; upon which the *Country Party*, tho' they could not concur in the *Exciſe*, were very ready to detect any *Fraud*, by which their Country might ſuffer, and propos'd a *Committee* to be appointed by the *Houſe of Commons*, to inſpect into thoſe Cheats. The *miniſterial Party*, inſtead of looking upon this Propoſal as a Concurrence to ſupport *their Authority*, exclaim'd that it was an Attack upon the *Adminiſtration*, with a Deſign at once to deſtroy them. A great Struggle was made, on *both Sides*, who ſhould be on *this Committee*. The *Place*, in which the *miniſterial Party* ſollicited this Affair, and the *Manner* of the Sollicitation, was then too well known to be eaſily forgot. Every Body out of the *Houſe* hath aſk'd, where could be the Danger of ſuffering the *Committee* to conſiſt of *Oppoſers*? For had they been wicked enough to have done any Thing unjuſtly, to the Prejudice of *People in Place*, the *Houſe* was not ſo partial againſt the *Adminiſtration*, as to have permitted it to paſs uncenſur'd; and I think it reaſonable to believe, that a Juſtification of *Oppoſers* will always be more ſatisfactory to *Country Gentlemen*, and the *People*, than an Enquiry of *Place-men* into Frauds committed by *Place-men*. Thus was this Enquiry paſs'd over—Whoſe *private Views* and *Ambition* were conſider'd in this Caſe, I ſhall leave to the Judgment of the Reader; but I never heard of any *Officer* being diſplac'd by *this Enquiry*, tho' the *Frauds* were ſo much complain'd of before. But here I muſt make this Obſervation, that either the *miniſterial Party* made a very unjuſt Complaint of *Frauds in the Cuſtoms*, or the *Committee* made but a ſcanty Enquiry. (Vol. II. p. 605.)

The Allowance made for what the *Gin-Act* might leſſen that Part of the Revenue, which belongs to the *Civil Liſt*, was oppos'd by the *Country Party*; who apprehended that the *Civil-Liſt* would be reimburs'd for any Deficiency, which might be occaſion'd by leſſening the Quantity of *Gin*, by the Increaſe of the *Malt-Duty*. (Vol. V. p. 535, *&c.*)

The 115,000*l.* rais'd at the Beginning of the preſent Reign, was ſtrongly oppos'd by the *Country Party*; and what *ambitious*, or *covetous Deſigns*, could they have in this Reſpect? (See p. 278. D.)

As to *foreign Affairs*, I believe the *Country Party* have diſliked, and therefore oppos'd moſt of the *Negotiations abroad*, for many Years paſt; eſpecially ſuch as threw us under the Influence of *France*; the Treaty of *Seville*, for introducing *Don Carlos* and his *Spaniards* into *Italy*, accompliſh'd at a very great Expence, by *our own Fleet*—In ſhort, all Treaties, which united *France* and *Spain*, or agrandize *thoſe Powers*, were oppos'd.—But we went upon a Maxim, that there was no *Kindred*, or *Friendſhip*, amongſt Princes; which may be true; and the *Houſe of Bourbon*, if they can deſtroy their *Neighbours*, may then quarrel amongſt *themſelves*. But the *Pack* always unite in the Chace. When the *Stag* is run down, they may quarrel about picking his Bones.—In the whole Series of theſe Tranſactions, the *Country Party* oppos'd the Proceedings, and foretold the Conſequences of them.

The *Country Party* oppos'd the *late Convention*, by which they manifeſted that they judg'd much better of the *Spaniſh* Deluſions than the *miniſterial Party*; and let any Man judge who had moſt *private Views*, to gratify; thoſe, who contriv'd, or thoſe who oppos'd the *Convention*.

As to the *Seceſſion*, I ſhall only obſerve, that if there are any People, who can ſuppoſe the *Parliament* to be influenc'd by any other *Motive*, than *Argument*, they muſt juſtify the *Seceders*; and *others*, who think the Virtue of *that Place* impregnable, muſt diſlike it; which muſt be left to every Man's Judgment.

It is very remote from my Intention to give any other Preference to *either Side* than what ariſes from known Facts, and ſelf-evident Truths; it being to me a Matter of the greateſt Indifference, who are in *Place* and *Power*; but how *Places* and *Power* are manag'd, is of great Importance to all Men.

I will finiſh this Letter with one ſhort Obſervation—A *Miniſter* who would uſe *Corruption*, ought not to have it in his Power; and a *Miniſter* who ſcorns to uſe it, may eaſily part with the Power of having it.

I am, Sir, &c.

Common Senſe, Aug. 18. N° 133.

Of the Seceſſion and Death of THRASEA PÆTUS, *the* Roman *Senator.*

WHENEVER I meet with a fine Paſſage in Hiſtory, concerning thoſe who have acted ſucceſsfully, or ſuffer'd bravely, for Liberty, I take a Pleaſure in recommending their Example to my Countrymen. I would have this *Paper*, and that of my Fellow-Labourer, the *Craftſman*, be a compleat Collection of all that can be found, or ſuggeſted, to animate a free People in Defence of their Rights, or to give them juſt Abhorrence of Corruption, and of arbitrary Power: Let them ſee how Patriots have behaved themſelves in the beſt, and worſt of Times, when *Rome* was diſintereſted and free, and when ſhe was venal, and inſlaved. To this Purpoſe *Tacitus* will be as uſeful as *Livy*: He will teach us how to act under a *Tigellinus*, if ſo corrupt, and ſhameleſs a Miniſter, ſhould ever lord it over the Senate of *England*.

I ſhall need no farther Preface for a ſhort Tranſlation of Part of the 15th *Annal* of that inſtructive Hiſtorian.

"After murdering ſo many illuſtrious Men, *Nero* deſired at laſt to cut off Virtue itſelf, by putting to Death *Thraſea Pætus*." The chief Crime objected to him was, "That he, who had ever been ſo aſſiduous in his Attendance; he who, even in the ordinary Buſineſs of the Senate, had been uſed to diſtinguiſh himſelf on one Side or the other, now, for 3 Years, had not come into the Houſe: That this was a *Seceſſion*, a Party formed againſt the Government, and, if Numbers ſhou'd dare to ingage in it, would be open Rebellion. That, in the Provinces, and Armies, the Journals of the *Roman* People were read more eagerly than ever, only to know, what thoſe Proceedings were, in which *Thraſea* would not take any Part."

To this Charge were added ſome other Proofs of the Malignity of his Spirit; as, "That he did not *believe* in the *Divinity* of *Poppæa*, the *deceas'd Empreſs*, whom the *Senate* had *deified*."

The Concluſion was, "That he and his Followers pretended a Zeal for Liberty, that they might overturn the Government, and when they had gain'd that Point, their next Attack would be upon Liberty itſelf."

The *Emperor* himſelf made a Speech by the Mouth of his *Quæſtor*, in which he accus'd the Senators *of deſerting their Functions*; and he added, "it was no Wonder, if thoſe from remote Provinces fail'd to attend, when many who had borne the higheſt Offices in the State withdrew from the Senate, and went to divert themſelves in their Gardens."

One of the *hired* Orators for the Court declaim'd with great Vehemence, "That the whole Safety of the State was concern'd. By the Contumacy of Subjects, the Lenity of the Government was abus'd and wearied out. The Senate had been too mild in ſuffering ſo long the Revolt of *Thraſea* from his Obedience, that of his Son-in-Law, *Helvidius*, who was his Accomplice in Rebellion, that of *Paconius Agrippinus*, who had an hereditary Hatred to the preſent Government, and *Curtius Montanus*, the *deteſtable Author of libellous Poems*, to eſcape with Impunity." He required "the Preſence of *Thraſea* in the Senate, unleſs he had renounc'd the Conſtitution, and the Forms eſtabliſhed by their Anceſtors, and openly declared himſelf a Traytor and avowed Enemy

to

to the State. Let him come (cried the Orator) he who was wont to be ſo active a Senator, and ſo forward in defending thoſe who had libell'd the Emperor, let him reſume his Place, and offer his Sentiments what he would have corrected, or changed. It would be much more eaſy to indure his Railing at particular Meaſures, than *by his Silence condemning the whole Adminiſtration at once.* What is it offends him? Is it the *general Peace?* and our *Triumphs gain'd without the Loſs of a Man?* No—let us by no Means ſuffer one who grieves at the publick Felicities; one who looks upon our publick Aſſemblies as Deſarts not fit for him to inhabit; one *who is continually threatning us with a voluntary Exile*, to attain the Ends of his malignant Ambition: To him our Decrees are null, our Offices void, *we are not Senators, we are not Magiſtrates*; this City is no longer *Rome*. Let him therefore cut himſelf off intirely from that Commonwealth, which he has long ſince ceas'd to love, and now cannot bear even to ſee."

Thus was the Retreat of this great and good Man miſrepreſented by the proſtitute Tools of Court Defamation; thus was he cenſur'd, becauſe he would not ſit in a Senate *where ſuch as they had a certain Majority*; becauſe he diſdain'd to mingle with the Slaves of *Tigellinus*, who, in the Name of *Nero*, govern'd there with abſolute Sway: And for this Offence they condemn'd him to Death, being ready to execute any Villany their Maſter commanded.

Thus all the Iniquities of thoſe Times had the Authority of the Senate, and the Sanction of Law. Thus, as bad as *Nero* was, the *Roman* People ſuffer'd ſtill more by the *Forms* of their Republick being kept up when the *Spirit* was loſt, than they would have done had the Government been purely Monarchical. For *Tigellinus* and the Emperor durſt not have acted ſo tyrannically *alone*, as they ventured to do with the *Concurrence*, and under the *Name* of the *Senate*. *Thraſea* ſcrupled to give that Concurrence, and to lend that Name to impoſe on his Country: He therefore retired, and, in his Retreat from the Senate, was much more, than thoſe who continued there, *a* true *Roman* Senator.

I ſhall conclude this *Paper* with his dying Words. When his Veins were open'd, he call'd the *Queſtor* up to him, and ſprinkling the Ground with his Blood, "Let us, (ſaid he) make this Libation to *Jupiter* the *Deliverer*. Behold, young Man; and may the Gods avert the Omen from you: But you are born to Times in which it may be fit for you to fortify your Mind with Examples of Conſtancy."

Craftſman, Aug. 18. N° 684.

The Argument of CORRUPTION, *as manag'd by the* Gazetteers, *conſider'd and exploded.*

IT would afford Matter of Satisfaction to the World, to be well acquainted with the *grand Politician*'s genuine Thoughts of his *ſcribling Band of Penſioners*. But let his Opinion of their Merits be what it will, the Senſe of the Publick is very well known; for, I think, it is univerſally allow'd, that his Cauſe cannot be worſe than the *Advocates*, retain'd to defend it.

Amongſt the many Points, lately controverted, none has given more Vexation to *theſe ingenious Literati*, than the Subject of *Corruption*. Some of them boldly deny the Charge: They acknowledge, indeed, that there are above 200 *Places of Profit* poſſeſſed by their good Friends of a *certain Aſſembly*; but theſe ſame *Places* are the moſt harmleſs Things imaginable in *ſuch good Hands*, and have not the leaſt Influence upon their Votes, or their Actions. At the ſame Time, our *ſpecial Reaſoners* will maintain, that *theſe very Places* govern every Vote of the wicked and corrupt Men in the *Oppoſition*; for, it ſeems, the *preſent Enjoyment* of a profitable Employment has no Effect, whilſt the bare *Hopes* and *Expectation* of one has a Power irreſiſtible. Surely *theſe profound Caſuiſts* have forgot that famous Declaration of *their Patron* concerning the Conduct of *Place-men*, by which he gave them plainly to underſtand what Services were expected from them; as well as the many Inſtances of Gentlemen, who have felt the Effects of his Diſpleaſure for preſuming to vote contrary to his Preſcriptions.

Others of the *ſame Fraternity*, knowing by Experience that *Places* and *Penſions* have no mean Influence on ſome Conſtitutions, are afraid to let the Diſpute go upon that Iſſue. They venture to ſpeak out the plain Truth, and tell us, that a *good Miniſtry* (that is, *every Miniſtry*, till we ſhall ſee one that has Candour enough to own itſelf a *bad one*) ought to be ſupported by *any Ways*, and *all Means whatever*.

In one of their late Lucubrations we ſee it avow'd, in almoſt expreſs Terms, that when a *Miniſter* is ſtrongly oppos'd, he may juſtifiably take off his Adverſaries by *Places*, if he has the good Fortune to have as many *Places* as *Adverſaries*; and if that won't do, he may bribe them ſecretly; but if they ſhould prove ſuch a Pack of *reſtleſs, factious Men*, that they can't be brought to concur with the *Miniſter* on any Terms, why then the *Miniſter* may hire others to out-vote them, and ſet up a *Shop*, where thoſe, who are willing, may publickly enter themſelves into Pay; ſince without ſuch Means a *proper Dependency of the 3 Parts of the Conſtitution* cannot be preſerved.——As extravagant as this Doctrine may appear, it is their own without Exaggeration.

A *conſtitutional Dependency* between the ſeveral Parts of the Legiſlature has ever been aſſerted by the *Country Party*, and a *venal Dependency* conſtantly exploded. For whenever *one Branch* of

of the Legiſlature ſhall gain a fixed Influence over either of the others by *Venality*, the *venal Branch* will become a Cypher, and uſeleſs, or rather pernicious, as it muſt give up its entire Strength to the *Purchaſer*; and thus the People might be deceived by the Appearance of a *perfect Conſtitution*, when, perhaps, in Reality, *two Parts* of it had yielded up their Share of Power to the *third*. Such is the *Dependency* which we condemn, and our *Place-Patriots* recommend.

On the contrary, whilſt each Part of the Conſtitution remains in Purity, it will be a Check upon the Exorbitancies of the *others*; and no miſchievous Contentions can probably ariſe amongſt them, until *one* ſhall graſp at more Power than juſtly belongs to it; and to guard againſt ſuch Encroachments was the chief Intention of the Founders of *mixed Governments*. Nor has any one of *theſe Gothick Inſtitutions* been ſubverted, but by the ſame Means; that is, *Fraud* and *Corruption* from the *executive Part* has begun, and *Force* and *Violence* compleated the Diſſolution of them.

But to return to our *good Friends*: They have juſt made a Diſcovery that the *Civil War*, &c. in the Reign of *Charles* I. might have been prevented, if *that Prince* had been provided with *Places* enough to have given amongſt the *Leaders of that Oppoſition*. Perhaps *ſuch an Expedient* might have had that good Effect; but it muſt have been in a Manner very different from what they ſeem to apprehend. To ſuppoſe that the *juſt and publick-ſpirited Men* of that Age would have ſold themſelves to ſupport a *wicked Adminiſtration*, is without Foundation in Hiſtory, as it likewiſe is to imagine that the People of *England*, in that Conjuncture, would have tamely ſubmitted to the *Court*, only becauſe they ſaw new Faces there, without any Redreſs of *Grievances*.

Indeed, had that *miſguided Prince* freely given up his *evil Counſellors* to the Cenſure of the Laws, and ſincerely deſign'd to regulate his Government by the Advice of a *free Parliament*, it is probable thoſe *great Men*, ſaid to be in Treaty with the *Court*, would have undertook the Adminiſtration, and it is reaſonable to believe they would have conducted it to the Satisfaction of the *Nation*, as well as to the Safety and Honour of the *King*.—But, methinks, it is a little ſurprizing (if any Abſurdity could ſurprize from that Quarter) to find a Man of *Revolution Principles* lamenting that Means were wanting in the Year *forty-one*, to eſtabliſh *arbitrary Power*.

Nor is it more conſiſtent with *thoſe Principles* to be be raking into the Aſhes of K. *William*, to produce one Precedent to juſtify the wholſome Doctrine of bribing *Senators*. The *Perſon*, who tells the Story, and his *Aſſociates*, are much better verſed in the *ſecret Hiſtory of Corruption* than I pretend to be; ſo I ſhall not controvert the Truth of it. But if *one artful, treacherous Man*, who deceitfully had gained Popularity, was luckily taken off, which in immediate Conſequence might be of real Service; will that juſtify the leaving a Gate open to *Corruption*, for *Miniſters* to go thro' as often, and as heavy-loaded as they pleaſe?

Will the Act of *one ſingle Man*, who was in Secreſy bought and ſold, be a ſufficient Argument to ſet up a Shelter for *Corruption*; a Shop with a Sign over it——*Here the well-affected may be bribed; come as many as will; enter and welcome?* Surely the Danger of *Corruption* is carried much farther by the avowed Doctrine of the *latter Sort*, than by the ſecret Practice of the *former*. I myſelf condemn the *one*, nor ſhall I commend the *other*. If any ſuch Thing ever was once done with a good Event, it was at beſt but *doing* Evil *that* Good *might come of it*; and it were to be wiſh'd by all good Men that a Veil were thrown over it, and the Precedent buried in Oblivion.

But to do Juſtice to our Advocates of a *miniſterial Faction*, we muſt own they do not carry their Defence of *Corruption* ſo far as to juſtify *all Parties* concern'd in it. Their Buſineſs is only to ſtand up for their *Patron's* Character. As for *thoſe*, who take his Money, they think a *good Bribe* is full Recompence for a little Scandal and Reproach. Therefore, in order to make their Doctrine a little leſs ſhocking, they will allow that *Bribery* cannot be practiſed with perfect Innocence; but if you will believe them, the Perſon, who *receives* the Bribe, is guilty of *Corruption*, but he that *gives* it is not.

Now I ſhould think it very hard, if upon ſaying the *miniſterial Hacks* write confounded Nonſenſe, any Body ſhould reply; No, it is not *their Nonſenſe*, who exhibit it, but *yours*, who receive and read it.

I have often heard that the *Receiver* was as bad as the *Thief*; but till this Argument was advanced, I never heard the *Thief* was innocent. If this Reaſoning was juſt, the *Devil* would be harmleſs, and only the *poor deluded Mortals*, who ſin at his Inſtigation, would be criminal. It is a Maxim in the Law, that all are Principals, in *Murder*; and ſhall the Man, who hires Aſſaſſines to butcher the *Conſtitution*, be leſs criminal than he, who employs a Bravo to commit a ſingle Homicide?

Join this Aſſertion to any Sin or Immorality, and it will ſtill come out the ſame. A Man may as well act *Fornication*, *Adultery*, or *Sodomy*, and be innocent, as *corrupt* another, himſelf being *incorrupt*.

But if this *favourite Corruption* of theirs, was a Thing not morally evil, we might ſurely be able to find ſome Rules, on which to proceed in the Uſe of it, and ſome Limits

to

to prevent the Exceſs; but *Corruption*, if it be allow'd to take Place, in any Shape, or in any Degree, in the Body Politick, can no more be limited than Immoralities in a vicious Man; whoſe Vices will never be reſtrained till his Conſtitution is exhauſted.

If *Miniſters* have a Right to uſe corrupt, or any Means for the Support of their own Actions; if all, who oppoſe their Actions, are to be deemed *falſe Patriots*, and *Enemies to their Country*, becauſe by oppoſing they add a Neceſſity of bribing higher; ſuch *Poſtulata* will prove more than is intended; that a Body of Men, who will do no Duty, for which they are not paid at their own Price, ſhould rather be diſbanded than kept up at an exorbitant Expence.

They will likewiſe prove, that every *Miniſter*, good or bad, may rightfully give *Bribes*, whenever he ſhall find it neceſſary—That he may give 200,000*l.* or, if the Price ſhould run ſo high, a *Million*, to ſecure himſelf and his Meaſures; or, in the Words of the *Faction*, to gain a *mutual Dependency*; and when that ſhall be once admitted, it will be no hard Matter to prove that the *Parliament* ought to give back thoſe Sums, and raiſe them upon the Publick; becauſe they were only Moneys expended to controul the *Factious*, and to preſerve an Harmony, and a proper Dependence between the ſeveral Parts of the Conſtitution, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the Well-being of the Whole. Such are the Inferences, which will neceſſarily follow the Doctrines advanced by *theſe Partizans of Power*, who generally overlook what amongſt honeſt Men will be reckon'd the firſt Conſideration, the *publick Good*, and the Preſervation of *Liberty*; but haſten to their main Points, which are, to lay down *Party-Maxims*, as full Proofs of what Methods a *Miniſtry* may uſe to carry on their own Schemes, and then to aſſert vigorouſly, that whoever oppoſes the *preſent Miniſtry*, does it only to get *Places*.

But let them take a View of the principal Perſons in the *national Party*, and then let them aſk their *Pay-maſter* (thoſe among them, who have the Honour to be admitted into his Preſence; let the others deſire the *Muſter-maſter*, next Time he brings them Orders and Stipends, to aſk for them) which of *thoſe Gentlemen* might not be received into *Place*, who would concur in *his Meaſures*; nay, has he not told many of them that it was their own Fault they were *not in Place*; and that none but themſelves kept them out? Or, if it muſt be ſuppos'd that they are as eager after Preferment as they are repreſented, let it be obſerved that *Age* and *Infirmities* may very ſoon make Room for ſome of them.

But ſurely this is a moſt fruitleſs Diſquiſition; for if it be true, that the Votes of *one Side* are concerted by the Hopes of getting into Places, as thoſe of the *other* are controul'd by the Fear of loſing them, what muſt be the Inference? Why, that it is abſolutely neceſſary, by the Confeſſion of *both Sides*, to take away the *Places*, which have ſo pernicious and extenſive an Influence.

Or ſhall we for once be candid on *both Sides*? Let us mutually acquit both thoſe who are *in Place*, and thoſe who are *out*, of all Motives of *Self-Intereſt*. Then let us hope this diſintereſted Generation will ſeriouſly conſider, that Prudence forbids us to preſume an equal Degree of Virtue and publick Spirit will be found in the Repreſentatives of every Age. Let us therefore expect to ſee them ſtrive with Emulation to purge the Houſe of *theſe Baits of Allurement*, by ſome effectual Law; and let the *People* have the Benefit of the *Law*, whoever gets the Profits of the *Places*.

The Paſſages referr'd to in the above Paper, concerning K. Charles I. *and K.* William, *were in the* Gazetteer *of* Aug. 1. *as follows.*

THAT thoſe Troubles might have been ended, is moſt certain. But what was the Method? I will ſet it down in the Words of *Lord Commiſſioner Whitlock*, who, ſpeaking of the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, has theſe Words: "There was a Propoſal, the Subject of much Diſcourſe, to prevent all this Trouble, and to reſtore the Earl to his former Favour and Honour, if the King would preſer ſome of the Grandees to Offices at Court; whereby *Strafford*'s Enemies ſhould become his Friends, and the King's Deſires be granted: It was, that ** ſhould be made *Lord Treaſurer*; the Lord *Say*, *Maſter of the Wards*; Mr. *Pym*, *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*; Mr. *Holles*, *Secretary* of *State*; and Mr. *Hampden*, *Tutor* of the *Prince*; others to have other Places. In order whereunto, the Biſhop of *London* reſign'd up his *Treaſurer*'s Staff; the Lord *Codrington*, his Place of *Maſter* of the *Wards*. But whether upon the King's Alteration of his Mind, or by what other Means, is uncertain, theſe Things were not effected; and the great Men, baffled thereby, became the more incenſed and violent againſt the Earl, joining with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who were implacable againſt him." Now will any Man living ſay, that it had not been better for this Kingdom, that theſe Gentlemen had ſome Way or other been accommodated with Places, tho' a little at the Expence of the Independency of the Houſe of Commons?

In the Days of King *William*, when there was much ſuch an Oppoſition as there is now; an Oppoſition that laid the Foundation of the national Debt, by embarraſſing the neceſſary Supplies: I ſay, in that Reign, Things were once at ſuch a Paſs, that the King, or his Miniſtry, found themſelves under

der the Neceſſity of giving one of the *Chiefs* of the Malecontents a large Sum of Money, in order to obtain ſuch a Supply as might prevent the Army from being diſbanded in the Midſt of a War, undertaken by Advice of Parliament. I would be glad to know, whether ever, in the Opinion of our preſent Malecontents, this was Corruption in thoſe who gave the Money; for that it was ſo in him who took it, all the World muſt agree.

Common Senſe, Aug. 25. N° 134.

Continuation of the REMARKS *upon* TACITUS. *(See p. 401.)*

WHILE *Thraſea Pætus* was expecting his Condemnation from the Senate, and his Friends were conſulting with him what it was fit for him to do, "there aſſiſted in the Conſultation *Ruſticus Arulenus*, a young Man of great Fire, who, from a Deſire of Glory, offer'd to oppoſe the Decrees of the Senate; which, being *Tribune* of the *People*, he had Authority to do. But *Thraſea* check'd his Spirit, and would not let him attempt a vain Oppoſition, uſeleſs to him in his Danger, and which would certainly prove deſtructive to the *Tribune* himſelf."

It is impoſſible, from this Paſſage, for the Reader not to obſerve, how uſeleſs it is to a State, that Names and Forms ſhould be kept up, when Realities are gone. The *Tribunitial* Power was the great Guard of the *Roman* Liberties. Did the *Conſuls*, did the *Senate* exceed their Bounds, and incroach upon Freedom? they were ſtopp'd by the Oppoſition of the *Tribunes*, and the Rights of the People were ſav'd. After the Uſurpation of the *Cæſars*, the ſame Office remain'd, the ſame Power was lodg'd in it, the ſame Duty annex'd to it, and the ſame outward Veneration pay'd to the Perſon who bore it. How happen'd this? How was this compatible with abſolute Power?——My Brother *Gordon* will tell you in his 7th *Diſcourſe* upon *Tacitus*, when he gives the Reaſon why the Senate of *Rome*, and the ancient Magiſtracies ſubſiſted under the Tyranny of the Emperors: "They found (ſays he) their Account ſufficiently in breaking the Power and Spirit of the *Senate*, in reducing it to a Skeleton, a Name, and in exerciſing under that Name all their own Violences, and Exorbitancies."

Thus it was with the *Tribunitial* Power. Had any Good been propos'd by the Senate againſt the Liking of the Emperor, he would have order'd the *Tribune* to interpoſe with his Negative; and if the Senate had complain'd of it, they would have been told, *it was the ancient Conſtitution; it was the Right of the People; it was ſacred, and they who oppos'd it ſubverted the Laws*. But when the ſame Power was to be exercis'd for the Good of the Publick, then the Maſk was pull'd off, and *Cæſar* declar'd the Laws were *his*, and he would bear no Controul.

This would have happen'd in the Caſe of *Arulenus*. *Nero* was willing that the Senate ſhould condemn *Thraſea Pætus*, and cloak his Murder under the Form of Law, rather than deſtroy him by an Act of his own abſolute Power: But had the *Tribune* of the *People* interpos'd againſt that Decree, he would have had Recourſe to his abſolute Power, and murder'd them both. He did not regard the *Senatorial*, more than the *Tribunitial* Authority; but he allow'd both to be exercis'd as far as ſerv'd to his Purpoſes, and neither ſo far as to thwart them, for the Sake of Juſtice, Law, or the Publick.

It was therefore an Act of Humanity in *Thraſea*, not to ſuffer his Friend to expoſe himſelf to certain Deſtruction by a uſeleſs Attempt: And yet what *Arulenus* offer'd was no more than his Duty. For can there be any Thing more ſhameful than to have a legal Authority to ſtop Injuſtice, and not uſe that Authority? *Arulenus* then had good Reaſon to ſay, "I am *Tribune* of the *People*; I am therefore oblig'd to hinder the *Senate* from deſtroying an innocent Man." But what avail'd it that it was his Right, and his Duty, ſince the Power of acting agreeably to them was loſt? The Reſult of all this is, *That, in ſo corrupted a Government, a Man of Virtue ſhould not meddle at all.*

They who conſider the Magiſtracies, and the Legiſlature itſelf, of their Country, not as Truſts from the Publick, but only as Steps to Power, and Wealth, may be fond of attaining them under any Conditions; nay they may like them the better when they are moſt defiled with Corruption: But honeſt Men ſhould reſolve *not to come into publick Employments*, nor *accept* any *Truſts* from the *Commonwealth*, at a Time when it is become impracticable to execute them to the Ends for which they were given: Much leſs ſhould they accept them when the Uſes of them are ſo perverted, as that, inſtead of being the *Checks*, they are made the *Inſtruments*, and *Screens* of Male-Adminiſtration.

In ſuch a Circumſtance is it not ſufficient to ſay, "What would you have me do? I can only ruin myſelf, I cannot ſerve my Country by doing what my Duty requires:" If you cannot *ſerve* your *Country*, do not *ſerve yourſelf at her Coſt*: If you cannot *ſerve* your Country, at leaſt, do not *impoſe upon her*. Do not call yourſelf a *Tribune*, or a *Judge*, or a *Senator*, when you are reduc'd to be nothing but the *Tool* of a *Court*: Do not make the People fancy they have a Protector in you, when you know you cannot protect them; when you know your Office itſelf is only kept up to oppreſs them under a fairer Appearance. For it is this Outſide of Liberty which ſecures and

perpetuates Tyranny. If the honeſter Part of thoſe who are capable of publick Employments, would agree to refuſe them *till they are brought back to their due Independency*, and till they may be executed as they ought; it would go a great Way towards the Reforming and Reſtoring of the moſt corrupted State in the World: For it would oblige thoſe who govern either to break thro' all Forms, throw off all Appearances, and change the whole Frame of the Government, which is a Difficulty next to impoſſible, as all Hiſtory ſhews; or the People, *ſeeing the Abuſes*, would indure them no longer, and the Spirit of the Conſtitution would by that Means be revived.—It would have very much embarraſs'd *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, if he had been obliged to govern the *late free* People of *Rome* with as bare-fac'd a deſpotick Power as the Kings of *Perſia* did the Slaves of the Eaſt. But with the ſpecious Names of a *Senate*, *Conſuls*, *Tribunes*, &c. not only *he*, and *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius*, who were Men of Ability, but ſuch Ideots as *Claudius*, and ſuch Mad-men as *Caligula*, ſuch Scoundrels as *Tigellinus*, and ſuch Jades as *Poppæa*, were able to ruſe, inſult, and plunder a Nation proud of its Liberties.

Craſiſman, Aug. 25. N° 685.

Remarks on the Order of the Juſtices at the General Quarter Seſſion at Hick's-Hall, *for preventing and ſuppreſſing* unlawful Games, Plays, *&c. at* Tottenham-Court *Fair. The* Craftſman *firſt ſets down the ſaid Order, and then ſays:*

WHoever reads the foregoing Order, will have Reaſon to ſuppoſe that the *worſhipful Gentlemen* were in earneſt, at the Time of Publication, to ſuppreſs all the *unlawful Games*, *Plays*, *Drolls*, and *other Shews*, mentioned in it. That they are *unlawful* cannot be doubted, ſince ſo many of *his Majeſty's learned Juſtices of the Peace* have declared them to be ſo; and therefore I was in hopes that they would have put their Order rigorouſly into Execution; eſpecially ſince *theſe Vagabonds* had the Impudence to affront the *Government* and *Adminiſtration*; for whilſt I was ſtopt in the Croud, there were *two Jack-puddings* entertaining the Populace from a Gallery on the Outſide of one of the Booths; one of whom repreſented an *Engliſhman*, and the other a *Spaniard*. The *Engliſh Jack-pudding* bully'd the *Spaniard* for ſome Time, and threaten'd to treat him as he deſerv'd; but *Jack Spaniard* defy'd him, bid him take Care of his *Ears*, and at laſt knock'd him down. I was ſhock'd at ſuch an inſolent Ridicule of *our brave Countrymen* in *our own Country*, and expected to ſee the *ſcandalous Buffoons* taken into Cuſtody; but I don't hear that any Examples have been yet made of them. This can be imputed to nothing but the Neglect, or ſomething worſe, of the *High-Conſtable*, and *Petty Conſtables* of *Holborn* Diviſion, who were charg'd with the Execution of this ſolemn Order; and therefore it is expected, that *their Worſhips* will make a ſtrict Enquiry at their next Meeting, why *their Order* was not punctually obey'd; *this Fair* not only tending to the Encouragement of *Vice* and *Immorality*, as *their Worſhips* very juſtly obſerve, but even to *Sedition* and *Diſloyalty*. It is not only frequented by *Pick-pockets*, *Sharpers*, *Foot-pads*, *Bawds*, and *common Whores*, to the utter Ruin of many *Apprentices*, *Servants*, and other *young People*, but renders our Nation contemptible in the Eyes of all *Foreigners*, who reſide here——I wiſh Sir *Thomas* may not ſend a triumphant Account of it to his Court.

Whilſt the only uſeful Part of the *Stage* is under the abſolute Juriſdiction of a *Licenſer*, and ſeveral *dramatick Pieces* have been prohibited, without any particular Reaſon, it ſeems very extraordinary that a Parcel of *infamous Strollers* ſhould be indulg'd, contrary to *Law*, in debauching the Morals of the People with their lewd and ridiculous Mummery.

It is to be hoped, that the *preſent great Magiſtrate of this City* (who hath already done it the moſt eminent Service) will take effectual Care to ſuppreſs all ſuch *illegal* and *pernicious Entertainments*, if they may be call'd by that Name, at *Bartholomew Fair*, and *Southwark Fair*, where he hath full Power to do it; the City of *London*, and the Diſtrict belonging to it, being exempted by the Stage-Act, if I do not forget, from the Juriſdiction of the *Licenſer*.

I ſhall conclude with ſome Remarks on the *preſent State Lottery*. The late Act againſt *Gaming*, and the *Lottery-Act* ſeem to claſh with each other. Now as *both theſe Laws* were paſs'd the laſt Seſſion, (and, I think, receiv'd the *Royal Aſſent* on the very ſame Day) the Queſtion is, if any Perſon ſhould be proſecuted on the *Gaming-Act*, for ſelling *Chances*, or *Shares of Tickets*, whether the Clauſe in the *Lottery-Act*, for ſelling *Chances* and *Shares*, during the *whole Drawing*, will exempt him from the Penalties of the *other Act*, without the uſual Form of, *any Law to the contrary in any Wiſe notwithſtanding?* But this muſt be left to much better Judges of the *Law* than myſelf.

I ſhall not enter into the Diſpute whether *this Lottery* is a *good* or a *bad Lottery*, and whether it is better or worſe than the *laſt*. I confeſs frankly that I am an Enemy to *all Lotteries*, whether *legal* or *illegal*; and I think the *legal ones* the moſt miſchievous, becauſe the *Sanction of Authority* adds a Weight to them, and extends their Influence much farther than Thoſe ſet up and carried on *againſt Law*. For this Reaſon, I hope that *all Lotteries* will be diſcountenanc'd, for the future, both by the *Legiſlature* and the *Publick*, as the Bane of *Trade*, the Nurſery of *Extravagance*, and an Encouragement of *Idleneſs*.

To

To Mr. Brooke, *Author of* GUSTAVUS VASA.

HOW diff'rent moves the fancy, or the heart, [from art!
What ſtreams from genius, and what drops
The ſoft, ſweet-ſounding lute delights and charms,
But the bold trumpet animates and warms,
Excites each ſtronger movement of our ſouls,
And with reſiſtleſs, rapturous ſounds controuls.
The murm'ring riv'let, and the flow'ry mead,
The mind with eaſy, gentle pleaſures feed;
But when ſome larger proſpect we ſurvey,
The ſtarry regions, or th' unbounded ſea,
Whole tides of bliſs, of an exalted kind,
Flow in, to fill the wide-diſtended mind.
Thus the ſoft pleaſures, poliſh'd *art* can give,
From *Waller*'s tuneful numbers we receive;
But the ſtrong raptures, that a *genius* pours,
We feel from *Milton*'s muſe, and feel from *yours*.

On lying in the Earl of Rocheſter's *Bed at* ATTERBURY.

WITH no poetick ardors fir'd,
I preſs the bed where *Wilmot* lay:
That here he liv'd, or here expir'd,
Begets no numbers grave or gay.
But 'neath thy roof, *Argyle* *, are bred,
Such thoughts, as prompt the brave to lie,
Stretch'd forth in honour's nobler bed,
Beneath a nobler roof, the ſky.
Such flames, as high in patriots burn,
Yet ſtoop to bleſs a child or wife:
And ſuch as wicked kings may mourn,
When freedom is more dear than life.

The HAPPY SHEPHERD: *Or, Riches bring Cares.*

AMYNTAS, with his pipe and crook,
Had long in peace and comfort liv'd;
And, while ſecure his little flock,
For nothing wiſh'd, at nothing griev'd.
Early he roſe to feed his ſheep,
And joyful hail'd the riſing ſun;
Nor ſought in vain refreſhing ſleep,
At e'en, when that its courſe had run.
Thoughtleſs for what to eat or drink,
He had no care but how to ſing;
For nature kind provided meat,
His drink the cool and wholſome ſpring.
This was the ſhepherd's happy fate,
Till prompted by ambitious views,
He beg'd of *Jove* a large eſtate;
Nor did the bounteous god refuſe.
But when he had obtain'd his pray'rs,
And fondly hug'd the ſhining oar,
Poſſeſſion drew a train of cares,
A numerous train, unknown before.
Thus with much heavier toil oppreſt,
Again he tells the god his pain;
Relieve, oh *Jove!* my tortur'd breaſt,
Or freely make me poor again.

Pall-Mall, *July* 27, 1739. *MARCUS.*

To a young LADY *in Affliction.*

HEALTH, and kind wiſhes, with theſe lines I ſend,
To thee, the muſe's darling and her friend:
To thee, whoſe ev'ry grief I'd gladly ſhare,
And whoſe full joy, I feel my fondeſt care.
Nor vain the hope, if right the muſe preſage,
The toils of youth ſhall bleſs thy riper age;
Whether I ſee thee ſilent in thy woe,
Or greatly riſing o'er the deſtin'd blow,
A virtue to thy ſex ſo rarely known,
In ſtrength of mind, as in diſtreſs, alone.
Warm'd with the thought, ſuch large ideas raiſe,
Pity, tho' juſtly thine, gives place to praiſe:
Happy, if thro' the various ſcenes of life,
Unmov'd, thou thus maintain'ſt the noble ſtrife:
Then will the pleaſures of a ſoul reſign'd,
And the firm joy, which fills th' heroick mind,
Be thine—thus the tall rock its peace maintains,
Whilſt far beneath the noiſy tumult reigns:
And thus thou, dear *Maria!* wilt be bleſt,
And happy in thy peace ſhall *Lucio* reſt;
Happy, in feeling the ſincere regard,
But moſt, in that thy ſmiles are his reward.

Aug. 4, 1739. *LUCIO.*

Written extempore, upon ſeeing a beautiful young Lady at her Chamber-Window.

WHEN glorious *Phœbus*, all array'd in light,
Diſpels, and drives away the ſhades of night,
His golden aſpect far leſs bright appears, [wears.
Than that which *Silvia*, charming *Silvia*
At noon, when he appears ſo dazzling bright,
He can but wound our eyes, and ſpoil our ſight;
But ſhe, whenever ſeen, lets fly ſuch darts,
As deeply wound and pierce the hardeſt hearts.

Written extempore on Miſs KITTY W—M.

AS the ſun in its glories,
So looks my dear *Chloris*,
All glorious, all bright to behold;
As the roſe when freſh blown,
Or the violet at noon,
When all their gay charms they unfold.
If e'er on her ſwain
She looks with diſdain,
As one thunderſtruck ſtraight he appears:
But if ſmiles ſhe diſpenſe,
(So great's beauty's influence!)
Straight he loſes his cares and his fears.

* Atterbury *Houſe formerly belonged to the witty Earl of* Rocheſter, *but is now a Country Seat belonging to his Grace the Duke of* Argyle.

Ye pow'rs, who ordain,
Both our joys and our pain,
And claim homage from mortals below,
Let me *Chloris* adore,
I'll aſk nothing more,
Since I no greater bleſſing can know.

EUGENIO.

No real HAPPINESS *below.*

Scandit æratas vitioſa naves
Cura: nec equitum turmas relinquit
Ocyor cervis, & agente nimbos
Ocyor euro.
——*Nihil eſt ab omni*
Parte beatum. Hor. Lib. II. Ode 16.

NEAR *Severn*'s ſtream, the penſive *Damon* ſate,
Revolving in his mind the various cares,
That play around, and make mankind their ſport.
His ſoul had lately felt the cruel pains [breaſt,
Of diſappointment. Grief o'erwhelm'd his
And dire affliction ſadden'd ev'ry ſcene.
The wide expanſe, the loſty hills, and vales
With ſmiling plenty crown'd; the vaulted ſky,
And *Severn* rolling ſwift towards the main,
Could not divert his melancholy thoughts,
Which like a rav'nous vulture prey'd upon him.
And what is man! he cried, or what is life,
That we ſo eager graſp *uncertain* pleaſures,
Blended with diſappointment, grief, and pain?
Be huſh'd, my cares, eternal Wiſdom reigns,
Who kindly orders all things for the beſt.
He knows my ſorrows, heals my feſt'ring wounds, [ſoul.
And breathes freſh joy, and fragrance on the
To him reſign'd I learn to undergo
Severeſt ſeeming ills, with patient temper.
'Tis true they ſmart, but in a litt'le while
Another ſcene will open; pain ſhall ceaſe,
And grief and diſappointment be no more.
Time flies with haſty wings. This fleeting life
Is not our all. A ſpirit unconfin'd
In expectation, ſoars beyond its bounds,
And pants for better ſcenes, and endleſs joys.
To raiſe the ſoul above the fatal charms
Of low amuſement, and the things of time,
Wiſdom immenſe hath ſcatter'd thro' the whole
Of earthly good, vexation, grief, and pain.
Theſe try thy virtue, rouſe thy ſleepy powers,
And tell thee that thy happineſs, O man,
Is not prepar'd in ſuch a varying ſcene.
Thou Good ſupreme, thou Ruler of the ſkies,
Who with unvarying wiſdom ordereſt all,
Save me from murm'ring thought and pining care!
Conduct me ſafe in virtue's ſhining path,
Tho' all the dang'rous ſcenes of human life,
And hours of ſtrong temptation! fill my ſoul
With love to thee and goodneſs! and when time
Shall be no more, receive me to that ſtate,
Where liquid ſtreams of pleaſure ever flow,
And ſteddy virtue animates each heart!

Such were the thoughts that *Damon*, in diſtreſs,
Freely indulg'd. But ah! he felt the man,
And human paſſions burſting out afreſh,
Beyond the power of reaſon. Let ſtoick ſouls
Aſſume the god, and boldly ſay they're bleſt,
Amidſt the pains of ſuch a various life.
Vain is their boaſt. misfortunes, like a flood,
Ruſh in impetuous, grief o'erwhelms the ſoul,
And in *ſuch* periods, reaſon's power is loſt,
To calm the tumult of the troubled breaſt.

PHILANDER.

HOPE. An ODE.

HOPE, ſpecious bait of human kind,
Deluſive dream, deceitful toy,
Who with falſe promiſe leads the mind,
And feeds it with fantaſtick joy.

Fancy's fair jilt, you ſtill amuſe,
With ſomething good, or ſomething new;
You ſtill deceive, yet ſtill excuſe
The fraud, that ſtill we thee purſue.

Alike deceitful in your choice,
Whether the prize we gain, or loſe;
A cruel caprice rules your voice,
Whether you give, or you refuſe.

Dup'd by imaginary gain,
We're anxious for the thing deſir'd;
Sad, when our wiſh we can't obtain;
And quite inſipid, when acquir'd.

Thou told'ſt me, *Coarus*, would be juſt;
How ſoft you look'd! how kind you ſmil'd!
Thy ſyren tongue why did I truſt?
That tongue ſo many hath beguil'd.

Thou told'ſt me (falſe one!) *Celia*'s true;
The ſame thou ſaid'ſt to twenty more:
Why did I then the maid purſue;
Or mind whate'er you ſaid or ſwore?

Thou bid'ſt the miſer to increaſe
His ſtore, and ſwell his golden bags:
He doth; and lo! his mighty peace!
'Tis fear, deſpair, remorſe, and rags.

The upſtart mounts ambition's hill;
Thou bid'ſt him glory in his riſe;
A guſt of wind ſupplants his ſkill;
The meteor blazes, falls, and dies.

Example, old as mother *Eve*,
Declares how man has been your tool:
And all I can from ſelf conceive,
Is, thou'rt a cheat, and I a fool.

CUPID *and* DEATH. *A* FABLE.

ONCE *Cupid* in a ſultry day,
Fatigu'd with love, and tir'd with play,
Sought out a cool retreat;
A neighb'ring wood's kind gloom invites
The am'rous god to it's delights,
As a defence from heat.

Juſt in the centre of the wood,
A wild unhewn-out grot there ſtood;

The

The cave of *death* it ſhow'd:
A gloomy horror ſat around,
Death's ſhafts lay ſcatter'd on the ground,
And ſpoke it his abode.

Cupid, quite fainting, enters low,
Drops down his quiver and his bow;
His darts with thoſe of *death*
In undiſtinguiſh'd mixture lay;
Unheeding takes both darts away,
Recov'ring now his breath.

O fatal chance! 'tis thus we ſee
Youth in its bloom, and gaiety,
Feel *death*'s unerring dart;
'Tis thus we ſee old hoary age
In *love*'s forgotten heats engage,
And pining with its ſmart.

The BACHELOR's WISH.

IF marriage gives a happineſs to life,
Such be the woman who ſhall be my wife:
Beauteous as height of fancy can expreſs,
Meek in her nature, cleanly in her dreſs;
Wiſe without pride, and pleaſing without art,
With chearful aſpect and with honeſt heart:
To ſooth my cares, moſt high, moſt ſweet her ſong; [tongue:
To blame my faults, moſt low, moſt kind her
In looſer hours, in hours more dull, ſtill dear,
A gay companion, and a friend ſincere:
Fond without folly, ſpirit'ous without rage,
And as in youth ſhall ſeem the ſame in age.
Ye pow'rs above, if ſuch a woman be,
(Such cou'd ye make) that woman give to me:
She as a *wife* muſt pleaſe, and ſhe alone:
O! give me ſuch a wife, *or give me none.*

A DREAM.

'TWAS at the time when fields look gay,
When woods their verdant bloom diſplay,
In yon ſweet ſolitary grove,
Devoted to the muſe and love.
Retir'd from empty crowds and noiſe,
And all the world's deluſive joys,
Beneath a ſhade I laid me down,
Nor envy'd ſceptres and a crown.
The evening pleaſant and ſerene;
The ſtillneſs of the rural ſcene;
The ſtreams, that ſoftly glide along;
The muſick of the tuneful throng,
That ſwell their notes amidſt the trees;
The whiſpers of the fanning breeze;
All conſpir'd to calm my breaſt
And gently lull my ſoul to reſt.
When lo methought a nymph divine
Approach'd the ſhade with graceful mien;
Her form ſo lovely ſweet and gay
Diffus'd a new ſupply of day,
Reviv'd the verdure of the ground,
And made all nature ſmile around.
The fabled queen of *Paphos*' coaſt,
So many graces ne'er could boaſt:
The luſtre of her ſparkling eyes
The radiant gems that fill the ſkies
As far excell'd as *Phœbus*' light
Outſhines the glimmering ſhades of night:
Her ruby lips and well turn'd noſe
Ten thouſand beauties did diſcloſe;
Her face ſo delicately pure,
Was fairer than the faireſt flower;
Her ſilken hair diſplay'd behind
Wanton'd in the amorous wind;
The amorous wind fond to poſſeſs,
Enraptur'd ſtole thro' every treſs,
Kiſs'd each ringlet's flowing pride
And in the ſweet enjoyment dy'd.
Her robe of fineſt *Tyrian* dye,
Loos'd to the gale, and flowing by,
Her breaſts luxuriant ſwelling ſhows,
Her breaſts a heaven of charms diſcloſe,
That might a ſecond fall inſpire,
And fill a cherub with deſire:
Her legs with alabaſter vye,
Proportion'd to the niceſt eye,
Daiſies, pinks, and violets meet,
And ſpring beneath her ivory feet.
Methought the divine creature ſmil'd,
With countenance ſerenely mild,
Advanced to the beechen ſhade,
Where I unhappy ſwain was laid,
Rais'd in her lily hand a dart,
And wounded *Strephon* to the heart.
Starting awake I threw my eye
Around to ſee what power was nigh,
What deity my fancy fir'd,
And ſuch a wondrous dream inſpird;
When lo in all the charms of love,
I ſaw my *Chloe* walking in the grove.

CELADON.

Imitation of the 7th ODE *of the 4th* BOOK *of* Horace. *To* Clitander.

THE hoary ſnows are gone, the verdant fields
Are cover'd o'er with ſmiling green;
The ſpreading trees unfold their tender leaves,
And form the muſe-inſpiring ſhade;
How chang'd the lands! while in their banks confin'd,
The peaceful gliding rivers flow.
The graceful ſhepherdeſs ſecurely bears
Her ſnowy boſom to the gale,
Nor fears to lead the moon-light dance and preſs,
With ivory feet, the velvet turf.
See how the periods of the fleeting year,
And every flying hour of time,
Contracting ſtill the narrow ſpan of life,
Proclaim that man's of mortal race.
Juſt now the vernal zephyrs breath diſpels
To diſtant climes the piercing colds;
The ſcorching beams of ſummer then ſucceed,
With ſultry heat the balmy ſpring;
Till autumn loaded with his golden ſtores
His riches pours with bounteous hand:
And then again with hyperborean froſts,

In

In ſtorm, and tempeſt, winter comes.
Thus the revolving courſe of time reſtores
The ſeaſons and their grateful change.
But if that ſhadow of a bubble, man,
Once to th' infernal coaſts deſcends,
Where ev'n the pious, wealthy, and the great,
Together undiſtinguiſh'd go,
There's no return, and here the anxious hours
We ſpend in an uncertain fate,
If heaven propitious will our days prolong,
Or if this moment be our laſt.
Haſte then, *Clitander!* haſte to live, be quick
The rapid minute to enjoy;
Away with every narrow, hoarding thought,
Bid every ſtream of bounty flow;
Shall virtue fair, in indigence complain,
And ſorrow droop th' afflicted head?
While with *Clitander* there remains the bliſs,
The heavenly bliſs of doing good,
Of comforting th' affections of diſtreſs,
And making poverty rejoice.
When once death's leaden hand has clos'd your eyes,
And the laſt awful ſentence paſt,
Not all the glories of thy ſplendid race,
Nor eloquence with all its power,
Nor ſanctity of manners can reſtore
Again, the fleeting tide of life;
But god-like deeds, as theſe, ſhall never die,
Or periſh with your mouldring duſt:
Theſe ſhall immotalize your ſacred name
To heaven exalted, on the wings of deathleſs fame.

CELADON.

On the ingenious Mr. H——

ONCE more my muſe reſume the lyre,
And touch the long neglected ſtring,
'Tis *H*—— thy choiceſt lay demands,
'Tis *H*—— invites the muſe to ſing.

O could I bid my verſe like his,
In ſacred numbers gently flow,
Each ſwelling line ſhould ſound his praiſe,
And with his name immortal grow.

Thro' every different ſcene of life,
The bard divine my ſong ſhould trace,
And brighteſt glories paint alike
The beauties of his mind and face.

But lo he comes in awful ſtate,
And walks majeſtical along,
Gods! how ſuperior he appears
Above th' ignoble gazing throng.

How tall! how graceful is his ſhape!
So well proportion'd every part,
From him an *Angelo* might learn
The fineſt touches of his art.

Unlike thoſe gaping, dumpling things,
The ſport and jeſt of nature's plan,
Made of the rubbiſh of mankind,
And meant for monkeys not for men.

Aſſiſt, thou genius of my ſong,
And all the wondrous man diſcloſe,
While from his mouth ſuperior wit
And eloquence eternal flows.

Or if his mind, attentive fixt,
The ſtrength of reaſon's power explore,
In lofty numbers ſcan her ways,
And think what ne'er was thought before.

Or if in tragick lays ſupreme,
Along the buſkin'd poet ſweeps,
While wond'ring choirs aſtoniſh'd ſtand,
And e'en a mighty doctor weeps.

But ſtop, my muſe! the taſk is vain,
'Tis *H*—— alone that is deſign'd
To ſhow thoſe beauties in his works,
That *H*—— himſelf can only find.

CELADON.

CATULLUS, *Epig.* XIX. *imitated.*

SUFFENUS, whom you know the witty,
The gay, the talkative, the pretty;
And, all his wonders to rehearſe,
The thing that makes a world of verſe;
I'm certain I ſhou'd not bely him,
To ſay he has ſome thouſands by him.
Yet none deform'd with critic blot,
Or to rub out on vellum wrote.
Royal paper! ſcarlet ſtrings!
Gilded backs! and ſuch fine things!
But—when you read 'em, then the witty,
The gay *Suffenus*, and the pretty,
Is the dulleſt, heavieſt clown,
So alter'd he can ſcarce be known.
This is ſtrange! that he who now
Could ſo flatter, laugh, and bow,
Shou'd be ſo ungenteel a wight
Whenever he attempts to write;
And yet the wretch is ne'er ſo pleas'd,
As when he's with this madneſs ſeiz'd.
Faith, ſir, we all this blunder make,
All labour in the ſame miſtake,
Nor is the beſt of men ſo clear
From ev'ry folly, but ſomewhere
Still the *Suffenus* will appear.
Quickly, we others errors find,
But ſee not our own load behind.

Dr. *Urban* has lately made a Practice of ſtealing Poems from our *Magazine*, and publiſhing them in his own, with Alterations and Additions by his own Operators; if he is diſcovered in the Theft, he pretends *They were made proper for his Collection by ſome new Obſervations*, or ſome ſuch paultry Excuſe. We need only inſtance *The Ode to Fame*, and *Stokes-Bay*, both ſtolen from the *London Magazine*, of the latter of which he ſays, *It has been thought neceſſary to* help *a few of the Lines:* The Dr. has likewiſe diſcovered by his great Depth of Learning, that we ſpe't the Author's Name wrong, and that *New Foreſt* is in *Hants*.

We forgot to acknowledge the Receipt of the Poem, entitled, *Brent* (from a Village of that Name in *Somerſetſhire*) which has already been printed by *W. Collins* of *Sarum*, price 6*d*. from this Poem Dr. *Urban* ſtole a few Scraps, and publiſh'd them in *Feb.* 1735. as a Deſcription of *Lincolnſhire Fens*.

Several Pieces are omitted this Month for want of Room.

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

FRIDAY, *Aug.* 3.

THE three following Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn, viz. David Roberts*, for High Treaſon, in diminiſhing the current Coin of this Kingdom.—*Thomas Bridge*, for the inhuman Murder of his Wife in *Baldwin*'s-Gardens: And, *George Broderick*, formerly a Poſt-Boy, for robbing *William Reynolds* on the Highway. *Roberts* was drawn to the Place of Execution on a Hurdle, and the two latter in a Cart.

Tyburn was at the ſame Time hung with Women's Thread and Cotton Gloves, to diſgrace the wearing of them; the Stocking Weavers incroaching on the Glovers in this Branch of Trade has occaſioned much Difference between them: The Glovers are willing to allow the Stocking Weavers the Legs as their Property, but hope at the ſame Time the Ladies will aſſiſt them with their Hands, by wearing Leather Gloves.

SUNDAY, 5.

The Perſon known by the Name of Lord *Vaughan*, with two others, lately ſeiz'd at *Cheſter*, for Coining, &c. were brought to Town in a Coach, and committed to *Newgate*. A Reſcue was attempted near St. *Albans*, by ſome of their old Acquaintance from *London*, and the Perſon who had them in Cuſtody very much wounded in the Skirmiſh; however he brought them all ſafe to Town, and ſaw them into their former Lodgings.

John Hanna, (the Boy that was Evidence againſt Capt. *Longden*, in the Court of Admiralty, for running down the Fiſhing Veſſel, &c. (See Vol. VII. p. 578.) who was committed to the New Gaol for a Robbery on the Highway, after his Confinement there confeſs'd that all he ſwore againſt his Maſter, the Captain, was falſe, and a damnable Device to take away his Life.

TUESDAY, 7.

Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordſhips were pleas'd to put his Majeſty's Ship the *Dunkirk*, a fourth Rate, into Commiſſion, and gave the Command to Capt. *Baker*. Several other Men of War were likewiſe put in Commiſſion about the ſame Time, and the Diſcourſe of a War was as hot this Month as ever.

THURSDAY, 16.

The Parliament of *Ireland*, which ſtood prorogu'd to this Day, was farther prorogu'd to *October* 9.

His Grace the Duke of *Athol* was receiv'd as *King in Man*, by the Inhabitants of that Iſland, with great Expreſſions of Joy: The Firing of the great Guns was heard diſtinctly on the Coaſt of *Galloway*.

MONDAY, 20.

The *Mercury* Fire-Ship, commanded by the Hon. Lord *George Graham*, fell down the River from *Woolwich* for the *Downs*, to join the Fleet there, whither the other four Fireſhips are order'd to follow with the utmoſt Expedition.

The Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Navy, contracted with Ship-Builders for building ten Galleys, to carry 20 Guns each, for his Majeſty's Service; which Galleys are deſign'd againſt *Spaniſh* Privateers, and to be built with the utmoſt Expedition.

WEDNESDAY, 22.

Inſtructions were ſent from the War-Office to the commanding Officers of the four Regiments of Horſe, and eight of Dragoons, for forthwith levying 1200 Men, in order to add ten Men to every Troop in the ſaid Regiments.

THURSDAY, 23.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* ſent a Meſſage to his Majeſty, to acquaint him that her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales* was again with Child.

FRIDAY, 24.

The Preſs for Seamen was warmly revived on the *Thames*, when the Gangs were very ſucceſsful, ſweeping off a Number of Hands on both Shores.

SATURDAY, 25.

The Aſſizes ended at *Kingſton upon Thames*, for the County of *Surrey*, when the 8 following receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Noah Gooby* for robbing Mr. *Deacon* in *Kennington-lane*; *Norris Hodſon*, for a Robbery on *Putney-Common*; *John Hanna*, (Evidence againſt Captain *Longden*,) for robbing *James Howard* between *Kingſton* and *Ditton*; *Peter Willington*, *Johanna Raſkford Sambo*, and *Eleanor Spencer*, for robbing *Stephen Freeman*; *Michael Lucas* otherwiſe *Stanley*, for ſtealing out of the Houſe of *John Parnel* two Gold Rings and Money to the Value of five Pounds; *John Hollings*, for ſtealing a Horſe, a Bag, Part of a Leaden Pump and Iron Work, out of the Field and Garden of *Joſiah Wordſworth*, at *Croydon*. *Hugh Randall*, concerned in the above Fact, kill'd himſelf, by cutting his left Arm to the Bone above the Elbow.

His Majeſty's Pleaſure has been ſignified, that all the reduced Officers on the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment of Half-pay do forthwith tranſmit

mit to the Secretary of War an Account of their reſpective Ages and preſent Places of Abode; and that no Payments whatever be made them by Letter of Attorney or Aſſignment until his Majeſty's Commands herein be punctually obeyed.

At the Aſſizes at *Reading*, 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death, one for ſetting Fire to ſeveral Houſes, the two others for robbing on the Highway.—At *Saliſbury*, 2 Men for robbing on the Highway.—At *Buckingham*, one for Horſe-ſtealing; where Mr. Juſtice *Denton* ſat for the firſt Time in his own County, purſuant to the late Act. (See p. 307.)—At *Oxford*, 3 for Houſe-breaking.—At *Northampton*, one for Dear-ſtealing, and one for Horſe-ſtealing.—At *Wincheſter*, one for Burglary, and two for the Highway.—At *Darby*, one for the Highway; and a Perſon for coining Moidores, was ſentenc'd to be impriſon'd for Life, and to forfeit all his Eſtate, Goods and Chattels.—At *Norwich*, one for cutting off the Work from his Loom, one for Houſe-breaking, and one for ſtealing a grey Mare.—At *Rocheſter*, 3 Men and one Woman receiv'd Sentence of Death.—At *Briſtol*, one, for ſtealing (under the Diſguiſe of a Fortune-teller) 20 Guineas.—At *Shrewſbury*, 2 for Horſe-ſtealing, and one for Houſe-breaking.—At *Chelmsford* and ſeveral other Places, the Aſſizes prov'd to be Maiden ones, none being capitally convicted.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

CAPT. *Tho. Johnſon*, of *Croydon*, to Miſs *Rebecca Danvers*.

——— *Dean*, Eſq; of *Wilcot* in *Oxfordſhire*, to Miſs *Molly Bridges*, Niece to his Grace the Duke of *Chandos*, and one of the Daughters of the Rev. Dr. *Bridges*.

Anthony Keck, of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Eſq; to Miſs *Buſby* of *Leiceſterſhire*, Niece to the late Sir *George Beaumont*, Bart.

——— *Cox*, of *Somerſetſhire*, near *Bath*, Eſq; to Miſs *Norley*, a young Lady near *Exeter*, of 30 000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Richard Partington*, a Wholeſale Stationer, to Miſs *Elizabeth Spurrier*, Niece to *Michael Hillerſdon*, of *Buſh-lane*, Eſq; a Fortune of 10.000*l.*

Godfrey Copley, of *Yorkſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Brace*.

Matthew Le Heup, Eſq; to Miſs *de Cambe*, of *Rawthbone place*.

James Dance, Eſq; of St. *John's-College*, *Oxford*, to Miſs *Hooper*.

Lady Viſcounteſs *Galeway* brought to Bed of a Son.

The Lady of Sir *Tho. Lawley*, Bart. alſo deliver'd of a Son.

DEATHS.

IN Childbed, in the 39th Year of her Age, the Lady of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, Bart. of *Melton-Conſtable* in *Norfolk*; ſhe was Siſter to Sir *Tho. L'Eſtrange*, Bart. of the ſame County.—Lady Viſcounteſs *Leſtus*, in *Ireland*.—Lady *Legard*, at *Brompton*, near *Scarborough*.—In the Tower, Mr. *George Hooper*, one of the Officers belonging to the Mint.—Rev. *Richard Peers*, M. A. Vicar of *Farringdon* in *Berks*, Author of the *Companion for Youth*, and other devotional Tracts.—At *Redgrave-Hall* in *Suffolk*, *Rowland Holt*, Eſq; a Gentleman of 7000*l. per Ann.* which devolves to his eldeſt Son about 14 Years of Age.—*William Shaw*, Eſq; Son of *William Shaw*, Eſq; formerly one of the chief Clerks of the Treaſury.—Mr. *Charles Bowler*, a wealthy *Norwich* Factor.—Rev. Mr. *White*, M. A. Chaplain to the late Earl of *Bradford*.—*George Clarke*, Eſq; only Son of the late Sir *John Clarke*, Knight.—The Marqueſs *de Montandre*, Field Marſhal of *England*, Governor of *Guerniſey*, Maſter of the Ordnance in *Ireland*, General of Foot, and Peer of *France*. He came over with King *William*, and was in all the Wars of that Prince, as likewiſe thoſe of Queen *Anne*.—The Hon. *Laurence Shirley*, Eſq; next Brother to the Right Hon. the Earl *Ferrers*.—Rev. Dr. *Hayley*, Dean of *Chicheſter*, Prebendary of *Wincheſter*, and poſſeſs'd of a Living in *Hampſhire*.—Lord *Higham*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Malton*.—Lord *Charles Fitzroy*, third Son to his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, at *Milan*, July 29.—Mr. *Criſpe*, ſome Time ſince a Super-Cargo in the *Eaſt-India* Company's Service.—Mrs. *Church*, Wife of *James Church*, Eſq; of *Bread-ſtreet*, and Siſter to the late Sir *Randolph Knipe*, Knt.—Rt. Worſhipful *Humphry Henchman*, Doctor of Laws, Chancellor of the Dioceſes of *London* and *Rocheſter*.—At his Seat at *Combe Abbey* in *Warwickſhire*, *William* Lord *Craven* of *Hempſted Marſhal*. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his Brother, the Hon. *Fulwar Craven*, Eſq; now Lord *Craven*.—Lieut. General *Gore*, Col. of his Majeſty's Royal Regiment of Dragoons, and Governor of *Kinſale* in *Ireland*.—*Walter Greenwood*, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*.—Mr. *Silveſter*, Poſt-Maſter of *Farringdon*, of a Fever, which was very rife there at this Time.—Lieut. Col. *Gilbert Primroſe*, an Officer on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment.—At his Houſe in *Farringdon*, in the 31ſt Year of his Age, Mr. *John Aſtley*, Attorney at Law, of a Fever, of which Diſtemper his Siſter died a few Days before, and his Mother a few Days after.—Lieut. Col. *Creamer*, Commander of a Company, and ſecond Major in his Majeſty's third Reg. of Foot Guards.—At his Houſe in *Farringdon*, the Rev. Mr. *Paine*, Vicar of *Barnſley* near *Cirenceſter*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

PReſentations paſs'd the Great Seal, to enable *Tho. Crowley*, M. A. to hold the Vicarage

carage of *Ulreby* in *Lincolnſhire*; *Henry Stevenſon*, M. A. to hold the Vicarage of *Elſkeſleb* in *Nottinghamſhire*; *Robert Twycroſs*, M. A. to hold the Vicarage of *Waterperry* in *Oxfordſhire*; *Joſeph Atwell*, D. D. to hold the Vicarage of *Fairford* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and *George Brackhouſe*, M. A. to hold the Vicarage of *Milton-Earneſt* in *Bedfordſhire*.—Mr. *Tyrwitt* choſen Lecturer of St. *Bartholemew the Leſs*, in the Room of Mr. *Whittingham*, who reſign'd.—Mr. *Dowdeſwel*, of *Clare-Hall*, preſented to the Rectory of *Reedham* in *Norfolk*.—Mr. *Pettinghall*, to the Rectory of *Newport* in *Monmouthſhire*.—*Edward Tart*, B. A. to the Vicarage of St. *Mary*, in the County of *Warwick* and Dioceſe of *Worceſter*.—Dr. *Baker*, of *All-Souls* College, *Oxford*, to the Vicarage of *Farringdon*, *Berks*.—Dr. *Thomas Bullock* made Dean of *Norwich*, in the Room of Dr. *Baron*, deceas'd.—Dr. *James Hargraves* made Dean of *Chichеſter*, in the Room of Dr. *Hayley*, deceas'd.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

JOHN SIMPSON, Jun. Eſq; appointed Receiver General of the Land-Tax for the County of *Leiceſter*.—*John Lowbridge*, Eſq; Receiver General of the Land-Tax for the County of *Worceſter*.—Mr. *Shankimeer* made Yeoman of his Royal Highneſs's Wine Cellars.—Mr. *Mark Hawkins* choſen by the Governours, Surgeon to the *Charter-houſe*, in the Room of Dr. *Bamber*, who reſign'd.—*William Wentworth*, Eſq; made Capt. of a Troop in Lieut. Gen. *Gore*'s Reg. of Dragoons.—One of the Brothers of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Barrington* made an Enſign in the Army.—Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Page of Honour to his Majeſty, made a Cornet in Major Gen. *Ligoniere*'s Reg. of Horſe in *Ireland*.—*Robert Dallway*, Eſq; Lieut. Col. to the ſaid Regiment, made Col. of a Reg. of Foot in that Kingdom.—*Robert Rich*, Eſq; Son to Sir *Robert Rich*, Bart. and Capt. Lieut. in the firſt Reg. of Foot Guards, made Aid-de-Camp to the Rt. Hon. Sir *Charles Wills*, as firſt General of Foot.—Sir *Charles Wills* appointed a Field Marſhal, in the Room of the Marquiſs *de Montandre*, deceas'd.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

BROOK Rawſon, of *Manchеſter*, Merchant.—*John Edge*, *John Boardman*, and *Richard Irlam*, all of *Manchеſter*, Chapmen and Partners.—*Leopole Pick*, of *New Bond-ſtreet*, Merchant.—*George Saunderſon*, of *Alford* in *Lincolnſhire*, Butcher.—*John Springall*, of *Norwich*, Worſted Weaver.—*John Hooker*, of *Picadilly*, Hoſier and Hatter.—*William Ward*, late of *Gray*'s *Inn-Lane*, Hackney Coachman.—*John Thomas*, late of *Briſtol*, Joyner and Cabinet-maker.—*Thomas Spring*, late of St. *Mary Magdalen*, *Bermondſey*, *Surry*, Bricklayer.—*Peter Wigley*, of St. *Dunſtan* in the *Weſt*, Peruke-maker.—*Herbert Grove*, of *Kinſare* in the County of *Stafford*, Mercer.—*Benjamin Fielder*, of *Fareham*, *Hants*, Malſter.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 93		*Afric.* 13 ½	
—*Bonds* 1*l.*		*Royal Aſſ.* 89	
—*Annu.* 108 ⅝ a ¾		*Lon. ditto* 11 ¼	
Bank 138 ½ a ¾		3 *per C. An.* 99 ¾	
—*Circ.* 3*l.* 10*s.*		*Salt Tallies* ½ a 1*l.* ½	
Mil. Bank 114 ½		*Emp. Loan* 105	
India 153 ½		*Equiv.* 111 ½	
—*Bonds* 2*l.* 17*s.* a 18*s.*		*Lot. Tick.* 7*s.* a 7*s.* 6*d.*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 7	*Bilboa* 39 ¼	
D. Sight	35 5 a 4 ½	*Leghorn* 49 ⅛ a ¼	
Rotter.	35 9	*Genoa* 52	
Hamb.	34 3	*Venice* 50 ¼ a ⅜	
P. Sight	31 ⅛	*Liſb.* 5*s.* 5*d* a ⅛	
Bourdx.	31	*Oport.* 5*s.* 5*d* ⅛	
Cadiz	40 a 39 ⅞	*Antw.* 36 6 a 5	
Madrid	40 a 39 ⅞	*Dublin* 9 ¼	

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 35	*Oats*	12 14
Rye	12 17	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 18	*Peaſe*	20 29
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	16 23	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *July* 24. to *Aug.* 21.

Chriſtned	Males 588	Females 598	1186
Buried	Males 830	Females 833	1663
Died under 2 Years old			678
Between 2 and 5			146
5	10		69
10	20		72
20	30		126
30	40		129
40	50		134
50	60		125
60	70		102
70	80		60
80	90		17
90 and upwards			5
			1663

Hay 36 to 42*l.* a Load.

ON the 8th of last Month, the Veldt Marshal Count *Wallis*, then incamped with the Imperial Army under his Command at *Wischniza*, was informed that the Vanguard of the *Turkish* Army was advanced as far as *Grotzka*, upon which he called a Council of War, consisting of the Veldt Marshal Baron de *Seker*, General *Neupary*, the Prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghausen*, Count *Styrum*, and others, and the unanimous Resolution was, not to wait for the Body of Troops commanded by Count *Newperg*, then incamped at *Jabouka*, but to march immediately and attack the Enemy, before they could entrench themselves at *Grotzka*, which was a very advantagious Post. Accordingly the Veldt Marshal *Wallis*, and the Veldt Marshal *Seker*, with 14 Regiments of Horse, and 18 Companies of Grenadiers, began their March as privately as possible about Midnight; the Prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghausen* being ordered to follow as soon as possible with all the Foot; and Count *Neuperg* was ordered to bring up his Detachment with all possible Dispatch.

The 9th the Troops halted, but Count *Wallis* hearing that the Enemy had attacked his advanced Guards, General *Bernclau* was detach'd in the Night with 1000 Men, and some Hundreds of Volunteers, to support the advanced Guards, and to attack the advanced Guards of the Enemy; but as most of their Troops had already passed the *Morava*, he was attacked by them, and tho' he repulsed them three Times, yet in all Appearance he would have been overpowered by Numbers, had he not fallen upon the following Stratagem. As soon as he found he was like to be overpowered, he ordered the Trumpets of his Detachment to retire, and post themselves behind a Hill in a Wood near the Enemy, where they presently began all to sound a March, which, being re-echoed from the Hills and Woods, made the Enemy believe that the whole Imperial Army was just coming upon them, whereupon they retired with the utmost Precipitation towards *Grotzka*; the Imperialists having had but 12 Men killed and wounded in the Skirmish.

The 10th in the Evening the Imperial Army received Orders to hold themselves in readiness to march without Noise, and the better to conceal their March, a Drummer out of each Company was ordered to stay behind with the Baggage; yet notwithstanding all these Precautions, the Enemy, it seems, had timely Notice of their Motions; for the Van-guard, consisting of three Regiments of Horse, found Detachments properly posted, and ready to receive it; so that in their Advance through Defiles and narrow Paths, they found themselves very roughly handled by a continual Fire from the Bushes and Vineyards on each Side. However as the Van-guard was sustained by other Troops continually advancing, it made a brave Defence until the Action became general; and in spight of the Defiles which the Imperialists were obliged to pass through, the *Turks* were repulsed on all Sides: But the Regiment of *Hohenzollern*, which had distinguished itself by its Bravery during the Action, having pushed too far, was at last attack'd so furiously, and by such Numbers, that it was obliged to give Way, and falling back upon the other Troops, occasioned such Confusion, that they were all obliged to retire to the rising Grounds adjacent. In the mean Time, the Prince of *Saxe Hildbourghausen* arrived with the Foot, and finding the Horse and Grenadiers retired in Confusion, he immediately made himself Master of an advantageous Post upon the Right, which was the only one that would cover the Retreat of the Army; and tho' in this Post he was several Times most furiously attacked, yet he always repulsed the Infidels. Nevertheless, the Disorder the Troops were in spread as far as the Baggage, and would probably have been greater and more fatal, had it not been for the Arrival of the 13000 Men commanded by Count *Neuperg*, who for greater Expedition had made the Soldiers pull off their Coats, and had left all the Baggage behind him. Upon the Arrival of these fresh Troops, Count *Wallis* renewed the Engagement, which lasted till the Evening without Interruption, and with a dreadful Fire on both Sides.

As the Imperialists had lost a great many Officers and Soldiers in this long Engagement, and found they could not force the Enemy from the advantageous Post they had got Possession of, they retired in the Night Time to their old Camp; but Forage being scarce in that Neighbourhood, they retired from thence next Night, and on the 13th in the Morning entered the Lines of Circumvallation under *Belgrade*. But as the Army could not long remain there for Want of Provisions, the heavy Baggage was sent to the other Side of the *Save* on the 14th in the Evening, and as soon as it was Night the Army began to file off, one Part through the Town of *Belgrade*, and the other Part by two Bridges that had been laid over the *Danube*; so that by Day-break the whole Army had passed over that River, and incamped next Day near the Village of *Ponza*, a League from *Belgrade*; from whence they saw the Enemy enter into the Lines under *Belgrade*, which they had forsaken.

In this Battle Generals *Larsner* and *Wittorff*, Count *Caraffa*, the young Prince of *Waldeck*, and the Prince of *Hesse-Rhinfels* were killed; and the old Prince of *Waldeck*, the Prince of *Berkenfield*, the Generals *Grune* and *Berne*, Prince *Charles* of *Lorain*, Count *Daun*, and the Earl of *Crawford*, who was there as a Volunteer, were wounded. Besides these, it appears from a List of the killed and wounded, published by Authority at *Vienna*, that there were of the Foot 43 Officers killed, and 138 wounded;

wounded; and of the Horſe 69 Officers killed, and 67 wounded; the Whole amounting to 117 Officers killed, and 211 wounded; and that of private Men, including Quarter Maſters, Serjeants and Corporals, there were 5475 killed, and 5376 wounded.

On the 10th, when the Imperial Army marched to attack that of the Infidels at *Grotzka*, Admiral *Pallavicini*, with the Imperial Fleet under his Command, received Orders to ſail towards *Grotzka* in order to keep the *Turkiſh* Saicks at a Bay, and to diſperſe the Infidels who had taken Poſt on the Banks of the *Danube*. In his Way thither he ſunk three Saicks, and obliged the Infidels to retreat from the Banks of the River; but next Day, being the Day of the Battle between the Land Armies, he found himſelf ſurrounded by near 100 *Turkiſh* Saicks, which made a terrible Fire from their Guns and ſmall Arms; but he managed ſo well, that after ſinking ſeveral of their Saicks, and killing a great Number of Men, he made his Retreat to *Belgrade* without loſing any of his Ships, tho' the Bank of the River was lined with Troops and Batteries, which the Enemy had again planted there for intercepting his Retreat.

As ſoon as the *Turkiſh* Army had taken Poſt about *Belgrade*, they began to form the Siege of that Place, and have been ever ſince playing upon it with great Fury, but with little Skill, from ſeveral Batteries. And as there is a numerous Gariſon, conſiſting of 12000 good Troops, well provided with every Thing, in the Place, it is to be hoped they will be diſappointed in their Enterprize; which ſeems to ſhew no great Wiſdom in their Councils; for in all Appearance they would have done better to have purſued the Imperial Army, in order to have brought them to a ſecond Engagement; and this it ſeems the Court of *Vienna* was moſt afraid of; for which Reaſon, the Prince *Lobkowitz* was ordered to march from *Tranſilvania* with the Imperial Army under his Command, to reinforce the grand Army under Count *Wallis*; but now the *Turks* have begun to amuſe themſelves with the Siege of *Belgrade*, that Prince has been ordered to return to *Tranſilvania*, and endeavour to penetrate into the *Turkiſh Moldavia*.

The Grand *Vizir* having reſolved to beſiege *Belgrade*, he ordered a Detachment of 30000 Men to paſs the *Danube*, in order to get Forage, and to haraſs the Imperial Army, which Count *Wallis* had an Account of, but made no Motion to oppoſe their Paſſage, only diſpatched an Order to Admiral *Pallavicini*, to advance with the Men of War, and to ſink the Enemy's Bridge as ſoon as they had paſſed, which Order the Admiral executed next Day with Succeſs. The *Turkiſh* Detachment advanced towards *Panezova*, where they formed a Camp at ſome Diſtance from the Imperialiſt Army, which was then incamped at *Jabouka* on the River *Temes*. On the 19th at Night, the Imperial Army marched, and about 2 a Clock in the Morning came within Muſket Shot of the Enemy's Camp, which they attacked on ſeveral Sides at once. The Action laſted for about 3 Hours, with a very ſmart Fire on the Side of the Imperialiſts, and the Enemy being at laſt put into Confuſion, abandoned their Camp, their Ammunition, and Part of their Baggage; but as the Purſuit was interrupted by a heavy Shower, their Loſs was not ſo conſiderable as it would otherwiſe have been, tho' moſt of their Colours were taken, and two Baſhaws made Priſoners. The reſt retired towards *Vipalanka*.

From *Muſcovy* we have an Account, that on the 3d of laſt Month the Princeſs *Anne of Mecklemburgh*, was married to Prince *Anthony-Ulrick* of *Wolfembuttle*, who, before the Marriage Ceremony was performed, was declared Generaliſſimo of all the Forces, and Stadtholder of the *Ruſſian* Empire.

Towards the End of *June*, the *Ruſſian* Army under Count *Munich* having paſſed through *Poland*, and approached near the *Nieſter*, the General paſſed that River by Surprize, with a ſtrong Detachment of regular Troops and *Coſſacks*, and making an Inroad upon the *Turkiſh* Territories, plundered and burnt the Towns of *Sorokka*, *Mobilow*, *Sodova*, *Magiliejew*, and *Balinetz*; and returned to the Camp with a great Booty. He afterwards encamped his Army within three or four Leagues of the *Nieſter*, where he expected the *Turks* and *Tartars* would come and attack him; but they remaining quiet in their Camp, and having nothing in View but to oppoſe his Paſſage, he marched privately with his Army up that River to a Place called *Simchova*, where the River is narrower and more ſhallow than near *Choczim*; which March was performed with ſo much Secrecy, that his whole Army paſſed over the River, before the *Turkiſh* Army had the leaſt Notice of their Motion. As the News of a Battle between theſe two Armies is every Day expected, the laſt *Dutch* Mail brought an Account of its being currently reported at *Warſaw*, that an Expreſs was arrived with the News of a bloody Battle having been fought in *Moldavia* between the *Ruſſians* and *Turks*, in which the latter were entirely routed, having left near 30000 Men; a Confirmation of which Piece of News is impatiently expected.

The *Aſſogue* Ships from *New Spain*, bound for *Old Spain*, we are told, had on Board for the King of *Spain*'s Account 897,797 Peſos of Silver, and 56657 Quintals of Copper; and the *Spaniſh* Merchants Account, in coined Silver 3,932,339 Peſos, in coined Gold 5604 Peſos, in wrought Silver 6187 Marks, 2697 Serons of Cochineal 297700 Banilles, 4272 Arobes of Indigo, 683 Serons of Cochineal Silveſtris, 3127 prepared Hides, 78 Cheſts with Preſents, 118 Cheſts of Drugs, and 10 Cheſts of Jeſuits Bark.

The

HISTORICAL *and* MISCELLANEOUS.

1. MR. *Rollin*'s Antient Hiſtory, Vol. XII. XIII. and laſt. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, 8vo, price 10*s*.

2. Hiſtoria Joſephi Patriarchæ, *Latin* and *Hebrew*. Auctore *R. Grey*, S. T. P. Impenſis *J. Stagg* and *D. Browne*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

3. The Hiſtory of King *Apprius*, &c. Sold by the Bookſellers, price 2*s*.

4. An Account of many ſignal Atchievements againſt the *Spaniards*. Printed for *J. Torbuck*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

5. A compleat Guide to Perſons concern'd in Trade in *London*. Printed for *J. Oſborne*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

6. The Gardener's Dictionary, Vol. II. which compleats the Work. By *P. Miller*, F. R. S. Sold by *C. Rivington*, Folio, price 15*s*. in Sheets to Subſcribers.

7. A Diſcourſe on the Nature of Moral Obligation. Printed for *T. Gardner*, pr. 6*d*.

8. The Cure of Schiſm. By a Friend to the Diſſenters. Sold by *T. Aſtley*, price 3*s*.

9. Memoirs of the Duke *de Ripperda*. Printed for *J. Stagg* and *D. Browne*, 8vo, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

10. The Biſhop of *London*'s Paſtoral Letter. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 4*d*.

11. Mr. *Whitefield*'s Anſwer to the Paſtoral Letter. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 6*d*.

12. Remarks on the Paſtoral Letter. By *R. Seagrave*, A. M. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d*.

13. An earneſt Appeal to the Publick, on Mr. *Whitefield*'s Anſwer. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

14. Obſervations on Mr. *Seagrave*'s Conduct and Writings. Printed for *S. Auſten*, price 6*d*.

15. The Life of *David Nefas*, Eſq; Printed for *J. Brett*, price 1*s*.

16. * Poetæ Minores Græci, ſelecti & emendati. Impenſis *G. Innys*, *R. Manby*, & *C. Batburſt*, 8vo, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

17. * Pub. Terentii Comædiæ ſex, cum Interpretatione & Notis ad uſum Seren. Delphini, 8vo, price 5*s*.

18. An Enquiry into the Virtues of the Medicinal Waters at *Briſtol*. By *P. Keir*, M. D. Printed for *R. Willock*, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

19. Obſervations in Surgery. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

20. The young Mathematician's Companion. By *C. Leadbetter*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

21. The whole Doctrine of Logarithms. By *B. Martin*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

22. The new Art of War. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

23. * A compleat Treatiſe of Practical Navigation. By *A. Patoun*, F. R. S. The 2d Edition, 8vo, price 5*s*. 6*d*.

24. The natural Hiſtory of the Rhinoceros. Printed for *J. Duke* and *T. Boreman*, price 6*d*.

25. A due Examination of Mrs. *Stephens*'s Medicine. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

26. A Collection of entertaining Hiſtories. By Mrs. *Aubin*. In 3 Vols. 12mo, pr. 7*s*. 6*d*.

27. Memorials and Characters. N° 10. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

POLITICAL.

28. An Addreſs to the Electors of *Great Britain*. Printed for *H. Goreham*, pr. 1*s*.

29. An excurſory View of the preſent State of Men and Things. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s*.

30. Men and Meaſures characteriz'd. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

31. A Letter from an *Italian* Merchant to his Correſpondent abroad. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

32. The falſe Patriot. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

SERMONS.

33. Twenty ſix Sermons on various Subjects. By *Adam Batty*, A. M. Sold by Meſſ. *Gyles*, *Innys*, and *Strahan*. In two Vols. 8vo, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

34. Twenty ſix Practcial Sermons on various Subjects. By the late Rev. Mr. *Wheatland*. Printed for *W. Meadows*, 8vo, pr. 5*s*.

35. Seventeen Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions. By Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 3*s*.

36. A Sermon at *Deptford*. By *M. Audley*. Printed for *J. Carter*, price 6*d*.

37. A Caution againſt religious Deluſion. By Dr. *Stebbing*. Printed for *F. Gyles*, pr. 3*d*.

38. A Sermon on St. *Mark*'s Day. By Dr. *Cobden*. Printed for Meſſ. *Bonwicke* and *Hitch*, price 6*d*.

39. A Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy. By Dr. *Banyer*. Printed for *W. Parker*, price 6*d*.

40. A Sermon at St. *Brides*. By Dr. *Bolton*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

41. A Sermon on the Death of a Child. By *S. Hebden*. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 4*d*.

42. An Ordination Sermon. By Dr. *Milner*. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 1*s*.

43. A Sermon on *Rom.* viii. 6. By a Methodiſt. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

44. A Sermon at *Ipſwich*. By *J. Pitts*. Printed for *J. Oſwald* and *J. Buckland*, pr. 4*d*.

45. A Sermon on the Indwelling of the Spirit. By Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

46. The World to come. By I. *Watts*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett*, 8vo, pr. 4*s*.

47. Remarks on the Review of the Demoniack Controverſy. Printed for *J. Clarke*, price 1*s*.

48. An Anſwer to the Remarks on Mr. *Sloſs*'s Sermons. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 1*s*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 391.

The Speech of M. Furius Camillus, *in the Debate begun in our laſt, was in Subſtance thus,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I AM glad to find that the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, is for ſhewing ſome Sort of Regard to the Petition now before us. I confeſs, I had ſome Apprehenſions, that this Petition would have been treated as the Petition of the City of *London* againſt the late famous Exciſe Scheme was treated, that you would only have ordered it to lie upon the Table; becauſe, I am convinced the Petitioners, if they are allowed to be heard, either by themſelves or Counſel, will be able to make out all they have alledged, and more than they have alledged in their Petition. For this Reaſon, I ſay, I was afraid that ſome Gentlemen would have been as much againſt any Perſon's being heard againſt this Scheme of a Peace, as they were againſt any Perſon's being heard againſt that Scheme of an Exciſe; and, as this would have been ſhewing ſuch a Diſregard to the Merchants and Trade of our Country, as would, in my Opinion, have been inconſiſtent with the Honour of this Houſe, therefore, for the Sake of the Honour and Character of this Parliament, I am glad to find, we are like to ſhew a greater Regard to the Petition of our Merchants againſt the Scheme now before us, than was ſhewed by the laſt Parliament to the Petition of the City of *London* againſt the Scheme I have mentioned; and, for the ſame Reaſon, ſince the Hon. Gentleman is willing to ſhew ſome Regard to the Petitioners upon this Occaſion, I hope he will, at laſt, agree, that we ſhould ſhew them all poſſible Regard, by allowing them to be heard either by themſelves or Counſel.

But, for my own Part, Sir, I muſt ſay, that I am quite indifferent, whether you admit them to be heard by their Counſel or no. I ſhould be extremely eaſy, even if you ſhould refuſe to hear them either by themſelves or Counſel; for, with reſpect to this Scheme of

Peace, this Convention, which is now before us, I do not think I ſtand in Need of any Information the Petitioners can give, for aſſiſting me to form a right Opinion of it. As Treaty-making could never be ſaid to be the Talent of this Nation, we have made many Treaties that have afterwards been found to be diſadvantageous; but, upon the very Face of this Convention, and at firſt View, it appears to me, to be not only the moſt diſadvantageous, but the moſt diſhonourable Treaty we ever made. Nothing, I think, can in the leaſt excuſe our agreeing to it, but our being in the moſt unfortunate, the moſt contemptible Situation, an independent Nation was ever in; and this, I am ſure, the Petitioners cannot ſhew. If we are in ſuch a Situation, which God forbid, it is thoſe only who made this Treaty that can ſhew it; but, if they ſhould tell us that this was their Reaſon for adviſing his Majeſty to ratify ſuch a Treaty, it is far from being an Argument for our approving it. Unlucky Circumſtances, either at home or abroad, may be a Reaſon for ſuſpending our Reſentment, but it can never be a ſufficient Reaſon for our agreeing to a diſhonourable Treaty; and, if we are in ſuch Circumſtances, it is the Duty of this Houſe, to enquire into the Conduct of thoſe who have brought us into ſuch Circumſtances, and to puniſh them for their Wickedneſs or Folly; for this Nation can never be brought into ſuch Circumſtances, but by the extreme Wickedneſs or Folly of thoſe who have been intruſted with the Adminiſtration of our publick Affairs.

This, I ſay, Sir, is the Opinion I have already formed: It cannot be made worſe by any Thing the Petitioners or their Counſel can ſay againſt, and I do not believe it will be made better by any Thing that can be ſaid in Favour of this Convention. But as ſome Gentlemen may not yet look upon this new Treaty, or rather Preliminary to a Treaty, in the ſame Light I do, and as I think it neceſſary we ſhould be as unanimous as poſſible in an Affair of ſo great Importance, I ſhall be for giving as much fair Play as poſſible both to our Merchants, and to thoſe whom I muſt, upon this Occaſion, look on as their Antagoniſts, I mean our Negotiators, and others who were concerned in cooking up this whetting Morſel, which they ſeem to have contrived on Purpoſe for ſharpening our Appetites, in order to make us digeſt any Treaty *Spain*, in all her Haughtineſs, ſhall pleaſe to vouchſafe. I ſay, Sir, I ſhall be for giving both theſe Parties as much fair Play as they can deſire, and therefore, I ſhall be for allowing the Petitioners to be heard by themſelves or Counſel. When we have given them this Liberty, they may then chuſe which they think beſt, and as they know their own Abilities, and the ſeveral Matters they have to lay before us, much better than we can pretend to, they are certainly better Judges than this Houſe can be, whether it will be neceſſary for them to have Counſel; for unleſs they think it abſolutely neceſſary for them to employ Counſel, we may depend on't they'll ſave themſelves the Expence.

I am ſorry to find, Sir, that thoſe who are againſt this Queſtion, ſhould think it neceſſary, upon this Occaſion, to throw out any Thing that may look like a Reflection upon the learned Gentlemen at the Bar. As they are not to ſet themſelves up as Judges in any Caſe they are employed in, it is their Buſineſs, it is even their Duty, where no palpable Fraud appears, to ſtate their Client's Caſe in the faireſt Light they can; and if, upon one Side of the Queſtion, the Caſe be deſignedly put in

a confuſed, or in a falſe or deceitful Light, or if any ſophiſtical Arguments be made uſe of, it is the Buſineſs of thoſe who are employed on the other Side, to ſtate the Caſe in a clear Light, to expoſe the Falſhood or Deceit, and to ſhew the Sophiſtry of the Arguments made uſe of by their Antagoniſts. This renders it almoſt impoſſible for the Judges, or indeed for any Hearer, to be deceived or impoſed on by the Art of the Speaker, upon either Side of the Queſtion; becauſe the Speakers upon both are ſuppoſed to be, and generally are, pretty equally Maſters of their Buſineſs; and therefore, the admitting of Counſel to be heard in any Caſe, either of a publick or private Nature, can never be of the leaſt dangerous Conſequence, but on the contrary, muſt always be of great Uſe for giving the Judges a clear and diſtinct Notion of the Caſe in which they are to give Judgment, and of the Arguments that may be made uſe of upon both Sides of the Queſtion.

Sir, if the Argument the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to make uſe of againſt hearing Counſel upon this Occaſion, were of any Weight, it would be an Argument againſt hearing Counſel upon any Occaſion whatſoever, or in any Caſe, either of a publick or private Nature; for we ought certainly to be as cautious of allowing ourſelves to be impoſed on, or artfully miſled, in the latter, as in the former. Even the Judges of our Courts of Law and Equity ought to be afraid of hearing Counſel in any Caſe that comes before them. In ſhort, we ought to treat Barriſters at Law as we do Conjurers: We ought to make it penal for any Man to ſtudy or profeſs that Art, which we call the Art of Elocution. In this Caſe, what would be the Conſequence? Every Man muſt neceſſarily plead his own Cauſe; and if none but Parties were to be heard, they would be often unequally matched; for as one Man may be naturally more eloquent than another, and more accuſtomed to ſpeak before a publick Aſſembly, not only this Houſe, but every Court in the Kingdom, would be more liable to be impoſed on by hearing Parties by themſelves only, than by hearing them by their Counſel; becauſe there might be a great deal of natural Eloquence, and perhaps Aſſurance, of one Side, and nothing but Confuſion and Baſhfulneſs on the other. Therefore, in every Caſe of Importance, whether of a publick or private Nature, it ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary to admit Parties to be heard, rather by their Counſel, than by themſelves.

As the Gentlemen at the Bar, Sir, are never, in any Caſe which they plead, to give their Judgment or their Vote, they may therefore lawfully, honeſtly, and honourably take a Fee for pleading any Cauſe they undertake; but where a Man is to give his Judgment or his Vote, I am ſure every Gentleman in this Houſe will agree with me, that it is neither honourable, honeſt, nor lawful to take a Fee, or any other Reward, either for ſpeaking or voting. He ought not ſo much as to accept of a Favour, or a Preſent, from either of the Parties concerned in the Caſe, in which he is to give his Vote or Judgment. Nay, in ſuch Caſes, if a Man has any particular Attachment to one Side more than the other, he ought not to look upon himſelf as an impartial Judge in that Affair; for which Reaſon, he ought to avoid giving his Opinion. In all Caſes therefore, where there are two Parties concerned, Gentlemen ought to examine themſelves ſtrictly, before they venture to give their Judgment or their Vote upon either Side of the Queſtion; for tho' the Heart cannot perhaps be corrupted, the Judgment may be

miſled, by Favours received, or by perſonal Attachments.

Having thus ſhewn, Sir, that the Gentlemen, called Barriſters at Law, are neither uſeleſs nor dangerous, and that they may be admitted to be heard in every Caſe that comes before us, without our running the leaſt Riſk of being impoſed on by their Eloquence; I muſt now take ſome Notice of the other Arguments made uſe of againſt admitting them to be heard, in the Caſe now before us. As to Facts, Sir, I ſhall allow they are plain Things, more plain perhaps than ſome People deſire. They are ſo plain, that I do not find they can be diſguiſed by all the mercenary Eloquence in the Kingdom. But, as plain as they are, it requires ſome Art, ſome Practice, to ſtate them in their proper Light, eſpecially where they are numerous and of various Kinds. With reſpect to Facts, we know that true Eloquence conſiſts in relating what are neceſſary, and no more than what are neceſſary; therefore, for ſaving Time, we ought to admit the Petitioners to be heard rather by their Counſel than by themſelves; for as none of them are practiſed in the Art of Speaking, they may forget, or omit, to give us an Account of ſome of the moſt material Facts, and dwell upon others that are nothing to the Purpoſe; ſo that a great deal of our Time may be taken up in hearing a prolix Account of Facts that are of no great Signification, and yet at the End we may have but a very lame Account of thoſe Facts which are the moſt material. Counſel, 'tis true, muſt have Inſtructions from thoſe that imploy them: They muſt, from their Clients, have an Account of the Facts that may be proved, and of the Witneſſes that can prove them; but in the Courſe of the Examination ſome material Facts may be hinted at, which the Petitioners did not before know of. If Counſel were preſent at the Bar, they would immediately lay hold of ſuch Hints, and by putting proper Queſtions might have them fully explained: Whereas, otherwiſe, ſuch Hints may probably paſs unobſerved, and by that Means ſome of the moſt material Facts may remain in Obſcurity. From whence we may ſee, that it is not always from the Client that the Counſel are to learn what may be the proper Queſtions to be put to each Witneſs. The Client may in general ſay, that ſuch a Witneſs is to be examined as to ſuch a Point; but it is the Counſel that muſt think of the proper Queſtions to be put to him, in order to make him give an Account of all he knows relating to that Point; and thoſe Queſtions cannot ſo much as be thought of, but in the Courſe of the Examination; which no Man can be ſuppoſed ſo capable of, as thoſe who are daily converſant in ſuch Affairs.

Thus, Sir, it appears that, with Regard to Facts, if we admit the Petitioners to be heard by themſelves only, we may probably have a great deal more of our Time taken up, than if we were to admit them to be heard by their Counſel, and that we cannot expect ſo full and diſtinct an Account of all the material Facts, as we ought to have in an Affair of ſo great Importance. As we ſhall probably have a great many Petitions beſides this now before us; as every one of thoſe Petitions may complain of ſome particular Point that affects them only, the Examination of Witneſſes muſt laſt for ſeveral Days, and muſt relate to Points of a very different Nature. In ſuch a Caſe, can we ſuppoſe that any Gentleman, who has never made it his Buſineſs, will be able to ſum up the Evidence? Let every Gentleman of this Houſe apply the Caſe to himſelf: Let him

lay

lay his Hand upon his Heart and declare, whether he thinks he would be able to ſum up the Evidence, notwithſtanding his being acquainted with, and perhaps accuſtomed to ſpeak in this Aſſembly. What then can he expect from any Gentleman that never was of this Houſe, nor ever before perhaps ſpoke before any publick Aſſembly?

Now, Sir, as to Matters of Right or Property, the Hon. Gentleman endeavoured firſt to ſhew, that no ſuch Matter could come to be diſputed before us. Sir, I believe the Rights of this Nation, that have been lately diſputed by *Spain*, will not be in the leaſt controverted before us. No Man will dare to ſtand up in this Aſſembly, and deny any one of thoſe Rights, that *Spain* has been lately allowed to diſpute with us. It was inconſiſtent with the Honour of the Nation to allow them to be diſputed in any Negotiation. That of a free Navigation upon the open Seas, is a Right ſo plain and evident, and of ſuch Conſequence, that we ought to have broke off all Manner of Negotiation, as ſoon as the *Spaniards* pretended to deny it; and ſince they had pretended to ſet up a Claim that was inconſiſtent with this Right, we ought never to have renewed our Negotiations with them, till they had previouſly relinquiſhed that unjuſt Claim, and expreſsly acknowledged our Right. Whereas it now appears, that we have not only negotiated, but have treated without any ſuch Relinquiſhment or Acknowledgment: Nay, we have expreſsly, by this Treaty, referred it, amongſt others, to be regulated.

What the Meaning of this Reference may be, Sir, what Interpretation may be put upon it, is a Matter of Right that muſt be inquired into, before we approve of this Treaty. It is not what Meaning may be put upon it by this Houſe, or by any Gentleman in this Houſe, that we are to enquire into: It is what Meaning may be put upon it by *Spain*, or by Foreigners; for if the Court of *Spain*, or any foreign Court whatever, can ſuppoſe, that by this Reference we have in any Degree admitted of thoſe Claims the *Spaniards* have lately ſet up againſt us, it will with them bring this Nation into Contempt; and ſurely the Parliament of *Great Britain* is not to approve of a Treaty that will bring *Great Britain* into Contempt, at any Court in *Europe*. It is not, Sir, becauſe I have a Mind to find Fault with this Treaty, that I ſuppoſe this Reference will be interpreted as an Admiſſion of the moſt dangerous Claim *Spain* has ſet up againſt us: It is becauſe I think ſuch a Reference cannot be otherwiſe interpreted, that I muſt find Fault with this Treaty. *Spain* pretends to a Right to ſearch our Ships upon the open Seas, and to confiſcate the Ship and Cargo, if one Shilling's Worth of any Goods be found on Board, which they may pleaſe to call the Produce or Manufacture of their Plantations. This Right, among the reſt, we have referred to be regulated. Is not this acknowledging the Right? Is it poſſible to regulate a Right that never was in Being? Let us put the Caſe the other Way. We pretend, and moſt juſtly pretend, to a free Navigation in the open Seas. Formerly we pretended to a Dominion over the Seas; but now we are reduced to pretend only to what every independent State has a Right to by the Law of Nations; and even this Right we have, by this Treaty, referred to be regulated by *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries. Is not this the greateſt Indignity that ever an independent Nation ſubmitted to? Shall we allow *Spain* to preſcribe Rules to the Freedom of our Navigation in the open Seas? If we ſhould now

ſay

ſay we cannot admit of any ſuch Thing, *Spain* may juſtly reply, you have already admitted it by your preliminary Articles; the only Thing the Plenipotentiaries have to do, is, to ſettle and agree upon thoſe Rules which we are to preſcribe.

If any Man ſhould claim of me, Sir, 1000*l.* which I knew he had not the leaſt Pretence for, I ſhould, perhaps, out of Charity, vouchſafe to hear what he could ſay in Juſtification of his Claim, but I ſhould think myſelf a Madman, if, to avoid a Law-ſuit, I ſhould ſubmit ſuch a Claim to Arbitration. We have heard the Reaſons alledged by *Spain*, for every one of the unjuſt Claims they have lately ſet up againſt us. We have had the Patience to hear them over and over again, during the long Courſe of our Negotiations. We ought, I am ſure we could, and I hope we have ſhewn them, that there is no Weight in any of the Reaſons they have alledged, nor the leaſt Foundation for any one of the Claims they have ſet up. This we might have done for once, without doing ourſelves any notable Injury; but we negotiated too long, and now at laſt, by this Treaty, we have ſubmitted all the unjuſt Claims they have ſet up againſt us to Arbitration. They muſt have been convinced long before now, that they had no reaſonable Pretence for refuſing to do us Juſtice; but, if they were not, can we hope that they will be more tractable, or leſs obſtinate, in conferring, than we have already found them in negotiating? Can we expect that the Arguments of Mr. *Keene* the Plenipotentiary, will have greater Weight than the ſame Arguments had when urged by Mr. *Keene* the Envoy? No, Sir, they will not now admit him to ſay, you have no Right to ſearch our Ships upon the open Seas, under any Pretence whatſoever: They will tell him, you have already, by the preliminary Convention, admitted our Right; your only Buſineſs now is, to propoſe to our Plenipotentiaries ſuch Regulations as may make our Right of ſearching as little hurtful to your Trade as poſſible. This is what I am convinced the *Spaniards* will ſay, and whether or no they may have a Right, from the Words of this Treaty, to ſay ſo, is a Queſtion of Right, which we ought to hear argued by Counſel, before we paſs Judgment upon this Convention. If there be the leaſt Pretence for their ſaying ſo, they have already got a great Advantage over us, by his Majeſty's Ratification; but they will get a much greater, by the Parliament's Approbation of that Treaty, which furniſhed them with ſuch a Pretence.

I am glad to hear, Sir, from the Hon. Gentleman, that the Nation is far from being in any unfortunate Situation; becauſe, he ought to know, and I am convinced he never ſpeaks contrary to what he thinks; but, whatever we may think, or ſay within Doors, I'm afraid a very different Opinion generally prevails without Doors. The People do not judge from what they hear, but from what they ſee and feel. They have felt themſelves inſulted, plundered, and even cruelly uſed, by the *Spaniards*: They have, as yet, felt no Reparation, nor do they know of any Vengeance that has been taken. On the contrary, it is well known, both abroad and at home, that we have tamely ſubmitted to repeated Inſults and Depredations for many Years. We have ſubmitted ſo long, that the *Spaniards* ſeem to think they have acquired a Right by Preſcription, to plunder our Merchants, and abuſe our Seamen, as often as they have a mind. From our ſuffering ſuch Injuries and Indignities to paſs unpuniſhed, not only our own People,

but

but every Foreigner that hears of it, may have ſome Reaſon to conclude, that the Nation is in a weak and contemptible Condition, or that ſome of thoſe, that have an Influence in our Counſels, are ſwayed by Motives inconſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of their Country. It is not from the Reports of his Majeſty's Enemies, but from the Conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters, that People form their Judgment; and therefore, if there be any one, either at home or abroad, that ſuppoſes this Nation to be in an unfortunate Situation, it muſt be imputed to his Majeſty's Miniſters, who, in this Reſpect might, indeed, be juſtly called his Majeſty's greateſt and moſt dangerous Enemies.

In the Caſe now before us, Sir, we ought to conſider rather what the People without Doors may think, or what foreign Nations may think, than what any particular Gentleman of this Houſe may think of our preſent Situation. From our paſt Conduct, I am afraid, foreign Nations have already begun to form a very unfavourable Opinion of our Circumſtances; but, if they ſhould ſee a Treaty approved of by Parliament, containing any Words that can be interpreted as an Admiſſion of a Right, which no independent Nation ever ſubmitted to, they muſt form a moſt contemptible Opinion of us, and certainly will treat us accordingly. Therefore, I think, it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to hear Counſel, upon what may be thought to be the Import of that general Reference, which ſeems to be the chief Article of this Treaty.

I do not queſtion, Sir, but that there are ſeveral Gentlemen in this Houſe, who are pretty well acquainted with the Law of Nations, and the Nature of Treaties; I have one in my Eye, who muſt be allowed to be a great Maſter in this Way; for tho' he never made it his Profeſſion, he is well known to have had great Practice; and, I make no doubt of our having his Aſſiſtance, when this Treaty comes to be explained. But no Gentleman, who never made this Study his Profeſſion, can be ſuppoſed to be ſo well acquainted with it, as thoſe that do. In one of our Courts of Juſtice, I mean our Court of Admiralty, we know that the Barriſters or Advocates are obliged to make this Study their particular Profeſſion; and as our other Barriſters may happen to be employed in Appeals from that Court, moſt of them are obliged to make themſelves thorough Maſters of the Law of Nature and Nations, eſpecially with regard to maritime Affairs. Therefore, when an important Queſtion of any ſuch Nature is like to come before us, it muſt always be of great Uſe to hear Counſel, before we give our Opinion upon the Queſtion.

In any ſuch Caſe, Sir, our admitting Counſel to be heard, can never be a dangerous Precedent. If it were eſtabliſhed as a general Rule, it could be attended with no bad Conſequence; becauſe ſuch Caſes but rarely occur. But, if they were much more frequent, it would be no Argument againſt our doing our Duty, which is, in all Caſes, to endeavour to be thoroughly informed, before we give our Opinion. If this ſhould prolong our Seſſions of Parliament, and if the Length of our Seſſions ſhould make it neceſſary to revive the antient Cuſtom of paying Wages to our Parliament Men, I cannot think that either would be a Loſs to the Nation, or an Innovation of our Conſtitution. The laſt would certainly be an Advantage, becauſe it would make our little Boroughs do as many of them have formerly done: It would make them petition for being freed from the Burthen of ſending Burgeſſes to Parliament; and if no little Borough in the King-

Kingdom ſent a Member to this Houſe, it would, in my Opinion, be an Advantage to the Nation, and an Improvement of our Conſtitution; becauſe the People would be much more equally repreſented.

But now, Sir, ſuppoſe it were allowed to be an eſtabliſhed Rule in our Proceedings, never to admit Counſel to be heard in any Caſe, where no private Right or Property is concerned, yet this could be no Argument againſt our admitting Counſel to be heard with regard to this Convention; for, if we are ever to admit Counſel to be heard in any Caſe, that may relate to Matters of private Right or Property, they ought to be admitted to be heard in this; becauſe it muſt be granted, that the private Property of great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects is deeply concerned. The Claims of our Merchants, the Property they have been robb'd of, amounts to above 400,000*l.* The very Petitioners now before us have a great Share in this Property; and ſhall we ſay, their private Property is no way concerned, when that whole Claim is to be given up for 95,000*l*? Can a Man's private Property be ſaid to be no way concerned, when he finds himſelf in Danger of being obliged, by Authority of Parliament, to accept of leſs than 5 *s.* in the Pound, from a Debtor who does not ſo much as pretend to be Bankrupt or Inſolvent?

The People of *Georgia* and *Carolina*, Sir, have a Property in the Lands they poſſeſs, founded upon what ought to be held one of the moſt ſacred Rights in the World, the King's Grant, and their own Induſtry; and can their Property be ſaid to be no way concerned, when Limits are to be ſettled, by which ſome of them muſt, and, for what they or we know, all of them may be ſtript of their Poſſeſſions. I ſay, Sir, ſome of them muſt, and all of them may; for if we happen to be infected with the ſame complaiſant Humour, when we conclude the definitive Treaty, with which we ſeem to have been infected when we concluded the Preliminary Articles, I do not know but the Whole, or a great Part of *South Carolina* may be made a Preſent of, for keeping the *Spaniards* in good Humour. At leaſt, ſome of the Southern Parts of *Georgia* muſt be given up; for it would have been ridiculous in us to refer the Limits betwen the *Spaniards* and us in *Florida* to be ſettled by Plenipotentiaries, if at the ſame Time we had been reſolved not to part with an Inch of what we then pretended to.

The *South-Sea* Company, Sir, have a Right and Property in the *Aſſiento* Contract; a Property that would have been of great Value to them, as well as to the Nation, if we had taken Care to reſent, in a proper Manner, every Invaſion that was made upon it. Can it then be ſaid, that the private Property of the *South-Sea* Company is no way concerned in a Treaty, when, by the fundamental Article of that Treaty, I mean the King of *Spain*'s Declaration, agreed upon with reciprocal Accord, we have, in ſome Meaſure, acknowledged his Right to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento* Contract, unleſs that Company ſubjects herſelf to pay, within a ſhort Term, a large Sum of Money, which he has no good Right to demand, and which, tho' he had, he ought to allow in Part Payment of a much greater Sum due by him to them?

Sir, the private Property of the *South-Sea* Company muſt be ſo deeply concerned in any Queſtion that can come before us relating to this Convention, and has, in my Opinion, been ſo greatly injured by our receiving or agreeing to this Declaration, that I am ſurprized they were not the firſt to petition againſt the Convention. I know of no Means

Means that have been made uſe of, either publick or private, for ſpiriting up Petitions againſt it, except that of its being printed and publiſhed: I believe there was no Occaſion for making uſe of any other Means. But, if the *South-Sea* Company do not petition againſt it, I ſhall be convinced that ſome underhand Means have been made uſe of for preventing ſuch Petitions; and from thence, I ſhall be apt to ſuſpect that, if it had been poſſible to procure any one Petition in its Favour, no proper Means would have been wanting.

But, Sir, whatever Means may have been made uſe of for ſpiriting up Petitions, either for or againſt this Convention, I think I have made it appear, that the private Property of a great many of his Majeſty's Subjects, muſt be concerned in any Queſtion that can come before us relating to it: I think it is evident, that the private Property of thoſe, whoſe Petition we have now before us, muſt be deeply concerned; and therefore, if Counſel are ever to be heard in any Caſe, where private Property is concerned, they ought to be heard when we come to take this Convention into our Conſideration. For which Reaſon, I ſhall be for agreeing to the Motion without any Amendment.

The next Speech I ſhall give you upon this Subject, was that of T. Quintius Capitolinus, *the Purport of which was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

THO' I am far from thinking it dangerous to hear Counſel upon any Caſe whatever, yet I cannot think it is always neceſſary, and in Parliamentary Affairs, when it is not abſolutely neceſſary, I muſt think it ought not to be allowed; becauſe, by ſo doing, we take up a great deal of our Time, and lay thoſe who have Buſineſs before us under a Temptation, at leaſt, of putting themſelves to Expence, to no Purpoſe. This, Sir, is far from being a new Opinion, or a new Way of thinking; for, however neceſſary we may now think it, to hear Counſel in every Caſe that comes before Parliament, or before our Courts of Juſtice, it was not thought ſo of old: So far otherwiſe, that by the Common Law of *England*, neither the Plaintiff nor Defendant, in any of our Courts of Juſtice, could appear by his Attorney, without the King's ſpecial Licence ſignified to the Court, by his Writ or Letters Patents: Every Man of old was obliged both to proſecute and defend his Suit in his own Perſon; and, upon this Cuſtom, the learned *Coke* obſerves, that it made Law-Suits leſs frequent, which, I believe, was no Loſs to the Kingdom in general, whatever Inconvenience it might be to particular Perſons.

However, Sir, whether the modern Practice of admitting every Man that pleaſes to appear by his Attorney, and hearing Counſel almoſt upon every Caſe that occurs, be more for the Benefit of the Nation, I ſhall not now take upon me to determine. Only, ſo far, I think, I may ſay upon the preſent Occaſion, that it would be very unadviſeable to introduce the Cuſtom of permitting every Man to be heard by his Counſel, that might think himſelf aggrieved, by any Regulation propoſed in Parliament for the publick Good. In ſome Caſes of an extraordinary Nature, this perhaps has been allowed; but it cannot yet be ſaid to be an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom; and I hope it never will. In Caſes where the Rights and Properties of private Men appear to be concerned, it may ſometimes be

neceſſary to hear Counſel; but even with regard to ſuch Caſes, the Hon. Gentlemen, who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, ſeem to be in a Miſtake. They ſeem to think, that in all ſuch Caſes we ought to allow Parties to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, which is far from being a Rule, nor ought it ever to be admitted as a Rule in our Proceedings. Even in ſuch Caſes, we ought to diſtinguiſh between thoſe in which ſome nice Point of Law may probably ariſe, and thoſe in which no ſuch Point of Law can come to be canvaſſed before us. In thoſe Caſes, where not only the Property of private Men appears to be concerned, but where ſome nice Point of Law relating to that Property may probably come to be diſputed, it becomes neceſſary for us to have that Point argued by Counſel, learned in the Laws of the Kingdom; and for that Reaſon we ought, in ſuch Caſes, to admit the Parties, or Petitioners, to be heard by themſelves or Counſel: But in Caſes where no ſuch Point can be expected to ariſe, notwithſtanding their being ſuch as may affect the Property of ſome private Men, it is no Way neceſſary, nor ought we to take up our Time with hearing Counſel as to Facts, or clear Points of Law, which every Gentleman in the Houſe may comprehend as readily, and as fully, as the moſt learned Lawyer that can be brought to plead before us.

This, I believe, Sir, will be allowed to be the Caſe, with regard to the Convention, which we are ſoon to have under our Conſideration, and againſt which the Petitioners, now before us, have been pleaſed to bring their Complaint. The Right or Property of ſome private Men may perhaps be affected, by any Reſolution we can come to upon that Occaſion; but no one, I think, can expect, that any difficult Point of Law, relating to that Right or Property, can come to be diſputed: At leaſt, for my own Part, I expect no ſuch Thing; and therefore I muſt think it quite unneceſſary to take up our Time with hearing Counſel, either for or againſt the Convention. But if I ſhould find myſelf miſtaken, if in the Courſe of our Examination ſome Point of Law ſhould ariſe, which may be thought proper to have explained by Counſel, we may then order, that the Petitioners ſhall be heard by themſelves or Counſel, as to that Point only.

In this Way, Sir, we may ſave ourſelves a great deal of Time and Trouble, and may prevent the Petitioners putting themſelves to a needleſs Expence; and if this Method were eſtabliſhed as a general Rule in all our Proceedings, even in Caſes where the Right or Property of private Men may be affected, no Man could ſay it would be any Way inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution; for in criminal Caſes of the higheſt Nature, in Caſes of Felony, the Priſoner is not admitted to be heard by Counſel, unleſs upon the Trial ſome Point of Law ariſes, and then he is to be heard by Counſel as to that Point only; and even in Caſes of High Treaſon our Conſtitution was the ſame, till it was altered by a late Statute; for where the Law is plain, there is certainly no Occaſion for Counſel in any Caſe, either before Parliament or any inferior Court of Judicature; and as to Facts, they ought to be related and explained ſo as to make the Truth appear, by the Depoſitions of honeſt and ſincere Witneſſes, and not by the Gloſſes that may be put upon them by ingenious and artful Pleaders.

Therefore, Sir, by the antient Form of our Conſtitution, and by what I think, for the Sake of Diſpatch, ought to be obſerved as a Rule in our Proceedings, we have no preſent Occaſion to or-

der the Petitioners to be heard by their Counſel. Nay, they themſelves ſeem to be conſcious that it ought not to be done; for they have not ſo much as petitioned to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, they have petitioned only in general to be heard. As I have ſaid, if in the Courſe of the Examination any difficult Point of Law ſhould ariſe, we may then give them leave to be heard by Counſel, as to that Point: But I am convinced no ſuch Point will ariſe: I believe no difficult Point of Law can ariſe, relating to any private Right or Property, that can be affected by this Convention; and if any Queſtion ſhould ariſe relating to Matters of publick Right, or the Meaning of Words in this or any other Treaty, we have the good Fortune to have ſeveral Gentlemen amongſt us, that can ſpeak to it as fully, and as learnedly, as any Counſel the Petitioners can employ; and as an Addition to our good Fortune in this Reſpect, I believe, thoſe Gentlemen will not be all of one Side: I even hope they will be of different Opinions, in order that we may hear the Point as fully argued in that Caſe, as we uſually do in other Caſes of the ſame Nature. Then, as to managing or ſumming up the Evidence, we have the ſame good Fortune. We have Gentlemen amongſt us, that are as capable of putting proper Queſtions to the Witneſſes, during the Examination, and ſumming up the Evidence after the Examination is finiſh'd, as any Lawyer that ever appeared at our Bar; and as ſome of thoſe Gentlemen may probably be of the ſame Opinion with the Petitioners, and ſome of a contrary Opinion, we may expect to have the Examination well managed, and the Evidence fully ſummed up on both Sides.

I am ſurprized, Sir, any Gentleman can imagine, that leſs of our Time will be taken up in hearing the Petitioners both by themſelves and their Counſel, than in hearing them by themſelves only; for this is really the Caſe. If you order them to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, 'tis certain, I think, they will chuſe to have Counſel, not becauſe it is neceſſary, but becauſe, after the Counſel have opened the Subject-Matter of their Complaint, ſuch of them as can ſay any Thing upon the Subject, will be called as Witneſſes, and may, in that Shape, ſay as much, and take up as much of your Time, as if they were to be heard by themſelves only. By this Means, they will have the Advantage of having their Caſe twice laid before you, and in a two-fold Manner, firſt by their Counſel, and then by themſelves; and therefore, I think, it is certain, they will chuſe to be heard by their Counſel, in caſe you give them Leave.

But there is another Reaſon, Sir, why, I think, they will chuſe to be heard by their Counſel, which, in my Opinion, ought to be a ſtrong Reaſon with us not to hear them by Counſel. 'Tis certain we have not obtained ſo much by this Convention as ſome ſanguine People might expect: 'Tis certain we never did obtain ſo much by any Treaty we have made, nor ever ſhall by any Treaty we can make. Wiſe Men will always give up ſomething of what they may have Reaſon to expect, rather than riſk the Whole upon the doubtful Event of a War; and what they do give up, will always be in Proportion to the Chance that is againſt you. To ſet this Chance in its proper Light, the Power of your Enemies and your own Weakneſs muſt be truly repreſented, without magnifying either the one or the other; but as it is, and always will be, unpopular to talk of the Strength of your Enemies, or of your own Weakneſs, therefore the popular Side of the

Queſtion will always be againſt any Treaty or Convention you can make; and, as there is always the greateſt Scope for Eloquence upon the popular Side of any Queſtion, the Petitioners will certainly chuſe to have as much Eloquence upon their Side as poſſible, and for that Purpoſe will chuſe to have Counſel, if we give them the Liberty: But with us this ought to be a Reaſon for not admitting them to be heard by their Counſel; becauſe we are to conſider, not what is moſt popular, but what appears, from the preſent Circumſtances of Things, to be moſt for the publick Good. As this is certainly the Duty of every Member of this Houſe, I do not believe that any Gentleman, who has the Honour of being a Member, will allow himſelf to be influenced by the Eloquence either of the Petitioners or their Counſel; and therefore, if there were none here preſent but Members, I believe, neither Side would attempt to take up our Time with their Eloquence; but as there is upon all Occaſions a great Number of Perſons preſent, beſides thoſe that have a Right to be here, I am afraid, if we admit Counſel, they will conſider rather what they may ſay to the Audience, than what they ought to ſay to the Judges; and that conſequently a great Part of our Time will be unneceſſarily taken up, in hearing florid Harangues upon the Riches and Strength of the Nation, upon the Courage of our People, and upon our warlike Exploits in former Ages.

I hope I have now ſhewn, Sir, that it does not yet appear to us, that it will be any Way neceſſary for us to hear Counſel upon any Thing relating to the Convention; and that our hearing the Petitioners by themſelves and Counſel, which, I have ſhewn, will be the Caſe, if we order them to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, muſt neceſſarily take up a great deal more of our Time, than if we hear them by themſelves only; therefore, I hope I ſhall be excuſed, if I give my Vote for the Amendment propoſed.

The laſt Speech I ſhall give you upon this Subject, was that made by L. Junius Brutus, *which was to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

THE Gentlemen who have ſpoke upon this Occaſion, againſt admitting the Petitioners to be heard by Counſel, put me in Mind of the old fabulous Story of *Proteus*. When they find themſelves like to be overcome in one Shape, they turn themſelves to another. In the former Part of this Debate they told us, Counſel were never to be heard, but in Caſes where the Rights or Properties of private Men were like to be affected, by what was to come under the Conſideration of Parliament. In Anſwer to this, it was, I think, demonſtrated, that the Right and Property of private Men muſt be greatly affected by this Convention, eſpecially if it ſhould unhappily meet with the Approbation of Parliament. This they could not deny, and therefore they have now turned themſelves into another Shape, by ſaying, that Counſel are not to be heard, even where the Property of private Men may be affected, unleſs ſome nice Point of Law ariſes, during the Courſe of the Examination, relating to that private Property. This they ſay ought to be the Rule in all our Proceedings. They do not ſay it is, or that it ever was a Rule. They could not ſay ſo; for every one knows, that it is contrary to the whole Tenor of our Proceedings, as far back as we can trace our Journals. It would be ridiculous to attempt to ſhew it to be ſo by Precedents: They are ſo numerous that they may

may be ſaid to be numberleſs. But what is ſtill more extraordinary, they have endeavoured to ſhew, that this ought to be a Rule, by mentioning ſome old Cuſtoms, which, becauſe of the Inconvenience or Injuſtice of them, have been abrogated.

In antient Times, Sir, it was perhaps a Rule, that no Man ſhould be allowed to ſue or defend by his Attorney, without the King's Licence; and this could be attended with but little Inconvenience to the Subject, whilſt almoſt all Cauſes were heard and determined in the County where the Parties reſided: But as ſoon as the King's Courts began to be fixed at *Weſtminſter*, it became neceſſary to allow every Man to ſue or defend by his Attorney; for which Reaſon the King's Licence became a Writ of Courſe, and at laſt, as being a needleſs Expence to the Suitors, was intirely laid aſide; ſo that for ſome hundreds of Years paſt, Parties in all civil Cauſes have been conſtantly allowed, without any Warrant by the King's Writ or Letters Patents, to appear by Attorney, and to have their Cauſe pleaded by Counſel; which, without doubt, makes Law-Suits more frequent than they would otherwiſe be; for if Parties were now obliged to attend a tedious Law-Suit, and neglect all their other Buſineſs, no Man would either proſecute or defend his Right, unleſs it were of a very great Value.

Then, Sir, as to criminal Cauſes, I know that thoſe who were accuſed of Treaſon or Felony, were not of old allowed Counſel, unleſs ſome difficult Point of Law happened to be ſtarted upon the Trial; becauſe, as our Lawyers ſay, the Judges are to be of Counſel for the Priſoner. But every Man will, I believe, grant, that this was a Severity, introduced in favour of the Crown, not very favourable for the Subject. Our Volumes of State Trials will make it appear, how ſeldom the Judges have acted the Part of being Counſel for the Priſoner. They often appear rather to have acted the Part of being Counſel againſt him, and have treated a Man as a Traitor before he was condemned, either by God or his Country. Thank God! with regard to Treaſon, we have got free of being obliged to have none other but ſuch Counſel: We have got this ridiculous Cuſtom altered by Means of the Revolution, which has in ſome Meaſure reſtored our original Conſtitution, tho' not ſo fully as it ought to have done; for a Revolution introduced and eſtabliſhed upon the Principles of Liberty, ought to have rooted out every Stem of arbitrary Power, whereas, in ſome Caſes, it may rather be ſaid to have planted them; which ſhews the Weakneſs of human Foreſight, and how neceſſary it is for the Patrons of Liberty to be always upon their Guard.

With reſpect to Felonies, 'tis true, Sir, the antient Cuſtom ſtill remains; but I am ſurprized it has not in this Caſe likewiſe been altered by Statute. 'Tis better twenty Guilty eſcape than one Innocent ſuffer; and I am convinced, this Cuſtom has been the Occaſion of many an innocent Man's being condemned, who, if he had been allowed Counſel, would have made his Innocence bright as the Sun-ſhine. 'Tis impoſſible for an ignorant Man to tell when a Point of Law ariſes. The more innocent he is, the more ignorant we may ſuppoſe him: Thoſe that are never guilty of any Crime, are ſeldom at the Pains to ſtudy the criminal Laws of the Kingdom, or the Methods of Trial in ſuch Caſes; and therefore the more unfit are they, of themſelves, to conduct the Examination of Witneſſes, or to take Notice, and make the proper Advantage of any Point of Law that may ariſe in the Courſe of the Examination. They muſt depend entirely upon their Judges, and the Judges may, in the Caſe of Felonies, be-

behave as they have heretofore done in the Caſe of Treaſon: They may brow-beat the Priſoner, and thereby prevent his taking Notice of, or inſiſting upon thoſe Points of Law, which he may have good Reaſon to inſiſt on.

But, Sir, whether this Cuſtom of allowing Perſons accuſed of Treaſon or Felony to have Counſel, be a laudable Cuſtom or not, it is a Cuſtom that has never been obſerved by Parliament. Was there ever a Perſon accuſed in Parliament of any Crime or Miſdemeanor, that was not allowed Counſel, if he deſired it? In Bills of Pains and Penalties, are not thoſe againſt whom the Bill is deſigned, always allowed to be heard by their Counſel againſt the Bill? In Impeachments in the other Houſe, the Perſon impeached, tho' for High Treaſon, has always been allowed Counſel, even when the Cuſtom prevailed of not allowing Counſel to Perſons that were to be tried for ſuch Crimes in inferior Courts. It is therefore wrong to draw Arguments from what is now, or ever was, the Practice of inferior Courts, for ſhewing what is or ought to be the Practice of Parliament. But of all Things I am ſurprized to hear ſuch an Argument made uſe of by thoſe, who are againſt admitting the Petitioners to be heard by their Counſel againſt the Convention. Surely, the Gentlemen who make uſe of this Argument, do not look upon the Petitioners as Criminals. They can be look'd on as ſuch by none but thoſe who look upon every Man as a Criminal that dares to oppoſe, or find Fault with any Thing that is done, or propoſed to be done by the Miniſter. Sir, if there be any Criminals in the preſent Caſe, it is they who have negotiated and approved of a Treaty, which the Petitioners judge, which the whole Nation judges, to be one of the moſt diſhonourable and diſadvantageous Treaties that was ever made. They are the Criminals, if there be any, in the Caſe now before us; and the Petitioners are the Proſecutors. Therefore, if we follow the Cuſtom of inferior Courts with Regard to Treaſons and Felonies, the Petitioners ought to be allowed Counſel, but our Treaty-makers none.

However, Sir, as this Cuſtom was never yet introduced into Parliament: As we have always allowed Counſel to thoſe, that have been brought before us for any Crime or Miſdemeanor, I ſhall be for allowing even our Treaty-makers to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, if they have a Mind to deſire it; and if, upon their Treaty's being cenſured by Parliament, which I hope it will, they ſhould be proſecuted either by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, or by any other Parliamentary Method of Proſecution, I ſhould be for allowing them more Favour than ſome of their Friends ſeem willing to allow to the Petitioners: I ſhould be for allowing them to be heard by their Counſel againſt any ſuch Bill or Proſecution.

It is a little extraordinary to ſay, we muſt not allow the Petitioners to be heard by Counſel, becauſe they have not expreſly petitioned for it. Sir, they have petitioned to be heard, but they have been ſo modeſt as to leave it entirely to us to appoint which Way they ſhall be heard. Their Modeſty ſhews their Reſpect for this Houſe, and ſhall we make People ſuffer for ſhewing us a decent Reſpect? If we ſhould ever do ſo, I ſhould think we would deſerve to meet with none, upon any future Application; and, now it has been moved to order them to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, if we ſhould refuſe to give them the Liberty of being heard by their Counſel, I am afraid, it will be look'd on, by People without Doors, as a preliminary Step towards our approving of this preliminary Treaty,

ty, which the whole Nation diſapproves of, and conſequently will very much tend towards diminiſhing that Reſpect, which the People of this Nation have always hitherto had for their Parliaments. They will deſpair of ever meeting with any Relief from Parliament, and as ſoon as this Deſpair becomes general, they will begin to think of other Methods for obtaining Relief, which may be attended with the moſt dreadful Conſequences: Conſequences that may be fatal to our Religion and Liberties, but Conſequences that may, much more probably, be fatal to the Royal Family now upon the Throne.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that wiſe Men will give up ſomething of what they may reaſonably demand, rather than riſk the Whole upon the doubtful Event of a War, eſpecially when the Chance of War ſeems to be againſt them. But whatever the Precepts of Chriſtianity may inculcate, I am ſure the Precepts of Wiſdom, eſpecially in political Affairs, can never direct that, if an Enemy takes our Cloak, we ſhould give him our Coat alſo, or that, if he gives us a Box on one Ear, we ſhould hold up to him the other; which ſeems to be our Caſe with regard to *Spain*. They have taken from us our Cloak, and by this Convention, we ſeem willing to give them our Coat alſo: They have given us a moſt hearty Blow, I may ſay ſeveral Blows, on one Ear, and by this Convention, we ſeem to hold up to them the other. They let a Captain of one of our Merchant-Ships eſcape, ſome Years ſince, with the Loſs of but one Ear; but, if a *Britiſh* Parliament approves of this Convention, every *Britiſh* Subject, that ſhall hereafter have the Misfortune of falling into their Hands, muſt expect to loſe both.

I ſhall likewiſe grant, Sir, that in order to determine whether the Chance of War be for us or againſt us, the Power of our Enemies and our own Weakneſs muſt be conſidered, and that, in order to judge whether we ought to have accepted of this Convention, we ought to view both in their proper and true Light; but, if *Spain* is to be aſſiſted by none of the other Powers of *Europe*, I am ſure, neither their Power nor our Weakneſs can be urged for our giving up any Thing we have a juſt Pretence to. I am ſure, *Spain* is not now near ſo powerful as it was in the Days of Q. *Elizabeth*, and conſidering the Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and the great Improvements we have made in our Trade and Plantations, ſince that Queen's Reign, tho' we have been upon the Decline for ſome Years paſt, yet I muſt think, we are now more powerful than we were at that Time; and yet, that wiſe Queen was ſo far from bearing tamely any Injury that was offered by the *Spaniards*, that ſhe always purſued them with immediate Vengeance, and provoked them to Battle in every Corner of the World. Therefore, if *Spain* is not to be aſſiſted by any of the other Powers of *Europe*, we could be under no Neceſſity to accept of this Convention; and if the *Spaniards* are to be ſupported by *France*, in the unjuſt Claims they have ſet up againſt us, and the Piracies and Cruelties they have committed upon our Merchants and Seamen, I muſt ſay, we have ſhewn a great deal of Complaiſance to that Kingdom, for almoſt theſe twenty Years paſt, to very little Purpoſe.

But theſe Things, Sir, the Counſel that are to be heard for the Petitioners can have nothing to do with. They are only to ſhew us what we have given up, or what we may be ſuppoſed to have given up, by this Treaty, and the Conſequences of the Conceſſions we have made,

made, or are like to make, with regard to the Nation in general, and with regard to the Rights and Properties of the Petitioners in particular. It is we in this Houſe, and we only, that are to conſider, whether we are in ſuch Circumſtances as to render it neceſſary for us to make ſuch Conceſſions. The Counſel have nothing to do with, nor can they be ſuppoſed to know, any Thing either of the Circumſtances of this Nation, or of the Circumſtances of our Enemies; therefore we cannot expect to hear from them any florid Harangues either upon our own Strength or Courage, or upon the Weakneſs and Cowardice of our Enemies; and conſequently we need not be afraid of having our Time taken up with hearing any eloquent Addreſſes made by them to the Galleries. But after they have finiſhed and are withdrawn, I ſhall expect to hear from ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, as florid Harangues as they are capable of making, upon the Utility and Wiſdom of peaceable Meaſures; which, in a trading Nation, is certainly a more popular Subject, and conſequently a Subject which affords a greater Scope for Eloquence, than the Subject of War can afford to any Orator in the Kingdom. The Love of Peace and peaceable Meaſures will always be a popular Subject among a rich and induſtrious People, as long as there is nothing done for the Sake of Peace, that is either diſhonourable or diſadvantageous to the Nation. But when this happens to be the Caſe, I ſhall admit that War then becomes the popular Subject, which, I am afraid, indeed, is too much our Caſe at preſent.

Sir, it ſeems now, as I have ſaid, to be allowed, even by the Gentlemen who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, that the Rights and Properties of private Men may be greatly affected by this Convention; but, ſay theſe Gentlemen, ſhall we allow every Man to be heard by his Counſel, that may think himſelf aggrieved by any Regulation propoſed in Parliament for the publick Good? I ſhall grant, Sir, that the publick Intereſt is to be preferred to the Intereſt of any private Man; but I hope it will be likewiſe granted, that if any particular private Man, or Set of private Men, is to ſuffer a real Loſs by what is to be done for the publick Good, the Publick ought to make him all poſſible Atonement; and therefore, if any Set of private Men think that they in particular will be aggrieved by what is propoſed for the publick Good, and we ſee Cauſe to believe that it may be ſo, we generally ought not only to receive their Petition, but to allow them to be heard by their Counſel; and that, even altho' there be no Likelihood that any difficult Queſtion in Law, relating to their Property, can ariſe upon our Examination into the Affair. For if a private Man muſt ſuffer for the Sake of the Publick, we ought to give him an Opportunity of making the Amount of what he is like to ſuffer appear as clearly as poſſible, in order that we may provide a Remedy, or make him an adequate Satisfaction.

However, Sir, as the Gentlemen of the other Side have allowed that, in Caſes where difficult Points of Law relating to the Rights of private Men may probably ariſe, the Petitioners ought to be allowed Counſel, I think this alone is ſufficient for convincing us that, in the preſent Caſe, the Petitioners ought to be admitted to be heard by themſelves or Counſel. For, I think, it is evident, that a very nice Point of Law muſt ariſe, when we come to take the Convention into Conſideration. We muſt then enquire into the Import and Meaning of thoſe

Words

Words in the Convention, by which we ſubmit all the Claims ſet up by *Spain* to be regulated by Commiſſaries. I hope theſe Words do not import an Admiſſion of any of their Claims; but I am far from being clear as to this Point; and I am ſure it is a Point in which the Property of every one of our Planters in the *Weſt-Indies*, eſpecially *Jamaica*, is deeply concerned. I could mention ſeveral other nice Points that will probably ariſe in the Courſe of our Examination; but this I take to be ſufficient for ſhewing the Neceſſity of admitting the Petitioners to be heard by Counſel, even according to the Maxims laid down by thoſe that argue againſt it.

Now, Sir, as to our Time, I muſt confeſs that an Hon. Gentleman has fallen upon a very ingenious Method for perſuading us, that more of our Time will be taken up in hearing the Petitioners by their Counſel, than by themſelves only. He has told us, that, if we order them to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, it will in effect be, to hear them both by themſelves and Counſel; becauſe, ſays he, we ſhall firſt hear their Caſe ſtated by their Counſel, and then we ſhall hear it ſtated again by them, when they come to be examined as Witneſſes. I wiſh the Hon. Gentleman had conſidered, for ſurely he knows, what is the Buſineſs of Counſel, and what is the Buſineſs of Witneſſes upon ſuch Occaſions. It is the Buſineſs of Counſel to ſtate the Caſe, before the Examination of Witneſſes begins, and to ſum up the Evidence after it is over; both which they are to do in as clear and as ſhort a Manner as they can; and it is likewiſe their Buſineſs to take Care, that every Witneſs ſhall give an Account of all the material Facts he knows, in as plain and clear Terms as poſſible. Then it is the Buſineſs of every Witneſs to give a true and ſincere Account of all he knows, relating to the Affair upon which he is examined, and to give plain Anſwers to ſuch Queſtions as ſhall be put to him. This is their reſpective Duties, and it is the Buſineſs of the Judge to keep them to their Duty; therefore, after the Petitioners Caſe has been ſtated by their Counſel, none of them can, and, I believe, none of them will preſume to ſtate it over again, when they come to be examined as Witneſſes: If any one of them ſhould, any Member may riſe up, and by giving him a proper Check, confine him to his Duty. But if we do not admit the Petitioners to be heard by Counſel, what muſt be the Conſequence? Some of themſelves muſt ſupply the Place of Counſel. Some of them, by the Appointment of the reſt, muſt ſtate the Caſe at the Beginning of the Examination, and ſome of them muſt ſum up the Evidence after the Examination is over; and thoſe very Petitioners, who are appointed to ſtate the Caſe, or ſum of the Evidence, may, nay probably muſt, be examined, as Witneſſes, for proving ſome of the Facts that may not perhaps be known to any of the other Witneſſes; for otherwiſe, you would lay the Petitioners under a very great Diſadvantage, becauſe the beſt Speakers among them may be the beſt Witneſſes, and if you ſhould refuſe to hear them in a double Capacity, the Petitioners muſt be deprived of having their Caſe ſtated by the beſt, perhaps the only, Spokeſmen among them, or of having their beſt Witneſſes admitted to be examined. Therefore, in this Way, as well as the other, they will have an Opportunity, if they ſhould think proper, and you ſhould allow them, to lay their Caſe twice before you, firſt as Petitioners, and next as Witneſſes. But the Difference between the two Methods of hearing them is, that,

if you hear them by themſelves only, as they are not accuſtomed to ſuch Things, and may be more ſanguine than they ought to be, as moſt People are in their own Cauſe, they will, probably, be more tedious, both in ſtating their Caſe, and ſumming up their Evidence, than Counſel would be: And even when they are examined as Witneſſes, their Fear of forgetting any Thing material, will make them more apt to fall into Repetitions and Tautologies, than they would be, had they Counſel at the Bar to direct them, and to put them in Mind of any material Fact which they knew, and had forgot to give an Account of. From whence, we muſt conclude, that more of our Time will be unneceſſarily taken up in hearing the Petitioners by themſelves only, than in hearing them by their Counſel.

I have as good an Opinion in general of the Talents and Qualifications of thoſe, who have the Honour to be Members of this Houſe, as any Man can have: I have a very great Opinion of the Abilities of ſome amongſt us; but, Sir, as we are Judges, we cannot be Counſel in any Affair that comes before this Houſe; unleſs we take up that Office which, the Lawyers ſay, is the Duty of thoſe who are the Judges of our inferior Courts, I mean that of being Counſel for thoſe that are accuſed of any Crime or Miſdemeanor. If we conſider ourſelves in this Light, we muſt be of Counſel againſt the Petitioners, we muſt be of Counſel for thoſe who, the Petitioners ſay, have brought their Country into a moſt diſhonourable and diſadvantageous Treaty; and in this Light, ſurely, we muſt allow the Petitioners to have Counſel, as other Proſecutors have; becauſe we are all to be of Counſel, rather againſt them than for them. But ſuppoſe it were otherwiſe, ſince no Gentleman can be ſuppoſed to be ſo well acquainted with the Laws, as thoſe who are in daily Practice, therefore, I think, it will be extremely proper, if not abſolutely neceſſary for us, to hear Counſel upon the Point I have mentioned, and upon ſeveral other Points of Law, that may probably ariſe in the Courſe of the Examination; and as I think a great deal leſs of our Time will be taken up in hearing the Petitioners by their Counſel, than in hearing them by themſelves, I ſhall be for ordering them to be heard by themſelves, or Counſel, and conſequently I muſt be againſt the Amendment propoſed.

Soon after this, we had two long Debates, in our Club, upon the Convention, which I ſhall give you a full Account of; but in order to vary the Subject a little, I ſhall firſt give you ſome of the Speeches that were made in our Club, Feb. 14, *laſt, upon a Sort of annual Queſtion, with regard to the Number of Land Forces that ought to be kept up in this Kingdom for the Year then enſuing.*

The firſt that ſpoke upon this Queſtion, was L. Valerius Flaccus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

AS it is the Buſineſs of this Committee, not only to provide for the Army, but to determine the Number of Forces that is to be kept up for the Service of the enſuing Year, I think it my Duty to propoſe to you the Number, which I think neceſſary for that Purpoſe.

It is at preſent, Sir, ſo evident, that we are in a precarious Situation with regard to our Affairs abroad, and that there is ſtill, to our Misfortune, ſubſiſting amongſt us, a reſtleſs and diſaffected Faction at home, that I ſhould not think it ne-

neceſſary to ſay any Thing in Favour of the Motion I am to make, if great Pains had not of late been taken to perſuade People, that there is no Difference between a numerous ſtanding Army, kept up within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament, which can never be kept up in ſuch a Manner, but with a View to deſtroy our Liberties; and a proper Number of regular Forces kept up, from Year to Year, by Authority of Parliament, for no other Purpoſe but to preſerve the Tranquillity of the Nation, protect us againſt our foreign or domeſtick Enemies, and aſſiſt the civil Magiſtrate in the due Execution of the Laws of the Kingdom.

As to the preſent Circumſtances of our Affairs abroad, Sir, particularly with regard to *Spain*, it may be properly ſaid, we are as yet in a State of War. The Number of Land Forces we have kept up, and the powerful Squadrons we have from Time to Time fitted out, have, 'tis true, prevented that Nation from coming to an open Rupture with us; and have, at laſt, compelled them to agree to a reaſonable Convention, for ſettling all Differences between the two Nations in an amicable Manner; but that Convention can be ſaid to be no more, than a Preliminary towards a future definitive Treaty of Peace: The principal Differences between the two Nations remain, as yet, to be adjuſted by a future Treaty, and if we keep ourſelves in a proper Poſture of Defence, I do not doubt but that they will be adjuſted to our Satisfaction; but it was never yet heard, that either of the Parties engaged in War, began to diſband their Armies, as ſoon as the Preliminary Articles for a Treaty of Peace were agreed on. In ſuch a Caſe, both Parties rather increaſe than diminiſh their Forces, in order to convince the other, that they are ready to continue or to recommence the War, in caſe the Preliminaries ſhould not, in due Time, be carried into Execution, by an equal and ſolid Treaty of Peace. Therefore, if we duly conſider the preſent Circumſtances of our Affairs abroad, we muſt reſolve to keep up the ſame Number of Land Forces we had laſt Year.

Then, as to our Affairs at home, Sir, can any one ſay that the Number of the Diſaffected and Seditious is leſs than it was laſt Year? Can any one ſay that they are more quiet, or leſs apt to take the firſt Opportunity for raiſing civil Wars and Commotions in their native Country? Sir, the many virulent, falſe and ſeditious Libels, that are daily publiſhed againſt his Majeſty and his Government, are ſufficient Teſtimonies, that the Diſaffected are neither leſs numerous, nor more inclined to remain quiet, and ſubmit to that Government, which protects them in the free Enjoyment of what they poſſeſs, or can earn by their Induſtry, than they were laſt Year. It is amazing to think, what an infinite Number of infamous Libels are daily, weekly, monthly, and occaſionally, printed and diſperſed through the whole Kingdom, highly reflecting upon his Majeſty, and upon every Man he is pleaſed to employ in conducting the publick Affairs of the Nation. When we reflect upon it, we cannot but admire the Lenity of his Majeſty's Government, and the Patience and good Nature of almoſt every Man that has any Influence upon his Counſels. With regard to printing and publiſhing, no Man can ſay, that the Diſaffected and Seditious amongſt us, have of late Years kept themſelves within the Bounds of Decency; but if it were not for the Number of Land Forces we keep up, we could not expect that they

would keep themſelves within the Bounds of Law. They would openly, and in Defiance of the civil Magiſtrate, tranſgreſs, in the moſt flagrant Manner, the known Laws of the Kingdom; becauſe it would be impoſſible for any civil Magiſtrate to put the Laws in Execution againſt them; the Conſequence of which would certainly be Anarchy and Confuſion; and this would as certainly end in a Diſſolution of our Conſtitution, and an Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power. Of this we have a recent Example but in the laſt Century, which ought to be a Warning to us, not to leave our Government deſtitute of thoſe Means, which are neceſſary for ſupporting it againſt the Diſaffected and Seditious, as well as againſt thoſe who are fond of Changes, and of new-modelling our Conſtitution. Therefore, whilſt there is ſuch a Faction amongſt us, we ought to keep up ſuch a Number of Land Forces, from Year to Year, by Authority of Parliament, as may be ſufficient for keeping that Faction, if not within the Rules of Decency, at leaſt within the Bounds of Law; and as that Faction cannot be ſaid to be now leſs numerous, or leſs turbulent, than they were laſt Year, we muſt reſolve to keep up the ſame Number of Land Forces for the Year enſuing.

To this I muſt add, Sir, that as a Reduction of our Army would increaſe the Hopes of the Diſaffected and Seditious, and conſequently make them more apt to raiſe publick Diſturbances, or to join with any foreign Power for that Purpoſe, it would of Courſe derogate from the Authority, and diminiſh the Weight of our Negotiations at foreign Courts, and would make ſuch of them, as had any Diſputes with us, more haughty in their Behaviour towards us, and more obſtinate in their Demands; for we could expect no Regard or Eſteem from our foreign Enemies, if our Government were in ſo weak a Condition, as not to be able to keep its domeſtick in Awe. They would inſiſt upon high Demands, and would make no Compliances, becauſe they would expect that our Government would grant them any Thing, rather than come to an open Rupture; and becauſe they would ſuppoſe that, if contrary to their Expectations, we ſhould come to an open Rupture, they would be able to prevent us from doing them any Miſchief, by giving our Government enough to do to defend itſelf againſt the diſaffected Party at home, encouraged by the Weakneſs of our Government to rebel, and ſupported by the Supplies, which our foreign Enemies might ſend from Time to Time to their Aſſiſtance.

From hence, Sir, we may ſee the Diſadvantage we would be under, by not keeping up a ſufficient Body of regular Troops, with regard to our Enemies, or ſuch foreign States as we may have any Diſputes with; and with regard to Allies, we could not expect to have any; for as all Alliances are eſtabliſhed upon the mutual Advantage or Security of the two contracting Parties, and can be no longer preſerved, than while that Advantage or Security continues mutual, what Advantage or Security could any State in *Europe* expect from this Nation, if our Government, ſo far from having any regular Troops, to ſend to their Aſſiſtance, had not a ſufficient Number to protect itſelf againſt domeſtick Enemies? In ſuch a Caſe, 'tis certain, no foreign Nation could expect any Advantage or Security from an Alliance with this Nation, and conſequently would neither ſtipulate to give us any Aſſiſtance, nor perform any of the Stipulations they have already made for that Purpoſe; which would be an additional Encouragement

ment for thoſe that are now our Enemies, or that may hereafter become our Enemies, to inſult us in every Part of the World.

Thus, I think, Sir, it is plain, that we muſt neceſſarily keep up a ſufficient Number of Land Forces, at leaſt for this enſuing Year; and as our Circumſtances are now, in every Reſpect, the ſame they were laſt Year, no leſs Number can be ſuppoſed to be ſufficient for the enſuing Year, than what was deemed neceſſary by laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for the Service of the Year now near expired. Tho' we have made a Step, and I hope it will be a ſucceſsful one, towards eſtabliſhing a ſolid and laſting Peace, yet it muſt be acknowledged, that our Affairs abroad are as yet in a very uncertain Situation; and as to our Affairs at home, we find the Libels publiſhed againſt the Government as numerous and as virulent, and Mobs and Riots among the People as frequent, as they were about the Beginning of laſt Seſſion of Parliament, or, indeed, as ever they where in this or any other Nation, where there was a certain Form of Government regularly eſtabliſhed.

But, Sir, whatever Number of Land Forces you may think ſufficient for the enſuing Year, as long as they are kept up by Authority of Parliament, and from Year to Year only, they muſt be widely different from a ſtanding Army, kept up without any ſuch Authority. For, as the keeping up of a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, but for one Day, without the Conſent of Parliament, is of itſelf an Invaſion upon our Conſtitution, ſuch an Army can be kept up for no other Purpoſe but to deſtroy our Conſtitution, in order to ſecure thoſe who have, by ſo doing, made an Invaſion upon it, againſt that Puniſhment which is due to them for tranſgreſſing the moſt fundamental Laws of their Country. Whereas a ſufficient Number of regular Troops, kept up by Authority of Parliament, and from Year to Year only, can be kept up for no other End, but to preſerve our Conſtitution; becauſe the Parliament will never conſent to the keeping up of a greater Number than is ſufficient for that Purpoſe; nor will they conſent to the keeping up of any Number longer, than it appears abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the Conſtitution, and defending us againſt our foreign and domeſtick Enemies.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I muſt think the leaſt Number we can propoſe to keep up for the enſuing Year, for Guards and Gariſons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, muſt be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the ſix independent Companies conſiſt of for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17704 Men, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included.

*This Speech brought on a pretty long Debate in our Club; but, as Debates upon this Subject have been often before communicated to the Publick *, I ſhall give you no more of the Speeches that were made upon this Occaſion, except only the two following*, viz. *That made by* L. Quintius Cincinnatus, *which was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

I MUST ſay, I am not a little ſurprized at the Motion I have now heard made to you. When the preliminary Convention between this Nation and *Spain* was laid before us,

* *Our Readers may ſee theſe Debates in our* MAGAZINE, Vol. I. *p.* 269, *&c.* Vol. II. p. 382—385, 442—447, 483—489. Vol. III. p. 339—348. Vol. IV. p. 517, *&c.* 696, *&c.* Vol. VI. p. 470, *&c.* Vol. VII. p. 243, 261—285, 313—335, 583—614, 635—652.

us, I peruſed it with great Attention, in order to ſee what Advantages we had got by it, and when I could find no one Advantage we had got, with regard to the Diſputes between the two Nations, I concluded that our Miniſters had got ſome private Aſſurances from *Spain*, that all would be ſet right in a ſhort Time, by a definitive Treaty of Peace, and that they had in the mean Time agreed to this preliminary Treaty, and a Suſpenſion of Arms, with a View to ſave ourſelves ſome Expence, by a Reduction of our Land Forces.

Spain has, 'tis true, Sir, for many Years, been in a State of War againſt this Nation, tho' we have never once committed any real Hoſtility againſt them. But after the moving Application that was made laſt Year to Parliament, after the ſtrong Reſolutions both Houſes then came to, and after the expenſive Preparations we made laſt Summer, I did imagine, that we were, at laſt, reſolved to begin Hoſtilities in our Turn; and when I heard that a Treaty was on foot, I concluded that *Spain* had been ſo wiſe as to apply to us for a Suſpenſion of Hoſtilities, and for that Purpoſe, had propoſed to make ſuch Conceſſions, by preliminary Articles, as might ſerve for the Baſis of a ſolid and honourable Treaty of Peace.

In Treaty-making, Sir, it is uſual to leave ſuch Articles as require a long Diſcuſſion, to be ſettled afterwards by Commiſſaries; but Preliminaries to a Treaty, between two contending Nations, are never concluded, at leaſt, they are ſeldom formally and ſolemnly agreed on, except when one of the Parties is afraid of ſuffering by an open Rupture, or by a Continuance of the War. When this is the Caſe, the Party in Danger applies for having a Suſpenſion of Arms upon certain Preliminaries, and generally offers to give ſome Pledge, as a Security for their Performance of ſuch Preliminaries as ſhall be agreed on. Moſt of us remember, that the Treaty of *Utrecht* was preceded by Preliminaries, and a Suſpenſion of Arms between *France* and us; but then, as we were in no Danger, by a Continuance of the War, we would agree to neither, till *France* put *Dunkirk* into our Hands, as a Pledge for her Performance of the Preliminaries. This, I ſay, was the Method of Treaty-making at the Time of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and, I believe, for all Ages before that Time; but what has been our Method ſince that Time, I cannot take upon me to ſay: So far, however, I may ſay, that whatever has been our Method of Treaty-making ſince that Time, and God knows we have made enough of them, we have got nothing by it; for, if we have preſerved ourſelves in a Sort of Peace, we have made no Advantage of that Peace: Our Taxes are more numerous, and our publick Debt as great, as it was at the End of the War; and, I believe, our Trade is not near in ſuch a flouriſhing Condition as it was during the War.

Therefore, Sir, I cannot ſay that I entirely depended upon our having obſerved the uſual Method of Treaty-making; but for the Sake of my Country, I hoped we had; and as I could not ſuppoſe that we were in Danger of being Sufferers by an open Rupture with *Spain*, I concluded, that by the preliminary Convention, I heard talk'd of, they had agreed to make ſome general Conceſſions with regard to the Diſputes between us, and to put ſome Pledge into our Hands, as a Demonſtration of their Sincerity, which, I am ſure, we have had great Cauſe to doubt of, for almoſt theſe 20 Years paſt.

But when I ſaw this Convention, how

how greatly was I diſappointed! Inſtead of their making Conceſſions to us, we have made, I think, moſt dangerous, I ſhall not ſay diſhonourable, Conceſſions to them, and have got nothing in Return, no not ſo much as a Suſpenſion of their uſual Hoſtilities. Inſtead of their giving us a Pledge, we have given one to them, by agreeing that Things ſhall remain in *Florida* and *Carolina*, in the Situation they are in at preſent, without increaſing the Fortifications there, or taking any new Poſts. In ſhort, Sir, by this Convention, *Spain* has not agreed even to ſuſpend Hoſtilities, yet we have agreed not to provide for our Defence, from whence it would ſeem, as if we had ſued to *Spain* for a Suſpenſion of Arms, upon any Preliminaries they might think fit to preſcribe; and yet I cannot think the Nation had any Reaſon to be afraid of an open Rupture with *Spain*, whatever ſome Perſons amongſt us may have; for, from our agreeing to ſuch Preliminaries, I muſt either think that there are ſome Perſons amongſt us that are moſt terribly afraid of it, and are therefore willing to yield to any Thing, rather than come to an open Rupture with that Nation; or I muſt think, as I have ſaid, that our Miniſters had ſome private Aſſurances of the Court of *Spain*'s being inclined to do us Juſtice, in a ſhort Time, by a definitive Treaty, and that they accepted of theſe Preliminaries, with a View of ſaving ſomething to the Nation, by a Reduction of our Land Forces for this enſuing Year.

Now, Sir, as I always judge charitably, I ſuppoſed that this laſt was the Caſe, and therefore when the Hon. Gentleman, who made this Motion, ſtood up, I expected an elegant Panegyrick upon the Wiſdom of our late Meaſures, and the great Care that was taken to embrace every Opportunity of ſaving Expence to the Nation, for no Man is more capable than he; and I expected that he would have concluded with a Motion for no more than 12,000 Men for the enſuing Year, as an Earneſt of the Benefits we are to reap by this new Convention, and as a Proof of the Aſſurances the Hon. Gentleman's Friends have of the juſt and good Inclinations his Catholick Majeſty has towards this Nation. This, I ſay, was what I expected; but how much was I ſurprized, when I heard him begin to argue for the ſame Number of Land Forces that were voted laſt Year, at a Time when every Man, at leaſt every Man that was not in the Secret, imagined we were upon the Brink of a furious War!

If we have no Dependence upon this Treaty, Sir, why was it made? For 'tis impoſſible, ſince the Time it was ratified, we could have had Cauſe to alter our Sentiments. If we have a Dependence upon it, why not make the proper Advantage of it, by leſſening the publick Expence? Every one knows that our Land Forces have no Influence upon the Counſels of *Spain:* It is our Naval Force they are afraid of: That we have already reduced; and, therefore, if it be ſaid that *Spain* muſt be frightned into a Performance, as well as they were frightned into the Treaty, we have begun at the wrong End. But I cannot have ſuch an Opinion of ſuch a wiſe Adminiſtration: From the Reduction of our Naval Force I muſt conclude, that they are aſſured of *Spain*'s being inclined to do us Juſtice by the definitive, tho' they have done us none by the preliminary Treaty; and, therefore, the Circumſtances of our Affairs abroad, can be no Argument for our keeping up the ſame Number of Land Forces we had laſt Year; nor can it be ſaid, our foreign Affairs are in the ſame Situation they were the Beginning

ning of laſt Seſſion of Parliament: We had then no preliminary Treaty, nor any Aſſurances of a ſatisfactory definitive Treaty: Now we have both, or otherwiſe the Hon. Gentleman's Friends have tranſgreſſed the Rule he himſelf has laid down; for they have already begun to diſband their Armies, and thoſe Armies too which are the only effectual Armies againſt *Spain*, I mean our Squadrons of Men of War. Let us then follow their Example: The Hon. Gentleman will, I hope, admit we cannot follow a better: Let us begin to reduce our Land Forces.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, we were ſtill in a precarious Situation with regard to our Affairs abroad, can it be thought, that our Influence at foreign Courts depends upon the Number of Land Forces we keep in continual Pay? No, Sir, our Influence depends upon the Riches and Numbers of our People, and not upon the Number of our regular Regiments, or the Appearance they make at a Review. We have many Thouſands that would make as good an Appearance in the Day of Battle, if their Country were in Danger, tho' they are not at preſent Maſters of all the Punctilios proper only for a Review. We have a Navy, which no Nation in the World can equal, far leſs overcome, by which we may carry the Dread of this Nation into every Country that is viſited by the Ocean: And we have Money, notwithſtanding the bad Uſe we have made of a long Peace, to hire as many foreign Troops as we can have Occaſion for, and to ſupport them as long as we can have any Service for them. Therefore, while we are unanimous amongſt ourſelves, while our Government poſſeſſes the Hearts and Affections of the People in general, which every virtuous and wiſe Government muſt neceſſarily do, this Nation muſt always have great Influence upon the Counſels of every Court in *Europe*, nay of every Court in the World, where it is neceſſary for us to extend our Influence.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that in this Nation, we can never have Occaſion for keeping up a great Number, or any Number, of regular Troops, in order to give Weight to our Negotiations; and, if any Power in *Europe* ſhould refuſe to obſerve or perform the Treaties they have made with us, we ought not to ſeek for Redreſs by Negotiation: We may make a Demand, but it is beneath the Dignity of a powerful People to ſue for Juſtice. Upon the firſt Refuſal, or affected Delay, we ought to compel them, not by keeping an Army at home, which would be ridiculous, but by ſending an irreſiſtible Fleet, with an Army on board, to ravage their Coaſts; or by getting ſome of their Neighbours, with our Aſſiſtance, to attack them; both which will always be in the Power of every Government of this Country, that preſerves their Influence abroad, by preſerving the Affections of the People at home; and that, without keeping any Number of regular Troops always in Pay; for whilſt the Spirit of Liberty, which is the nurſing Mother of Courage, is preſerved amongſt our People, we ſhall never want a great Number of brave Men, of all Degrees, amongſt us, that will be ready to venture their Lives in the Cauſe of their Country; and ſuch Men may, in a few Weeks, be ſufficiently diſciplined for Action, tho' they might not, perhaps, obſerve all the Punctilios ſo exactly as a Parcel of idle mercenary Fellows, who have had nothing perhaps to do for ſeven Years together, but to dance thro' their Exerciſes.

The keeping up of a ſtanding Army, in this Nation, can never therefore be neceſſary, either for

pre-

preſerving our Influence amongſt our Neighbours, or for puniſhing ſuch of them as ſhall offend us; and, with reſpect to our own Defence, as we have no Frontier but the Ocean, while we preſerve a Superiority at Sea, a popular Government in this Country can never be under the leaſt Neceſſity of keeping up any Land Forces, eſpecially if they would take Care to have our Militia but tolerably armed and diſciplined; for no Nation will be mad enough to invade us, while we are united among ourſelves, with a Handful of Troops, who muſt either all die by the Sword, or be made Priſoners of War, becauſe we could, by Means of our Navy, prevent their being able to return. And, if any of our foreign Neighbours ſhould prepare to invade us with a great Fleet and a numerous Army, we would not only have Time to prepare for their Reception, but we might lock them up in their Ports, by Means of our Navy, or we might give them enough to do at home, by ſtirring up ſome of their Neighbours upon the Continent to invade them.

Thus, it appears, Sir, that no Government in this Iſland can ever have Occaſion for keeping up a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, unleſs it be to ſubdue the Liberties of the People. This, every Man in the Kingdom, whoſe Judgment is not biaſſed by his Hopes or his Fears, muſt be ſenſible of; and therefore, every Government that does keep up a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, whether with or without the Conſent of Parliament, muſt forfeit the Affections of the People. Then, indeed, a ſtanding Army becomes neceſſary for the Support of that Government, not againſt Foreigners, but againſt their native Country; but no Army, even the greateſt they can keep up, will give them an Influence at foreign Courts, or an Authority among their own People. Abroad they will be deſpiſed, at home they may be dreaded, but they will be hated; and, in that Caſe, a ſmall Handful of foreign Troops, thrown into any Corner of the Iſland, might be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Government, becauſe they would be joined by the whole People, and perhaps, by a great Part of the Army.

To pretend, Sir, that there is ſtill a great diſaffected Party amongſt us, is, I am ſure, no Compliment to his Majeſty, or to his illuſtrious Family; and therefore I wonder to hear any Gentleman, that has the Honour to ſerve the Crown, inſiſt upon it. There are, 'tis true, many diſcontented, but few or none diſaffected; and the Diſcontents that are ſo general amongſt us, proceed from our having ſo long kept up a numerous ſtanding Army, and from ſome other Meaſures I could mention. Change but your Meaſures, reduce your Army, put a Confidence in the People, and the Diſcontents will ſoon evaniſh, your People will put a Confidence in you, and will be a better Safe-guard for the Government, than any Army that can be kept up. Your foreign Enemies will then fear you, and your Friends will reſpect you; becauſe the former will be afraid of that Vengeance, which they know you are able to pour down upon them, and the latter will depend upon that Aſſiſtance, which they know you are capable to give. If any of our Allies ſhould want Land Forces for their Aſſiſtance, we can hire as many foreign Troops for their Service as they may ſtand in Need of: If we could not hire ſuch Troops, we could ſoon raiſe a Body of Troops within our own Dominions, tho' we had not a regular ſtanding Regiment in the Kingdom; and we could tranſport them by our

Fleet, wherever our Allies might ſtand moſt in Need of them. By our Alliances, I know, we ſometimes engage to ſend a Body of Troops to the Aſſiſtance of our Allies; but I do not remember, we ever engaged, that thoſe Troops ſhould be all Subjects of *Great Britain*, or that they ſhould be ſuch as we had kept in Pay for ſeveral Years preceding. Therefore we may perform our Engagements to our Allies, and may afford them a proper Support and Aſſiſtance, without keeping a ſtanding Army always in Pay.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the keeping up of a numerous ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, by Authority of Parliament, is not contrary to Law; but I will aver, that it is contrary to, and inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. If ſome future venal Parliament ſhould paſs a Law for enabling the King to impoſe Taxes, and raiſe Money by Proclamation, the Money ſo raiſed would not be raiſed contrary to Law, but ſurely it would be contrary to our Conſtitution. To tell us, that the Parliament will never conſent to the keeping up of a greater Number of Land Forces, than is ſufficient for preſerving the Conſtitution, or that they will never conſent to keep up any Number, longer than it appears neceſſary for defending us againſt foreign or domeſtick Enemies, is to tell us what no Man can anſwer for. Suppoſe there ſhould be a Majority in each Houſe of Parliament, conſiſting of Officers of the Army, and other Inſtruments of an Adminiſtration; can we ſuppoſe that ſuch a Parliament would have any Regard to the Preſervation of the Conſtitution, if it ſhould appear to be inconſiſtent with the Preſervation of the Miniſter upon whom they depended? And ſuppoſe we had the Misfortune to have, at that Time, a Prime Miniſter, contemned abroad, and hated by every Man at home, except thoſe who were his immediate Tools; can we ſuppoſe that ſuch a Parliament would not give their Conſent to keep up a ſtanding Army, not for preſerving the Conſtitution, but for preſerving the Miniſter, by deſtroying the Conſtitution?

Sir, a numerous ſtanding Army, kept up by Authority of Parliament, is more dangerous to our Liberties, than ſuch an Army kept up without any ſuch Authority; becauſe in the latter Caſe, the People would immediately ſee their Liberties were ſtruck at, and would therefore take the Alarm; but in the former, they would probably, by the Interpoſition of Parliament, be lulled aſleep, till their Fetters were riveted. This I have long endeavoured to prevent: This, while I live, I ſhall always endeavour to prevent; and therefore I am now for reducing the Army to 12000 Men; for even that Number, I think greater than is altogether conſiſtent with the Safety of our Conſtitution. The very Reſolution this Houſe comes to yearly, with reſpect to the Number of our Land Forces, ſhews that it is. By the Words of that Reſolution, we ought to have no marching Regiments quarter'd up and down the Country, to the Oppreſſion of our Innholders, Victuallers, and other publick Houſes, and to the debauching of the Morals of all Ranks of People. We ought to have none but Guards and Gariſons. Our Guards ought never to conſiſt of above 4000 Men; and I ſhould be glad to know where the Gariſons are in *Great Britain*, or in *Guernſey* or *Jerſey*, that require no leſs a Number than 8000. Therefore we ought to alter the Words of our Reſolution, or we ought to reduce our Army even below 12000. However, as other Gentlemen ſeem willing to allow

12000 for the Service of this ensuing Year, I shall not be against that Number.

The other Speech, and the last I shall give you upon this Subject, was made by Mæcenas, *who spoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. President,
SIR,

I Am really surprized at the Silence on one Side of the House. ——Sure this Question is of Importance enough to deserve a Debate. —— How great an Evil soever a standing Army may be, this Way of treating such a Question is worse; it is the highest Contempt of the Constitution imaginable.——Sir, if we go on thus, will People be silent out of Doors too? I wish they may; for if they talk of our Proceedings, they will talk in a Language that won't be much for the Honour of the House.

Sir, as a good deal has been said about the Abuse of the Press, by one of the very few Gentlemen who have deigned to speak in this Debate, I beg to be indulged in a few Words upon that Article.—— A free Examination of all Measures of Government, and of the Characters of Ministers, so far as their Characters are inseparable from their Measures, is the Life of a free State. It is what no good Minister will ever call an Abuse of the Press: It is what no good Minister would desire to restrain. But attacking the private Character of a Minister, or Magistrate, his private Defects or Frailties, in which the Publick is not concerned, this, indeed, is libellous, and this cannot be justified: Nor can Abuse thrown out upon private Persons, be excused in those who are the dirty Tools of Calumny, or in the more dirty Patrons who employ and pay such Tools: This, Sir, is infamous, and this should be restrained. But how restrained? By Contempt, by Disregard of it, by a fair and safe Appeal to the candid Sense of Mankind; or in very flagrant Cases, by the due Course of Justice and Law: Not by Strains of Authority, not by Star-chamber Work, not by the extraordinary Exercise of discretionary Powers, from which the Guilty and the Innocent may suffer alike: This should be carefully avoided in a Country of Freedom, not for the Sake of these Writers, but for the Sake of the Constitution, for the Sake of Liberty, and that the Law of the Land may be the Rule and Measure of all Mens Security. But for God's Sake, Sir, how comes the Abuse of the Press to be a Point insisted on in the Debate of to Day? What has that to do with eighteen thousand Men? Are our Dragoons to be Licensers of the Press? I hope they are not.

As to the uncertain Situation of Affairs abroad, (that, I think, was the Term used by the Hon. Gentleman over the Way) I will say but one Word.—Why have we called home our Fleets? To deprive ourselves of the only Means we have of hurting our Enemies, by recalling our Fleets upon the Presumption of a Peace, and then to deprive ourselves of the Fruits of a Peace, by keeping up our Army to the Number of last Year, is, I confess, a Policy which I don't comprehend. Is this Convention, which we have concluded, something or nothing? Sir, I think it worse than nothing; but, as there are some Gentlemen who speak very highly of it, if it deserves their Encomiums, I should be glad to know, for what this Number is ask'd? Why, to support the Peace, it seems.—To support it, Sir, against whom? Not against ourselves I hope, not against the Nation. If the Peace be what it ought to be, we shall have no Enemies, and it will support itself; if

it be bad and diſhonourable, to have it ſupported by an Army, is a ſad Reſource indeed: It is ſuch a Support as Deſpair only could want: It is ſuch a Support as I won't imagine poſſible.

But Gentleman ſay, it will give Weight to our Meaſures abroad. —What Weight has it given? I appeal to Experience. Is not the Period of our keeping up this Number of Men, the moſt inglorious Period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory? Has not every Year been mark'd out by ſome new Indignity, ſome new Diſhonour, ſome new Proof of Contempt? Have we been arm'd of late to any other Purpoſe, than to make our Tameneſs appear more ridiculous? For my own Part, Sir, I muſt ſay, that were I determined to ſuffer myſelf to be *robb'd without any Reſiſtance*, I ſhould think it was judging very ill, to travel with Arms.

Sir, with regard to Diſorders at home, neither what has been ſaid by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke juſt now, nor by another Gentleman in my Eye, who enlarged much upon them, has any Weight in a Queſtion, whether 18,000 Men or 12, ſhould be the Number kept up. For, ſurely, 12 thouſand Men are Force enough to quell theſe Rioters. But from what all thoſe Gentlemen have ſaid, I draw a further Concluſion, that for Diſorders of this Kind, an Army is not, cannot be the proper Remedy, ſince the Evil encreaſes under it, as Experience proves.—The proper Remedy is giving Authority to the Law; and this can only be done by right Meaſures of Government. An Army may give Strength to a bad Adminiſtration, but a good Adminiſtration only can give Strength to Laws, and to that we muſt have Recourſe, or theſe Diſorders will continue, tho' we ſhould augment our Troops to 50,000 Men. Confirm his Majeſty in the Affections of his Subjects, and he will want no Security in his own Dominions. Sir, I have ſeen a Proof of this. —I have lately had the Satisfaction to ſee all Sort of Reſpect from all Sorts of People, paid *to two of the Royal Family*, when they had no Guards. They could not have been ſafer, they could not have been reſpected ſo much, if they had been attended, in the Journey they made, with all the houſhold Troops of the King of *France*. Sir, I ſaw the People clinging to the Wheels of their Coach, out of Affection to them, to the King, and to his Family. I ſay, I ſaw them clinging to the Wheels of their Coach.—Had there been Guards about it, they muſt have kept further off.

As I can ſee no good Uſe that can be made of theſe Troops, and as I won't ſuppoſe that any bad one is intended, I muſt conclude they are kept up for Oſtentation alone. But is it for his Majeſty's Honour to put the Luſtre of his Crown, to put his Dignity upon that, in which he may be rival'd by every petty Prince of any little State in *Germany?* For, I believe, there are few of them now, that can't produce at a Review, an Army equal to ours, both in Number and Show. If the Greatneſs of a State is to be meaſur'd by the Number of its Troops, the Elector of *Hanover* is as great as the King of *England*. ——But a very different Eſtimation ought to be made of our Greatneſs: The Strength of *England* is its Wealth and its Trade: Take care of them, you will be always formidable: Loſe them, you are nothing, you are the laſt of Mankind. Were there no other Reaſons for reducing the Army, it ſhould be done upon the Principle of Œconomy alone. It is a melancholy Thought to reflect how much we have ſpent, and to how little Purpoſe, for theſe ſix Years paſt.

Sir,

Sir, could it be ſaid, We are indeed, loaded with Debt, but for that Charge we have encreaſed our Reputation, our Commerce flouriſhes, our Navigation is ſafe, our Flag is reſpected, our Name honour'd abroad; could this be ſaid, there is a Spirit in the People of *England*, would make them chearfully bear the heavieſt Burdens.——On the other Side, could an oppoſite Language be held, could it be ſaid, We have, indeed, no Victories, no Glory to boaſt of, no Eclat, no Dignity; we have ſubmitted to Injuries, we have born Affronts, we have been forced to curb the Spirit of the Nation, but by acting thus, we have reſtored our Affairs, we have paid our Debts, we have taken off our Taxes, we have put it into the Power of the King and Parliament, to act hereafter with more Vigour and Weight; could this be ſaid, this alſo might be ſatisfactory.——But to have fail'd *in both theſe Points* at the ſame Time; by a Conduct equally *inglorious* and *expenſive*, to have loſt the Advantages both of *War* and Peace; to have brought Diſgrace and Shame upon the preſent Times, and national Beggary upon Ages to come, the Conſequence of which may be national Slavery; ſuch a Management, if ſuch a Management can be ſuppoſed, muſt call down national Vengeance upon the guilty Authors of it, whoſoever they be, and the longer it has been ſuſpended, *the more heavy it will fall.*

Sir, I beg Pardon for having troubled you ſo long now upon a Queſtion, on which I have ſo often given you my poor Thoughts before: The Multiplicity of Matter carried me further than I deſigned, and I have a thouſand Thanks to return you for the Indulgence you have ſhewn.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

His Catholick Majeſty's MANIFESTO, *juſtifying his Conduct in relation to the late* CONVENTION; *with his* REASONS, *for not paying the Ninety-five thouſand Pounds.*

The KING.

A OUR Deſire not to diſturb the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and to maintain Peace to our Subjects, has for ſome Time paſt, in a great meaſure, made a Violence on the Nicety of our Honour, and the Advantages of our Intereſts.

England, troubled with domeſtick Diviſions, has carried on her Complaints with ſuch Obſtinacy, even perhaps contrary to the Knowledge of the Unreaſonableneſs thereof, that if our ſincere Diſpoſition had not found a greater Weight in the former Conſiderations than in her Inſtances, ſuch Diſputes would have come before now to a fatal Rupture, not without powerful Motives on our Behalf. The Truth of this is evident from the Anſwers given to her Officers, and our Condeſcenſions to her Propoſals; ſuch was the admitting of the Regulation made at *London* of the reſpective Demands, without taking notice of the exorbitant Valuation of her Prizes, nor of the Undervaluing of ours, only to obtain Peace at the moderate rate of diſſembling this Advantage in Favour of that Crown: The remaining Part of the Negotiation was, on our Side, conformable to ſo noble a Sincerity. The Miniſtry at *London* reckoned on our Claims upon the *Aſſiento* Company for the Payment which we were to make, and tho', when the Company refuſed to pay the ſame, we might have made Uſe of this Failure, in order to alter other Agreements, the ſame Miniſtry knows that we ſent Orders to Don *Thomas Geraldino*, our Miniſter Plenipotentiary at that Court, to take up at Intereſt the 95,000 *l.* that what had been promiſed ſhould not remain uncomplied with.

Immediately after the Convention was ſigned at the *Pardo*, and that it was ratified at *London*, We, prompted by our good Faith, ordered our Squadrons to be diſarmed, ſent the ſtipulated Directions to *Florida*, and diſcharged all that was then incumbent on us. Much contrary to this way of Proceeding did *England* act; for having undoubtedly repented the calling home from the Mediterranean Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron, ſhe ordered it to be ſtationed at *Gibraltar*; a more proper Place for effecting the Deſign, that in all Appearance was even then in Agitation, and has ſince been diſcovered; and at the ſame time no Orders were diſpatched to *Carolina*. The *Britiſh* King did back the unjuſt Tranſactions of the Company, deeming their Concerns as an Engagement of the Crown, whereas before the Convention they were looked upon as a Contract with a private Perſon.

Theſe Appearances of not proceeding with Una-

Unanimity in their Intentions, obliged us to cauſe our firſt Secretary of State, and of the Diſpatches, the Marquis *de Villarias*, in the beginning of *April* laſt, to declare to Mr. *Benjamin Keene*, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the King of *Great Britain* at our Court, how much the Stay of Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron at *Gibraltar* would hinder the total Effect of the Convention, notwithſtanding any Securities that might be offered; and finding that ſuch Inſinuations were not ſufficient to check the Danger that was threatening, we reſolved that in the firſt formal Conference, which our Plenipotentiaries ſhould have with thoſe of *England*, they ſhould repeat more at large the ſame Declaration: That the Fault of making ineffectual what had been ſtipulated ſhould never be imputed to us. The Effects of this becoming Conduct have not been ſuch as ought to be expected, but have rather been conformable to the Conduct obſerved by *England*, as is already mentioned in Subſtance: That is, to have given Orders to Admiral *Haddock* to cruize with his Squadron between *Cape St. Vincent*, and *Cape St. Mary*'s, in order to wait for, and ſurprize the *Aſſogue* Ships: To publiſh Repriſals in an unbecoming Stile at *London*, (ſee p. 359.) and to proceed to their Execution in ſeveral Parts, as it appears to us authentically, by divers Depoſitions of thoſe who have experienced them. Our Forbearance being thus provoked, and it becoming now a Diſgrace to our Power and Sovereignty, to continue any longer in the Inaction hitherto obſerved, we have determined, that there be likewiſe Repriſals made in our Dominions, and by our Subjects, wherever they meet with them, of the Ships, Goods, and Effects of the King and Subjects of *Great Britain*, obſerving ſuch Rules as ſhall be directed in the circular Orders, which ſhall be iſſued for that Purpoſe. And to the End that this Reſolution, and the powerful Motives that have moved us thereunto, may come to every Body's Knowledge, we have thought proper to make it publick in the foregoing Manner. Given at *St. Ildefonſo*, the 20th Day of *Auguſt*, 1739.

I the KING.

And lower,

Don Sebaſtian de la Quadra.

The King of Spain's REASONS, *by which he juſtifies his not paying the* 95,000 *l. ſtipulated in the Convention, ſigned at the* Pardo, *the* 14*th of* January, 1739.

IT is to be previouſly obſerved, That the Convention is a Contract whereof the Engagements are reciprocal; that conſequently, when either of the Parties fails in the Execution of them, the other is thereby diſengaged; and that the firſt that fails gives juſt Reaſon to the other to refuſe to execute his Part. From whence it follows evidently, that *Great Britain* having been the firſt that failed, and having contravened moſt of the Articles which were expreſly ſtipulated in the ſaid Convention, and thoſe on which the ſigning thereof was founded, has given Reaſon to *Spain* not to execute her Part.

The firſt Contravention of *Great Britain* regards the very Beginning of the Convention, where it is mentioned, That the two Kings having nothing more at Heart than to encreaſe and ſtrengthen the good Underſtanding that has ſo happily ſubſiſted between them, have agreed to labour by their Miniſters with the utmoſt Application and Diligence to attain that deſirable End. In Conſequence of this reciprocal Diſpoſition, the Court of *Great Britain* ſent Orders to the *Engliſh* Squadron to quit the Mediterranean, and *Spain* diſarmed her Fleet: But being informed that the Orders from *London* were countermanded, it was ſuppoſed that a Sollicitation from the Party oppoſite to the Miniſter, who were greatly diſſatisfied with the Convention, had prevailed with the Court to ſwerve from the Orders it had given. Nothing can be more deſtructive of, or contrary to a firm Eſtabliſhment of Friendſhip and good Correſpondence, than Diffidence and Diſtruſt, the keeping a Squadron not only at *Port-Mahon* where it was at firſt, but alſo at *Gibraltar* in the Center of the Coaſts of *Spain*; where it has been conſiderably reinforced, and can be deſigned for no other Purpoſe, but to interrupt and moleſt Trade, and can be looked upon in no other Light than a continual Hoſtility.

The ſecond Contravention ariſes from the ſecond Article, which ſays, That immediately after the Ratification of the Convention, Orders ſhall be diſpatched to *Florida* and *Carolina*, that the new Plantations and Fortreſſes of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, ſhall remain *in ſtatu quo*, till the Plenipotentiaries ſhall have regulated the Limits. The King of *Spain* performed his Part of the Engagement fully, but the King of *Great Britain* deferred for four Months executing his Part, with an Intent to give to his Subjects all that Time to encreaſe their Colonies, and build their Fortifications; nor even at this Hour is there any poſitive Proof that any Orders at all have been ſent; it appears by a Letter of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, that there were none ſent the 27th of *March*.

What is ſtill more remarkable with regard to this Contravention, is, that at that Time three Men of War were ſent under frivolous Pretences to reinforce the Squadron at *Jamaica*, and that ſome Troops, and a great Quantity of warlike Stores were ſent thither on board ſeveral Ships. This Contravention is not unlike that of *Florida* in 1735, when it was agreed, that all Things ſhould remain *in ſtatu quo*, till the Limits were regulated by the two Governors; the *Engliſh* Governor nevertheleſs went on in extending his Plantations, and commit-

ted

ted ſeveral Hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*, and his Catholick Majeſty's *Indian* Vaſſals. Nor is this Contravention much unlike that of 1724, they both being Contraventions of publick Treaties made with *Spain*.

The 3d Contravention conſiſts in this, That it being agreed as the only Means to ſurmount the long debated Diſputes, in order that the Convention may be ſigned, his Catholick Majeſty doth formally declare, That he reſerves to himſelf entire, the Right to be able to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento* of Negroes, and to diſpatch the Orders neceſſary for the Execution thereof, in caſe the Company does not ſubmit to pay, within a ſhort Time, 68,000 *l. Sterling*, which it has confeſſed to owe on Duty on Slaves, according to the Regulation of 52 Pence *per* Dollar, and for the Profits of the Ship the *Royal Caroline*: And he doth likewiſe declare, that under the Validity and Strength of this Proteſt, the ſigning the Convention above-mentioned ſhall be proceeded upon, and not otherwiſe. (See p. 86 B.)

Nothing can be plainer or ſtronger than this Declaration; and yet, when the Conferences came be opened, ſo little Regard was paid to it, that the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries debated to preſent a Memorial to demand the Effects taken in the *Indies* from the *Aſſiento* Company, by way of Repriſals, in 1718 and 1727; and proteſted, that until that Account was ſettled and ſatisfied, there would be no Payment of the 68,000 *l. Sterling*, which was the Balance of a ſettled Account: Contrary to all Juſtice, they would confound a liquidated Sum, and put it on an equal foot with a Sum not at all ſettled or liquidated. His Majeſty offered two Schedules for the Viceroys of *Peru* and *Mexico*, with an Order to pay, without any Delay, to the *Aſſiento* Company, what they ſhould prove due to them on Account of the ſaid Repriſals; it was as much as he could grant: But the 68,000 *l. Sterling* was a ſettled, ſtated, executive Debt, payable within a ſhort Time; it was the Baſis and Foundation of the Convention, a Condition not to be eluded, under the Validity of which the Singing was proceeded on, and not otherwiſe, as is expreſly ſet forth in the Declaration, which was concerted with Mr. *Keene*, and notified four Days before the Convention. Whence it reſults, that the *Engliſh*, by eluding the ſaid Condition, have broke and vacated the Subſtance and Validity of the ſaid Convention.

This Pretence of the *Engliſh* carries along with it another Contravention; for, by the ſecond ſeparate Article, this Affair was to be debated only in ſeparate Negotiations, and not in the Conferences.

The fourth Contravention is a Sequel of the former. The *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries deſired to have it declared, that the King had not a Power to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento* Contract, as being a national Treaty; whereas the contrary was expreſly ſpecified in the abovementioned Declaration, on the Validity of which depended the Validity of the Convention. Every body muſt ſee, that the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, inſtead of obliging the Company to pay the King the 68,000 *l.* are ſeeking to elude the Payment of it, in Defiance of the Convention, and of the Declaration; and would oblige the King to pay himſelf out of other Funds, which would be tripping up the Heels of the Convention, and ſapping the Foundation of it.

The fifth Contravention is making a direct Application to the King, for the Reſtitution of an *Engliſh* Ship that was taken ſince the Convention was ſigned, contrary to the ſecond ſeparate Article, that refers all Matters that ſhall happen ſubſequent to the ſigning of the Convention, to the Deciſion of the Plenipotentiaries in the Conferences.

The ſixth is, that the Plenipotentiaries ſhall be furniſh'd with Inſtructions within ſix Months; and it was eight Months before *England* had ſent any.

It will not be improper here to take notice of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry's little Faith in his Catholick Majeſty, though his Majeſty has given a beautiful Example of Confidence in the IVth. Article of the Convention. An Eſtimation having been made of ſix or ſeven Ships, the Value whereof is comprized in the 95,000 *l. Sterling*; it is in that Article agreed, that as his Majeſty had ſent Orders to the *Indies* to make Satisfaction for thoſe Ships, if it ſhould happen that, in conſequence of his Orders, a Part, or the whole Value of the ſaid Ships, ſhould be paid, the Sums ſo paid ſhould be deducted out of the 95,000 *l.* The laſt Sum was to be paid in four Months, without making any Terms about the Money paid in the *Indies*, purſuant to the aforeſaid Order, his Catholick Majeſty truſting entirely to the Honour and Juſtice of the King of *Great Britain*.

The ſeventh Contravention is, That the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries inſiſted on a Liberty of free Navigation in all the *American* Seas, claiming a Right to it by the Laws of Nations, by Treaties, and particularly by the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1670. This is a direct Infraction of the firſt Article of the Convention, wherein it is expreſsly ſtipulated, That the reſpective Pretenſions of the two Crowns, with regard to Trade and Navigation in *America*, and *Europe*, ſhall be regulated and ſettled in the Conferences, according to the Treaties there ſpecified and referred to. What is exacted here as a manifeſt inconteſtable Right, is a Pretenſion and Claim in virtue of Treaties, and there could not be a better Method of ſettling thoſe Pretenſions, than to examine all thoſe Treaties thoroughly, and compare them together, ſo as to come at the true and honeſt Senſe and Meaning of them, without any Regard to the partial Meanings or Conſtructions of either of the Parties. This was the Anſwer

that

that the Catholick King gave to the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries Memorials of the 19th of *February*, nor could he have given any other, all Points relating to Trade and Navigation being ſubmitted by the Convention to the Determination of the Plenipotentiaries. The *Britiſh* Miniſter inſiſted ſtill on a free Navigation, and that it ſhould not meet with any Interruption from the *Spaniſh* Guard de Coſtas. The King anſwered, *That there ſhould be no Interruption contrary to Treaties.* Thereupon the Miniſter in harſh Terms, and in Defiance of the Convention, inſiſted, That without waiting to examine Treaties, a full Freedom of Navigation in all the *American* Seas ſhould be forthwith agreed to. *England* has no Right of free Navigation, but to and from its own Colonies, in the ſame Manner as is ſtipulated with the States General, who never pretended to, or deſired more. This being a critical Point, it is proper to explain it diſtinctly and clearly.

It is declared by the eighth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1713, That the Navigation of the *Engliſh* in *America*, ſhall continue on the ſame Foot that it was in the Reign of *Charles* II. It is beyond all Diſpute, that during that Reign all Strangers were excluded by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, from trading with or entering into the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*; and that the ſole Liberty and Freedom thereof was reſerved to the *Spaniards*. By the ſame Article Q. *Anne* obliged herſelf not only to obſerve, but likewiſe to guarantee thoſe fundamental Laws; and of conſequence could not pretend to any further or other Right of free Navigation, but to and from her own Colonies. It was all that thoſe Laws did admit of, and all that was practiſed in the Reign of *Charles* II. The Queen alſo obliged herſelf to pay a due Regard to, and guarantee the Limits in thoſe Times; and, where any Incroachments had been made upon them, to reſtore and ſettle them upon the former antient Footing. But this Part was not then complied with, which gives Room for the preſent Diſputes about new Colonies, the Removal of Frontiers, and Uſurpation of Territories and whole Iſlands.

What has been now ſaid, is ſufficiently ſupported and proved by the Stipulation with the *States-General* in the 31ſt Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1714. His Catholick Majeſty obliges himſelf to re-eſtabliſh and maintain the Navigation and Trade of theſe ſame *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* agreeable to the fundamental Laws of *Spain*, which prohibit all foreign Nations from trading with, or entering into them; that Privilege and Benefit being reſerved ſolely for the *Spaniſh* Subjects of his Catholick Majeſty; and their High Mightineſſes promiſe to give his Majeſty their Aſſiſtance to fulfil this Article. In former Treaties with them, all that was ſtipulated was a free Navigation to their Colonies, and not to all the other Seas that are within his Catholick Majeſty's Juriſdiction and Dominion, which are diſtinguiſh'd by the Character of the *Spaniſh Indies*, whereunto all Entrance and Trade are prohibited for very good Reaſons: For as it is prohibited, as aforeſaid, to trade with, or enter into the Ports and Harbours of the *Spaniſh Indies*, and foreign Nations having no Colonies that require paſſing near thoſe Seas, the claiming a Right of free Navigation to or near them can be with no other View, nor for any other Purpoſe, than to encreaſe the illicit unwarrantable Trade, which the *Engliſh* have for a long Time, and do ſtill carry on; a Trade that is already grown to too unreaſonable an Extent, it yielding yearly ſeveral Millions, as they themſelves confeſs; a Trade that is contrary to all Laws of Juſtice and Equity, prejudicial to the Trade allow'd to and enjoy'd by other Nations, and greatly hurtful and injurious to his Catholick Majeſty's Revenues and Government.

There is all the Reaſon in the World to be ſurprized at this Demand, ſince the *Engliſh* imagine, and pretend they may even in the Midſt of *Europe* aſſume to themſelves the ſupreme Dominion on the Ocean, tho' it be common to all Sovereigns, whoſe Dominions it waſhes; and laying a Streſs on the Name they give it of *Britannick* Sea, would not only exact, that the Ships of all Nation ſhould ſtrike their Colours before theirs, but they have alſo endeavoured to attribute to themſelves the Right of giving Leave to fiſh in them, and to make other Powers pay for that Liberty! How can thoſe who form ſuch groundleſs Pretenſions in the Seas of *Europe*, which belong no more to them than to other Nations, exclaim againſt the *Spaniards*, when they do nothing in *America*, but refuſe to abandon the Seas they poſſeſs all the Coaſts of, to an arbitrary Navigation, and take juſt Precautions againſt Smuggling, and the unlawful Trade carried on in the *Spaniſh* Dominion, which are the only Deſign or Object of that Navigation?

What has been ſaid above is alſo proved by the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1670, which is alledged; for in the Beginning thereof it is ſaid, *That each of the contracting Parties ſhall have and retain the Lordſhip of the Seas, of the Navigation, and freſh Waters in* America, *which belonged to them:* Then all the Seas are not free, and there are ſome of the Lordſhips, in which the Sovereigns ought to enjoy it privately or excluſively of all others, and conſequently we muſt not underſtand theſe Words, *free Navigation*, otherwiſe than they are limited at the End of the ſaid Article, *viz. When nothing ſhall have been committed againſt the natural Senſe and Diſpoſition of the preceding Articles.* And as it is regulated by the eighth Article, that the Subjects of either of the two contracting Kings ſhall

ſhall not navigate nor trade in the Dominions poſſeſſed by the other Party in the ſaid weſtern Iſlands; it follows, that the ſaid free Navigation is limited to the Dominions which belong to one or other of the two Kings, and that the Treaty excludes all Navigation and Trade in the Dominions and in the Seas of the one to the other.

This is the literal, natural, and true Senſe of theſe Treaties, and what is therein underſtood by the Words *free Navigation*. Every Time that *England* will get them examined by its Miniſters with thoſe of *Spain*, as it was agreed they ſhould by the Convention, it will find it has no juſt Motive to complain, and that it has none to grant Letters of Repriſals, which ought to be grounded on a Refuſal of Juſtice. And ſince it is *England* who has infringed all the Articles of the Convention, and has herſelf ſet an Example of it to the King of *Spain*, who, as has been ſeen, ſigned it only under the expreſs Condition, that Regard ſhould be had to his Declaration, and the Proteſtation therein inſerted; the Denial of Juſtice cannot be imputed to *Spain*, but it may to *England*, who by its poſterior Contraventions above-mentioned, has evaded and annulled the Convention, from which, notwithſtanding the Contraventions above expreſſed, none of the two Parties can deſiſt, becauſe, as it was formed by a common Conſent, there muſt be a joint Conſent to diſſolve it. (See the Articles of the *Convention*, p. 83.)

England has had as few Motives to order its Plenipotentiaries to break off the Conferences, as they did by their Memorial of the ninth of *July*; it has had no Motives to make thoſe great Armaments, nor to preſs her Neighbours to arm in her Behalf, nor to ſollicit them to be ready at all Events, becauſe the Neighbours of the latter would, by ſeeing them make unſeaſonable Preparations, and without any Neceſſity, regulate themſelves by that Example, and would on their Part put themſelves on their Guard, and the publick Tranquillity would infallibly ſuffer by it. In this Caſe the bad Conſequences thereof muſt then be imputed to thoſe who perſuade, and thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded. The only Aim of *England* is to maintain and preſerve by her Arms, and by thoſe of her Neighbours, the unjuſt Uſurpations of the Iſlands and Territories ſhe has invaded, in breach of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and to maintain herſelf in the clandeſtine Trade it practiſes, to the Prejudice of the lawful Trade of the Allies of *Spain*: Whereas that Crown ſeeks no other Thing than to defend its Honour againſt the Calumnies whereby ſhe is attack'd; and only to maintain the Intereſt of her Dominions, and thoſe of her Allies, by ſcrupulouſly obſerving the Treaties, offending or inſulting no Nation, and ſeeing but with Concern, the Breach *England* gives to the Peace, and conſequently to the publick Repoſe.

Univerſal Spectator, Sept. 1 and 8.

CHARON *and* MERCURY: *Or, The* ELYSIAN FERRYMAN. *A Dialogue after the Manner of* Lucian, *in which ſeveral others ſpeak.*

Mercury. HOLLA!—*Charon—Charon*, Holla! —What are you quite tir'd with ferrying over your *Turks* and *Germans*, that you make ſo little Haſte to return?—Prithee ſit down to your Oars and pull luſtily; Don't you ſee I have brought you another Freight?

Charon. What are you in ſuch a Hurry for? I ſee well enough what Sort of a Freight you have brought me; a poor motley Herd of common *Britiſh* Ghoſts. But where the Devil are thoſe Shoals of *Spaniards* which you have ſo long kept me in Expectation of, for the *Engliſhmen* on the other Side *Styx* worry my Heart out to know when they are to arrive.

Mer. Faith, *Charon*, I will no longer deceive you; their Arrival depends on the *Politicks* of a certain Iſland, which are at preſent ſo ſtrange and fluctuating, that I cannot venture to ſay they will arrive at all. But, good Mr. *Ferryman*, trouble not your Head about *Politicks*, but take in your Cargo and away.

Charon to the Ghoſts. Heyday! whither are you all preſſing to?—Stand off—ſtand off—not one of you ſhall enter, but civilly, and according to antient Uſages and Cuſtoms.—What a Load of *Worldly Affairs* have you all got about ye?—But, my good *Ghoſts*, you muſt leave them all behind; my Boat is in too tatter'd a Condition for ſuch a Cargo.

Mer. Be not out o'Humour, *Charon*; put your Boat back again, and not one ſhall enter but according to the antient Laws of the Ferry.

Lawyer's Ghoſt. Laws of the Ferry? What d'ye mean, Sir? There are no Laws of any Ferry, but to pay the ſtated Rate and Fare: D'ye think I don't know the Acts of Parliament and Statutes in that Caſe enacted and provided?

Mer. No, good Counſellor *Puzzlecauſe*, you blunder as much here as you us'd to do in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: By a Statute we have you muſt pull off that Gown, and appear in *puris naturalibus*.

L's Ghoſt. What, wou'd you ſtrip me?

Ch. Ay, ay, of that, and every other Impertinence you have about you—Bleſs me!—what a monſtrous Collection of Abſurdities were conceal'd beneath that ſame Gown and full-bottom'd Wig!

Mer. Come, Sir, away with your Tricks and your Quirks; your Motions, Pleas, Replications, Rejoinders and Surrejoinders; with

thoſe Demurrers, Ariſts of Judgment, and Writs of Error.

L's Ghoſt. For Pity Sake leave me my *Writs of Error*, dear *Mercury*: I ſhall be undone if I am diveſted of them.

Mer. Why, of what Uſe do you think they can be to you on the other Side *Styx*?

L's Ghoſt. Of the utmoſt Service; for if Judge *Minos* and the reſt of the Bench ſhou'd give Judgment againſt me, I would bring a *Writ* of *Error* and ſtay Proceedings.

Mer. Ha! ha! ha! None of your Quibbles will ſerve you now: What may be of real Uſe to you carry freely. Take your *Conſcience*, your *Integrity* in your *Opinion*, your *Regard* for *Juſtice* only in your *Pleadings*, your *Modeſty* of *Speech*, your *uncorrupted Hand*, and your *honeſt Heart*.

L's Ghoſt. With humble Submiſſion, theſe are Things which I never heard of in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

Ch. Nay, then turn him in naked as he is, and let him take his Chance—No Contumacy—no Diſpute—ſit down contented, unleſs you'd have a Knock over the Sconce with my Oar.

2d Ghoſt. Your Servant, Mr. *Mercury*—Good Mr. *Charon*, your humble Servant—

Ch. This is ſome Courtier's Ghoſt by his Complaiſance.—But what does he take *Mercury* aſide for?

2d Ghoſt. Shall I beg the Favour of your Godſhip of one Word in *private*.

Mer. No, no, we have no *ſecret* Tranſactions here, Mr. *Bribewell*,

2d Ghoſt. Do you know me then?

Mer. Know you; ay, ſure; you are the famous Mr. *Bribewell* of the—*What d'ye call it* Office, not far from *Whiteball*, who have a long Time been Agent to—no Matter mentioning Names—But, good Sir, forget your old Habit of thinking nothing can ſucceed without *Corruption*—You muſt now act on the Principles of *Honour* and *Honeſty*—you are now in *another* World—

2d Ghoſt. So it is a Sign—Upon my Faith, *Mercury*, you are the firſt Perſon I have ſpoke to ſome Years, who has abſolutely refus'd the Overtures which I have made; and I have in my Time had ſeveral Conferences with *Dukes*, *Earls*, *Viſcounts*, *Biſhops*, *Barons*, *Knights* and *Commoners*.

Mer. O, Sir, I know you are a notable Fellow at *Negotiations*, but all ſuch will prove entirely in vain here; therefore, without any more Attempts at Bribery, lay down thoſe *Ex—q—r Bills and Tallies* which you have artfully conceal'd under your Coat—Come, come, ſtrip, while I go on with other Buſineſs.

2d Ghoſt. Not ſo neither; if I cannot ſucceed one Way, I may another.—Honeſt *Charon*; your *Hand*, old Boy; I hope we ſhall have a ſafe Paſſage over.

Ch. Never fear that—But what have you put into my Hand?—*Gold*—

2d Ghoſt. Harkye—a Word in your Ear—I'll make them *twenty* Pieces a cool *Hundred*. I have thoſe Bits of *Paper* and fooliſh Pieces of *Sticks* to ſlip under the Benches of your Boat—You underſtand me—

Ch. And wou'd you give me this *Gold* to corrupt my *Honour*?

2d Ghoſt. Your *Honour*—No, no, no, no—Far be it from me to attempt your *Honour*—It is only, Sir, to buy ſome new *Tackle* for your *Boat*, and to get your *Sail* mended.

Ch. Why, you whoreſon, villainous, lying Raſcal, do you take me for ſome *Fiſherman* who has a *Vote* in a *Sea-Port Borough*? D'ye think to cajole me out of my *Honeſty*, by giving me a ſpecious Pretence for parting with it? There's your *Guineas* about your Ears; and had all your Countrymen a Spirit worthy of their Nation, by ſerving ſuch Corrupters in the ſame Manner, they wou'd never loſe their antient *Honour* and antient *Liberty*.

2d Ghoſt. Who would have thought the *tatterdemalion* Raſcal would have refus'd *Gold*, and when I came up to a Price which a *Returning Officer* has not deny'd?

Ch. Come, come, lay aſide your Papers, Sticks and Roguery, and ſtep into the Boat, or it will be the worſe for you.

2d Ghoſt. Since it is ſo, I muſt comply; but it is with a melancholy Reflexion that I muſt fling this Bundle down.

Ch. Heyday!—What have we here?—*Mercury* ſtruggling with a Lady!—So ho, there!—What is your *Godſhip* about?

Mer. I have got as troubleſome a Female as ever I met with; ſhe will not part with that large *Hoop-Petticoat* and ſpreading *Robe de Chambre* on any Account.

3d Ghoſt. Why, thou Barbarian, how cou'd you think a Woman of my *Modeſty* and *Virtue* cou'd think—Eigh, ſhocking Thought!—to—to appear without the leaſt decent Apparel.

Mer. Miſtreſs *Prudella*, you may now lay aſide all that affected Regard for *Modeſty*, *Virtue*, *Honour*, and all that; for however you may have deceiv'd the World, you cannot deceive us. You are now to appear in the undiſtinguiſh'd State of Nature, and it cannot be ſhocking to you, when you ſee the reſt of your Sex in the ſame State.

3d Ghoſt. O Lard! I cannot endure, I hate, deteſt, and abominate the Reflexion.

Mer. Come, Madam, it ſignifies nothing, if you will not pull off your Hoop, I muſt.

3d Ghoſt. O Gemini! What, meddle with my *Petticoat*—Inſupportable Impudence—I cannot bear it—

Mer. But you cou'd bear it, and without all this Reluctance, when Capt. *Carbine* meddled with it in a certain *Green Damaſk Room*, near—

3d

3d Ghoſt. Ah! I am diſcover'd, ruin'd; my *Virtue* and *Honour* are loſt—O my *Character*, my *Character*—

Mer. Now your *Character* is known, why th's Delay? But you deceiv'd yourſelf in the other World; all knew the Reaſon of that *monſtrous Hoop* and *Robe de Chambre*, and that it was to conceal the *evident Conſequence* of a *ſcandalous Amour*, tho' you flatter'd yourſelf that your formal Cenſure on every other Woman's Conduct wou'd conceal your own.

Ch. Ohoe! Is that the Caſe! Pray, young Woman, don't be ſo very ſcrupulous; you will meet with ſeveral *antient* and *modern Prudes* who will keep you in Countenance. There is a pecular Quarter on the other Side the River allotted for them.

Mer. Where they ſtill claim a ſuperior Excellence over the reſt of their Sex, and, like the living *Prudes*, have nothing but *Virtue* and *Honour* on their *Tongue*, and *Hypocriſy* and *Vice* in their *Heart*.

3d Ghoſt. Nay, then I am entirely eaſy—I ſhall not there be liable to ſcandalous *Reproaches*; the Fear of which broke my Heart, and occaſion'd my untimely Death—Pray, *Charon*, lend me your Hand into your Boat.

Mer. Such is the Difference between a *Hypocritical Prude* and a truly *virtuous Woman*: The firſt fears the common Reflexions of the World, and, if ſhe can ſecretly err, feels no Compunction at the Crime; the latter, conſcious of not erring at all, feels no Pain at the common Cenſure of the Publick.

Ch. Holla! *Mercury!* Here is a ſtrange Fellow, with a rueful Countenance, hollow Eyes, and all the Symptoms of Melancholy, who would force himſelf into the Boat without Examination.

4th Ghoſt. Examination!—I want none—I have a ſufficient Paſſport, the *Authority* of which none of ye dare refuſe.

Mer. Pray, good poſitive Sir, *who* are you, and *what* is your *Authority?*

4th Ghoſt. I am, Sir—I am—what they all a *Methodiſt*, and my *Authority* is from Mr. *Whitefield*.

Mer. A *Methodiſt*—Pray what may that be?—

4th Ghoſt. Why a *Methodiſt* is—is—nay, I cannot give any Definition what it is; all I know now, is, that *we* have more *Religion*, more Charity, more *Contempt* of the *World*, and more *Divine Inſpiration*, than any other Set of People.

Mer. A very *charitable* Way of judging of others truly—But how are you aſcertain'd, that you exceed all the reſt of Mankind in theſe Things?

4th Ghoſt. That we exceed them in religious Works, is evident; we ſing *Hymns* and Pſalms Day and Night; we pray without ceaſing; we deſpiſe all wordly Affairs; we chew our Devotion on *Commons*, *Fields* and *Highways*, and we travel abroad over the Face of the Earth to give Teſtimony of our unfeigned Godlineſs; and that we are *divinely inſpir'd* is undoubtedly *prov'd*.

Mer. As you are ſo extraordinary a People, I ſhould be glad to hear a *Proof* of that given.

4th Ghoſt. O, Sir,—we are undoubtedly inſpir'd—*becauſe*—we are *inſpir'd*.

Mer. A moſt unanſwerable Demonſtration!

4th Ghoſt. What other cou'd you expect? We *believe* an *Inſpiration*; we *know* it, we *feel* it.

Mer. *Is it not* madneſs *rages in the breaſt?*
For one inſpir'd, *ten thouſand are* poſſeſs'd.

4th Ghoſt. I know not what you may call it; but I am ſure my Brother *Whitefield* term'd it *Inſpiration*, and prov'd it was ſuch after the Manner I have done.

Mer. And after the Manner that your Countryman, *George Fox*, and ten thouſand other Enthuſiaſts have done before you.

4th Ghoſt. Is it poſſible that ſo *heavenly* a young *Man* cou'd err in ſo material Point?

Mer. As to his *Divinityſhip*, (which he almoſt affects) it is no Proof here of his *Infallibility*; nor will his Aſſertions have any Weight with us, unleſs they are founded on *Truth*, and can conſequently be defended by *Reaſon*. We have had a ſufficient Number of *inſpir'd Devotees* arrive here, who upon a very little Examination, inſtead of *Saints* and *Prophets*, prov'd downright *Fools*, *Madmen* or *Hypocrites*.

4th Ghoſt. What do you mean? I hope you will not charge any of thoſe Characters upon *us*.

Mer. Before I admit any of you into *Charon*'s Boat, I ſhall ſee how far they are applicable—You, Sir, I think was a very zealous and remarkable Diſciple.

4th Ghoſt. I was ſo—I diſpos'd of the greateſt Part of my Eſtate in Acts of Charity, ſettled the reſt on my Wife and Children, and then forſook all the common Concerns of Life, as *Wife*, *Children* and *Eſtate*, and accompany'd my Brother *Whitefield* in all his Peregrinations.

Mer. And pray what particular *Satisfaction* might you reap from this extraordinary Conduct?

4th Ghoſt. *Satisfaction* unparallel'd!—The *Satisfaction* of having the Approbation of my dear, devout *Brother*, Mr. *Whitefield*; the *Satisfaction* of being an Inſtrument under him of reforming Mankind; the *Satisfaction* of being particularly obſerv'd by *ten thouſand* People at a Time, and the *Satisfaction* of being *talk'd* of by *ten thouſand* more.

Mer. Well then, having laid aſide all *worldly Concerns* ſome Time ago, you have not the leaſt about you now?

4th Ghoſt. Not the leaſt.

Mer. Will you then do me the Favour to give me that *Manuſcript* Paper Book, which is conceal'd in your Boſom?

4th Ghoſt. That *Paper Book*—But pray for what Reaſon?

Mer. Only that I may *deſtroy* it entirely.

4th Ghoſt. Deſtroy it—not for the Univerſe.

Mer. Is it ſo valuable?—Pray what may the Contents of it be?

4th Ghoſt. It's the *Journal* of my *Life*—of when I *ſung* Pſalms, when I *pray'd*, when I was *ſick*, when I was *well*, when I *went*, when I *came*, when I *eat*, when I *drank*, when I *ſlept*—what I *ſaw*, and who I *ſaw*, and when I *ſaw*—what *I* ſaid, and *he* ſaid, and *ſhe* ſaid, and *they* ſaid—and ten Million other *important* and *inſtructive* Actions of Life.

Mer. That notable *Diary* you muſt deliver up, and alſo that *Folly* and *Vanity* which lurk in one unſanctify'd Corner of your Heart, and which are Appendages to that ſame *Journal*.

4th Ghoſt. Folly and *Vanity!*

Mer. Yes; or why ſhou'd you think ſuch an *Hiſtorical Rhapſody* worth *Publication:* True *Piety* wants not to be publickly avouch'd:—Beſides, will the declaring the minute Circumſtances of your Life reform that of others? If your Life is *pious*, why would you yourſelf *publiſh* it to Man? It is not in Man to reward it:—No, it is *abominable*, *enchuſiaſtic Vanity*, and an uncommon Proof of the *Pride of human Nature*—Come, Sir, away with your *Folly*, *Vanity*, and *Journal* together.

4th Ghoſt. Well then, there they are—Now I hope I may be allow'd my Paſſage.

Mer. Stay a Moment; that *News-Paper* in your Pocket you will have no Manner of Occaſion for; that can be of no Value.

4th Ghoſt. O, Sir, I value it highly—There is a *Letter* in it to a *Clergyman*, a *Brother* of mine, who is now in *Italy:* It is an Anſwer to a Letter of his, and I had it printed in the publick *News Papers* *.

Mer. For what Reaſon?

4th Ghoſt. To ſhew the World how righteous I was tho' a *Layman*, and how *unrighteous* he was tho' a *Clergyman*; for tho' he is my own Brother, I have openly charg'd him with a ſhameful *Lukewarmneſs*, and a Spirit of *Preferment-Hunting*, the Scandal of our *modern Clergy*.

Mer. But to have appear'd candid, ought you not to have printed his Letter, to which this was an Anſwer? There may have been Arguments in that which you have not refuted: Ah, Sir, how will *Bigotry* to an Opinion deprive Man of his *Reaſon*—Nothing but Madneſs could have induced you to print ſuch a Letter of a private Nature—You muſt part with it now, and with that ſevere *Uncharitableneſs* which attends it—Now, Sir, you may go into the Ferry-Boat whenever you pleaſe.

4th Ghoſt. Why now, Sir, I am not *diſtinguiſh'd* from any other Ghoſts; I thought ſome Regard might have been paid me on my Brother *Whitefield*'s Account.

Mer. I ſhould not have been more complaiſant to your Brother *Whitefield* himſelf, and perhaps on Examination might have found more worldly *Follies* and *Vanities*, which I ſhould have made him have parted with.

5th Ghoſt. Mr. *Mercury*, if you have done with your Saint, will you give me my Paſſport?

Mer. Pray, good Sir, ſtep in, for I don't perceive the leaſt *worldly Care* about you.—*Charon*, lend that Gentleman your Hand.

4th Ghoſt. Bleſs me! What do you mean? Do you ſuffer *him* to paſs thus after ſuch Examination of *me?*

Mer. Him! Do you know him then?

4th Ghoſt. Yes; a Man—indeed *honeſt* enough in his Character, but never *remarkably religious*; who liv'd too elegant in the other World ever to think much of this; who often ſpent his Time in the vain *Diverſions* of *Life*, inſtead of Acts of *Penitence* and *Self-Denial*; who had too much *Mirth* to be *devout*, and too much *Wealth* to have the *In-dwelling* of the *Spirit*.

Mer. With the *Inſpiration*, which your Sect pretends to, is it given them to know the *Secrets* of the *Heart?* Ridiculous Men, who pay ſuch Veneration to the outward Signs of *Sanctity*, as to eſteem thoſe as Reprobate, who appear not in publick equally *ſevere* in their *Manners*, and *zealous* in their *Devotion!*—This Perſon, whom you look'd on in the other World with an *arrogant Pity* for not coming up to your *Standard* of *Righteouſneſs*, and for giving a Relaxation to the common Cares of Life, by being amus'd ſometimes with the innocent Diverſions of it; this Perſon had as much *Love* of *Religion*, and as little *Love* of the *World* and the Vanities of it, as the pious Leader of your Sect. If he was not *remarkably religious* in *publick*, he was *truly* ſo in *private*; he liv'd according to that Station of Life in which he was plac'd, *decent* without *Prodigality*, and *charitable* without *Affectation*; his *chearful Mirth* was not from his Want of *Piety*, but rather flow'd from an *innocent* and *virtuous Heart*; he did not indeed think by inconſiderately parting with his Wealth he ſhould purchaſe the *In-dwelling* of the *Spirit*, but beſtow'd it as an honeſt wiſe Man would do, among his *Children* and *Relations:* In ſhort, humbly *devote*, agreeably *chearful*, humanely *beneficent*, he was a *good Man*, a good *Parent*, a *good Maſter*, and a *good Friend:* For from being attach'd to the Vanities of the World, he relinquiſh'd them all with Joy; and ſuch was his *Life*, he fear'd not to die; ſuch was his *Death*, that he did not longer wiſh to *live*.——Now, Sir, you may go in[to] the

* *A Letter from Mr.* S—w—rd, *in Anſwer to one of his Brother's, was printed in the* Daily Advertiſer.

the Boat, and by Experience learn, that *Man* cannot enter into the *Heart* of *Man*; therefore to condemn others for *Lukewarmneſs* and Want of *Piety*, before *Death* has brought them to an impartial *Examination*, is an *uncharitable Pride*, and an inſolent *Affectation* of *Divinity* itſelf.

From the Craftſman *of* Sept. 1. Nº 686.

YOU muſt know, *Sir*, that I am by Profeſſion an *Apothecary*, and have apply'd much of my Time to *Botany*; I ſhall therefore make a few Remarks on *two* or *three Plants* of very extraordinary Qualities.

One of theſe is the *ſenſitive Plant*, which ſhrinks from the Touch, and for that Reaſon is call'd in the *Latin*, *noli me tangere*. *Phyſicians* and *Naturaliſts* tell us that it is not only endowed with a *natural Timidity itſelf*, but will communicate it to any Body, who taſtes of it, as the Herb *Nepenthes* gives *Joy* and *Spirits*. The *Ancients* do not ſeem to be unacquainted with it; for *Dioſcorides* tells us a remarkable Story, that having infus'd ſome Leaves of a certain *Plant* in a Potion, and given it to one of *Nero*'s Favourites, who was a very bold enterprizing Fellow, his Conſtitution immediately alter'd, and he grew ſo mean-ſpirited, that for fear of juſt Puniſhment, he cut his own Throat. This ſeems to be that Monſter *Tigellinus*: (See p. 401.) And the daſtardly Spirit, which moſt *bad Miniſters* have ſhewn in Adverſity, and the ſcandalous Ends they have made, would incline one to think that they have been dos'd in the ſame Manner. *Such a Miniſter* cannot chuſe a better Motto than, *noli me tangere*.

There is *another Plant*, which was formerly in great Eſteem, as a *Strengthener of bad Conſtitutions*, call'd, *Robertianum murale*, or, *Robert of the Wall*. It has likewiſe the Royal Title of *Gratia Dei*, or the *Grace of God*. But it is now grown quite out of Repute, and hardly ever us'd in *regular Practice*.

The Root of *Hellebore* is pretty commonly known amongſt Us, and was look'd upon by the *Ancients* as a Specifick againſt *Madneſs*; whence came the Proverb amongſt the *Roman* Satirifts, when they had a mind to repreſent any Perſon as a *Madman*, *Naviget Anticyram*; *let Him go to Anticyra*, an Iſland in *Theſſaly* famous for *this Drug*. But it is very much to be ſuſpected, as Dr. *Quincy* obſerves, that the common *Hellebore* falls greatly ſhort of that us'd by the *Ancients*. This is a very great Misfortune at a Time, when a Kind of *Epidemical Madneſs* ſeems to prevail amongſt us, as it did amongſt the *Romans* in *Horace*'s Time.

I therefore leave it to the Conſideration of the *P——t*, whether a Law ought not to be paſs'd for importing a large Quantity of the right *Anticyran Hellebore*, if there is any left in that Country, at the publick Expence, and Duty-free; or that all ſuch *maniacal Perſons* ſhould be ſent to the *Iſland* itſelf. But, perhaps, this may be look'd upon as a Project for diſpeopling the Kingdom of its moſt uſeful Inhabitants, and a Plot againſt the *Ad——cn*. I therefore recommend the *former Scheme*.

I ſhall conclude with a little Caſt of my Art in *Minerals* and *Compounds*. In all *hypochondriacal Caſes*, which affect the *animal Spirits*, and conſequently the *whole Conſtitution*, all regular Phyſicians agree that nothing is a better Remedy than a Preparation of *Steel* with *Sulphur*, *q. s.* tho' *common Empiricks*, in all Ages, have endeavour'd to impoſe upon the Vulgar and Ignorant, by ſubſtituting Preparations of *Gold* and *Silver* in its Stead; particularly *Aurum fulminans*, which makes a thundering ſound, and *Aurum potabile*, which is a bewitching Dram to moſt People of a *vitiated Appetite*.

I ſuppoſe that the *miniſterial Practitioners* will object that I talk like an *Apothecary*, as I really am; but every Body hath been convinc'd that they write like *Quacks* and *Charlatans*. Let them therefore mount a Stage in *Moor-fields*, or *Tower-hill*, and I'll anſwer for it, that Doctor *Rock* will ſell more Packets than any of them. Nay, I believe that no common People, beſides *Exciſe-men*, *Cuſtom-houſe Officers* and other *low Retainers of Power*, would even take them *gratis*, unleſs they happen to be in great Neceſſity of *Waſte-Paper*. I am credibly inform'd that ſeveral *Poſt-maſters* have already loſt moſt of their beſt Cuſtomers, upon this Account, and therefore very prudently burn the *Gazetteers*, or put them aſide, for *common Uſe*, as ſoon as they receive them.

Yours,
PHARMACOPOLA.

Common Senſe, Sept. 1 and 8.

Mr. Common Senſe *lays aſide Politicks for theſe two Weeks, in order to give a Diſſertation of Monſ.* Tourriel, *wherein he examines, Whether it was wiſely done to aboliſh that Law of the* Romans, *by which Women were kept under the Power of Guardians all the Days of their Lives. The firſt Paper is on the negative Side of the Queſtion, the other on the Affirmative, of which we can give only a ſhort Extract.*

THE Empire (ſays he) we exerciſe over the fair Sex is uſurp'd, and that which they obtain over us is by Nature. Our Submiſſion very often coſts them no more than a Glance of the Eye. The moſt ſtern and fierce of Mankind grows gentle at the Sight of them. The ſolemn *Areopagus*, mounted on his Tribunal, and entrench'd in the Centre of his Gravity, cannot hold out a Minute againſt a *Phryne* unveil'd. How comes it to paſs, that Magiſtrates of ſuch a Character ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be thus corrupted?

To

To which an antient Philoſopher made this Anſwer, That none but a blind Man would aſk ſuch a Queſtion.——What a whimſical Conduct it is to diſpute with Women the Right of managing their own Eſtates, while we give them up our Liberties at ſo cheap a Rate? We will not allow them the Power over their own Conduct, at the very Time that we make them Sovereigns of ours; we ſhould ſoon be weary of our Lives, where they once diſguſted at governing of us.

I don't know what Excuſe to make for the *Roman* Cenſor (*Cato*,) when he pronounced, that the Minute we ceas'd to reſtrain Women, they would ceaſe to appear what they were not, and that they would make no Difference betwixt Licence and Liberty. He was miſtaken; for it is Conſtraint that irritates Deſire, and makes Pleaſure more piquant. The Countries which moſt abound in faithleſs Women, are thoſe whoſe Jealouſy confines them; nor do their Infidelities any where go ſo far as the Cenſorious publiſh, or as the Jealous imagine. Theſe laſt extremely regret the Revocation of the *Roman* Laws, and murmur as much againſt ours.—But let us applaud the Reformers of an Abuſe which may turn againſt us: Let us not pretend to raiſe ourſelves ſo much above them. Let us frankly agree to an Equality of Wiſdom, we ſhall not loſe by the Bargain. It rarely happens, but that we ſhare with Women the Shame of their Weakneſſes; we are either the Authors or the Accomplices of them. On the other Side, how many Follies have we that are peculiar to ourſelves; how many Occaſions are there where their Modeſty conceals more Merit, than we can ſhew with all our Vanity?

I ſay once more, let us agree to an Equality, which proves itſelf by the moſt evident Marks, and by the moſt inconteſtable Maxims: We may eaſily learn by theſe Maxims and theſe Notions, that the Soul has no Sex, and that Minds which have the ſame Make, have the ſame Kind of Movements.

All Ages and all Countries have had their Heroines, as well as their Heroes. Let us but examine our own Times, we ſhall find a great many illuſtrious Women. There are thoſe among them who poſſeſs a moſt ſteady Firmneſs of Soul, a ſingular Generoſity, a conſummate Prudence, a ſolid Piety, a lively Faith without Superſtition, a Conſcience, ſcrupulous, and delicate, without Weakneſs. There are Women to be admired in all Conditions, unfortunate with Dignity, humble and meek in the higheſt Fortune, affable without Art, modeſt by Nature, and doing Good by Choice.

Craftſman, Sep. 8. N° 687.

THIS Paper repreſents a *Methodiſt* propoſing a Scheme for erecting a new *Court of Equity*, to conſiſt of his Brethren the *Methodiſts*, for reforming *Abuſes* in the Nation.—What I propoſe *(ſays he)* with relation to *Courtiers*, is to regulate their *Gains* according to their *Merit*, as they ſhall make it viſible to the *Court*: With regard to the reſt of the World, to regulate Mens *Expences* by their *Fortunes*; to retrench *Luxuries*, and diſcountenance *Vanities*, as all theſe appear before the *Court* from proper Complaints.

I will explain my Meaning concerning *Courtiers*. We will ſuppoſe a Complaint properly made againſt a *Place-man*. The *Court* muſt then proceed to enquire what Fortune he had upon his Entrance into Buſineſs; whether his Eſtate was, at that Time, in Debt; what have been his *conſtant Expences*; and what is the full Value of his *preſent Poſſeſſions* real and perſonal. In the next Place, they are to be inform'd by *himſelf*, what Services he has done to his Country, whether he has been in moſt Haſte to pay his *own Debt*, or the *Debt of the Nation*.

As no Man ought to make greater Profit of the *Publick*, than it might be ſuppos'd he could have made in a *Profeſſion*; ſo ſuppoſing the *State* to be a *Client* or *Patient*, the *Place-man*'s Gain is to be permitted in Proportion to what he can prove the *Nation* better'd by him in Conſtitution or Wealth; none to be allowed to exceed the Riches acquir'd by *Ratcliff* or *Vernon* in their Practice; all Overplus of *Houſes*, *Temples*, *Parks*, *Lakes*, *Statues*, *Pictures*, *Water Engines*, *Ribbons*, *Jewels*, *Hounds*, *Horſes*, &c. to be forfeited. The *Forfeitures* to be applied, firſt, to the Support of the *Court*, and the Remainder to the *publick Service*. The Party offending to be declar'd a *Ward* during Life. But in Caſe it ſhould appear that the Perſon under Examination had never done any Good, but on many Occaſions Miſchief to his Country; then the *Court* to order, that the *Cook-maid* do cut off his Spurs, if he be above the Degree of an *Eſquire*, and that the *Tipſtaff* do convey him to a ſuperior Judicature, with his Examination pinned to his Skirts.

Malverſation in *private Life* to be thus proceeded againſt. If any Perſon ſhould be accuſed by *Woollen-Draper*, *Butcher*, *Baker*, *Brewer*, *Grocer*, *Taylor*, *Chandler*, *Fiſhmonger*, *Farmer*, *Scavenger*, *Chimney-ſweeper*, *Gold-finder*, *Bookſeller*, *Tinker*, *Broom-maker*, or any other *uſeful Trade* or *Calling*, of Neglect to pay his juſt Debts, at a proper Time, and upon proper Notice, the *Party offending* to be put into *Wardſhip*, *during Pleaſure*; and for the ſecond Offence, *Wardſhip for Life*.

The Court ſhall not be authorized to receive Complaints from *Jewellers*, *French-Cooks*, *Lacemen*, *Wine-coopers*, *Pimps*, *Bawds*, *Pawn-brokers*, or any other Trade or Occupation which is deſtructive, or not neceſſary to Society.

Provided always, that the *Court* in each Enquiry,

quiry, whether of a publick or private Nature, to make Allowance to all Parties for *real Charities* beſtowed upon proper Objects, to the treble Value of the Sum ſo beſtowed.

I can't conclude without telling you that I have lately read an Article from *Spain*, which gives me Diſquiet, concerning ſome Regulations Monſieur *De la Quadra* is making in the *Civil Liſt*, and likewiſe ſetting forth his own Deſire of *Retirement*; from whence I apprehend that he is become a *Methodiſt*; and tho' there is not one of *my Perſuaſion* more delighted with the Increaſe of our Sect, yet as an *Engliſhman* I ſhould be ſtruck with the deepeſt Concern, to find a *Spaniſh Jeſuitical Miniſter* enlighten'd with the Spirit of *Methodiſm*, before our *wiſe Engliſh Proteſtant Stateſmen*.

Common Senſe, Sept. 15. N° 137.

SIR,

I have read, that Q. *Elizabeth*, being very much incenſed with a Book which ſhe look'd on as ſeditious, ask'd Sir *Francis Bacon*, whether he could not find Places in it which might be drawn within Caſe of Treaſon? Whereto that wiſe Man anſwered, That for Treaſon ſurely he found none; but for Felony a great Deal. And when her Majeſty haſtly ask'd, wherein? He anſwered, the Author had committed very apparent Theft; for he had ſtollen moſt of the Phraſes from *Cornelius Tacitus*, and tranſlated them into *Engliſh*, and put them into his Text. In this Light I look on *Caleb* and yourſelf, as guilty ſometimes of Felony only; there being no Smatch of Treaſon in ſhowing the good People of *England* the Danger of a corrupt Miniſtry and Senate, in the Perſons of *Pallas* and the *Roman* Senate, *&c.*

I have lately been reading *Juvenal*'s 4th Satire, where I find a Deſcription of ſo compleat a Junto of wicked Miniſters, and ſuch egregious Trifling, as I believe no Age can parallel, much leſs can it be thought applicable to any Chriſtian King's Council, unleſs one of the Characters may be thought ſtill to ſubſiſt among us, which is, that of a Whiſperer. *Criſpinus*, who had a true Taſte of Luxury, is repreſented as giving 6000 *Seſterces*, or 14*l.* of our Money, for a Fiſh. How muſt we ſuppoſe *Domitian* himſelf eat, ſays the Poet, when an upſtart Buffoon could afford to give ſo much for one Diſh? Luxury was grown to ſuch a Height in this Reign, that ſeveral Privy-Counſellors gave it as their Opinion, that whatſoever extraordinary Fiſh was caught, of Courſe belonged to the Exchequer; the Satiriſt's words are, *Res Fiſci eſt*, which I think muſt be ſo tranſlated. Thus did theſe flattering Scoundrels indulge the luxurious Appetite of their Emperor, at the Coſt of poor Fiſhermens Properties; and *Domitian*, well knowing what ſervile Creatures he had to do with, on his being preſented with a fine Fiſh, ſent out regular Summons to theſe wiſe Miniſters, to come to Council and give their ſeveral Opinions concerning the dreſſing it.

Juvenal has exquiſitely well deſcribed the mutual Diſtruſt and Diffidence between a Prince and ſuch a Council.——*Vocantur Ergo in Concilium Proceres, quos oderat ille. In quorum facie miſeræ, magnæque ſedebat Pallor amicitiæ.* But, in particular, he has given us the Character of a Whiſperer in the Perſon of *Pompeius Ruffus: Sævior illo*, Pompeius, *tenui jugulos aperire ſuſurro.* All which Poetry I would rather have the *Gazetteers* tranſlate, as they are ſo great Maſters of the Claſſicks, and by that Means their Patron need not fear being wronged in any Thing which he may imagine alludes to him: In the mean Time, I ſhall obſerve, that this villanous Art of whiſpering a Man out of the World has taken Place above 1500 Years, and it is much to be feared it ſtill ſubſiſts in corrupt and wicked Miniſters, to the Prejudice of the greateſt and beſt of Subjects, and the Detriment of Princes, by depriving them of the moſt faithful Servants both in Court and Camp. 'Tis more than probable that this miſchievous Talent robb'd this Nation of the Life of that great and wiſe Man, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Terror of *Spain*. —I thought of carrying this Subject farther, but, upon ſecond Thoughts, I ſhall leave it to you to give the Publick ſome proper Reflections upon that Kind of Court Vermin, call'd Whiſperers.

§. *To the Author of* Common Senſe.

SIR,

YOU are in hot Purſuit of *Common Senſe*, I ſee. I like you for it, and have a great Mind to join the *Hue and Cry*: But, before I do, I have one Boon to aſk of you. It is, that you would uſe all the Arguments you are Maſter of, to prove to me, that *Writers cure*, and *Readers* are *cured* of Vice and Folly. Will your Diſſertation upon *Avarice* open the Eyes of one covetous Wretch; or your ſmart Touches upon *Abſurdities in Dreſs*, work any Reformation among the Ladies? ——I doubt not. I myſelf have read all the Books I could ever meet with againſt *Talkativeneſs*, and yet my Friends tell me I am one of the greateſt *Talkers* who frequent our Coffee-Houſe. Anſwer me, I pray you, Whether reading, or hearing Preachers, or Philoſophers, againſt this ſame provoking Vice of ſilly and leaky Loquacity (for I hate it in others, tho' I am guilty of it myſelf) ever mends People, or does any Thing at all indeed towards getting them out of it?

I have read and heard a great many fine Things, in almoſt all Languages, againſt *Intemperance in eating and drinking*; I have ſeen the Force of the Arguments, and been fully convinced, that Gluttony and Drunkenneſs are the moſt naſty, and beaſtly, and murderous

derous Things in the World; and yet when I meet with a good Dinner, or a Bottle of good Wine, and like my Company, and think they like me, why I muſt own to you, that, tho' I have a thouſand Precepts in my Budget againſt going too far, not one of them comes into my *Head* till next Morning, when I find, at waking, that it is much out of Order. Then do I moſt philoſophically condemn myſelf for a Fool, and ſee very clearly, that *Temperance* is the Foundation of all Virtue.

Oh, dear *Common Senſe!* what a wretched State it is, for a Man to be ſo deep'y immerſed in the Dirt and Mud of *Senſuality*, and *Debauchery*, and *low Purſuits*, as ſeldom or never to lift up his Head and *bubble*, to ſee what a damn'd Condition he has brought himſelf to? 'Tis then the Wretch begins *carere culpa*, as *Perſius* ſays, juſt when he *gives over* making Reflexions upon his deplorable Condition; when he does *ſtupere vitio*.

——*Neſcit quid perdat, & alto*
Demerſus ſumma rurſus non bullit in unda.

Oh, Words admirable, for Beauty and Strength, up to the *dernier* Point of Perfection! there's nothing finer in all Antiquity; and a Commentary upon them would be an excellent Lecture of Morality. I myſelf, not yet fifty Years old, do not *bubble* up above twice or thrice a Week. When I do, 'tis two or three Hours before Dinner, after I have gone cool and ſober to Bed. But alas! one muſt go out, one muſt eat and drink, one is tempted by Company; then down you ſink many Fathoms. But if, beſides, a Man is ſo ſilly as to go to *Phillis*, he is almoſt ſure to be quite demerſed next Day, and to be in a State worſe, much worſe than Annihilation. Let me aſk you farther, what you'll ſay or do to the Man who drinks, and curſes himſelf for drinking when the Glaſs is at his Lips? 'Tis my own Caſe frequently, and that of a thouſand thouſand others, no Doubt.

And yet ſuch are among the *Non-deſperates*. They ſtill reflect; they wiſh they could, but cannot; they make freſh and hearty Reſolutions every Day, and every Day break them. They do not *carere culpa*, but they ſoon will. They emerge now and then indeed, keep their Heads above Water but a very little While, and then plunge down again into the *Cœnum* rather deeper than before. It is certainly the hardeſt Thing in the World to get *out clean*, after one has been *in* a good While.

But hold; the Veſſel leaks, and I find I am in Danger of running into Impertinence. I will e'en read over again the Reflexions of *Aulus Gellius*, Lib. 1. cap. 14. upon *Loquacity*, which I have peruſed often with great *Pleaſure*, and I fear but little *Profit*. 'Tis indeed very fine: But I cannot help making one ſhort Remark upon it, that *Gellius* uſes too many Words, while he is ſhewing the Folly and Diſagreeableneſs of *Loquacity*:——Tho' I really think Abundance of *Words* can never be better employed, than againſt *Abundance of Words*.

Craſtſman, Sept. 15. N°. 688.

Of the King of Spain's MANIFESTO.

OUR Affairs are at laſt brought to a Criſis, which hath long been expected; for a *Manifeſto* is commonly the Fore-runner of a *Declaration of War*, and we have very few Inſtances of Matters being accommodated between Princes, after coming to ſuch Extremities, without *Force of Arms*.

This is a melancholly Conſideration, in our preſent Circumſtances, laden with an *heavy Debt*, oppreſs'd with a Multitude of *grievous Taxes*, depriv'd of many valuable Branches of *foreign Trade*, and conſequently declining in our *Manufactures at home*; for notwithſtanding what a late Writer in the *Gazetteer* hath advanced, concerning the *Improvements of our* Trade, Navigation, *and* Manufactures; *for* 20 Years *paſt*, the contrary is demonſtrably true.——When was there a greater Appearance of *Poverty* in all Parts of the Kingdom? When were *Rents* worſe paid, or more *Farms* thrown up? When were there ſo many *Bankruptcies*, *Inſolvencies*, or *Diſtreſſes in private Families*?

But the worſt Circumſtance of all is, that the *Balance of Power in Europe* is, in a Manner, totally deſtroy'd, and hath render'd it almoſt impoſſible for us to recover *that Alliance*, which not only enabled us to carry on the *laſt War* with ſo much Succeſs, but even contributed very much to the Acceſſion of the *preſent Royal Family* to the Throne, and will be the beſt Support of it; for whilſt there is an *equal Diviſion of Power* amongſt the Princes of *Europe*, there will be no Occaſion for a *numerous ſtanding Army*, which is always burthenſome, and too commonly breeds Diſaffection.

I wiſh we may not have Reaſon to repent of our cloſe Conjunction with *France*, for ſeveral Years, which aggrandiz'd that *powerful Neighbour* to a Degree beyond what was ever known before, and reduc'd the *Emperor* ſo low, that it oblig'd him to accept of a very *diſadvantageous Peace*, both to *himſelf* and all *Europe*. I likewiſe wiſh that we may not ſoon feel the Effects of conniving at the Reparation of *Dunkirk*, which was ſo ſeaſonably complained of, on *one Side*, and ſo induſtriouſly ſtifled on the *other*; for if *France* ſhould take Part with *Spain* in our preſent Diſputes, may it not prove as peſtilent a Neſt of *Privateers*, and there moleſt our *Trade* as much, as it did in the *laſt War*?

Had we made Uſe of our Fleet againſt *Spain*, nine or ten Years ago, inſtead of employ-

ploying it in her Service, by convoying *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*, for the Settlement of *Don Carlos*; or had we ſupported the *Emperor*, when attack'd there, it is almoſt impoſſible to ſuppoſe we could have fail'd of Succeſs. But it was always foretold, that our manifeſt Dread of a *War*, and continual Expedients to avoid it, were the moſt likely Means to involve us in one at laſt, after we had exhauſted ourſelves to preſerve an outward Shew of *Peace*.

This leads me to the Conſideration of the *late Convention with* Spain, and her *preſent Manifeſto*, which is the natural Conſequence of it; for as it could not be reaſonably ſuppos'd that the *Convention* would ever be executed, on *our Part*, ſo it was eaſy to foreſee that *Spain* would not depart from a Tittle of what ſhe had obtain'd by it.

One of the *Gazetteers*, indeed, obſerves that the *Convention* was found to be ſo honourable and advantageous to *Great Britain*, that *Spain* would not put it in Execution. But the Court of *Spain* is ſo far from being of the ſame Opinion, that the whole *Manifeſto* is founded upon our *Non-execution* of it; and, having got the *Treaty* mutually ſign'd and executed, ſeems reſolv'd to hold our Noſe to the Grindſtone, and does not care to have *its Heels quite tript up*; (as the *Tranſlator* phraſes it, without any Foundation in the *Original*;) for the *Catholick King* aſſerts, in his *Manifeſto*, that notwithſtanding the pretended Contraventions on the Part of *England*, neither of the *two Parties* can free themſelves from the Obligations of the *Convention*; becauſe as it was form'd by a *common Conſent*, there muſt be a *mutual Conſent* to diſſolve it. But as *Spain* inſiſts that the *Convention* is annull'd on *our Side*, by the *S. S. Company*'s Refuſal to pay their Claim of 68,000*l.* and ſince it is equally vacated, on *their Side*, by refuſing to pay us the 95,000*l.*; it is to be hop'd that no *Britiſh Miniſter* will ever ſuffer it to be mention'd again in any future Negotiation.

But how could it be expected, that a *Treaty* ſhould be of any long Duration, when the moſt material Article of it is underſtood in a quite different Senſe by the *contracting Parties*? *Our Miniſter* aſſerted in a *publick Aſſembly*, that the *Declaration* and *Proteſt* of the *Spaniſh Court*, concerning the 68,000*l.* to be paid by the *S. S. Company*, had no more to do with the *Convention* than with the *Grand Alliance*. Whereas the Court of *Spain* inſiſts, from the Words of the *Convention*, *that this* 68,000*l.* *was a* ſettled, ſtated, executive Debt, *payable within a ſhort Time*; *that it was the* Baſis *and* Foundation *of the* Convention; *a Condition not to be eluded, under the Nullity of which the* Signing *was to be proceeded on, and* not otherwiſe. However, I cannot yet be induced to believe, as it is inſinuated in the *Manifeſto*, and ſaid to be publickly declar'd by *Don. Geraldino*, before his Departure, that the firſt Hint of demanding 68,000*l.* from the *S. S. Company*, aroſe from our *own Miniſter* at home.

The *Country Party* are fully juſtified in their Apprehenſions about our Tranſactions with *Spain*, for ſeveral Years paſt; and having been always uniform in their Speeches and Writings on *that Subject*, are at Liberty to proceed with the ſame Honour and Conſiſtency. But how can the *other Party* anſwer the *Spaniſh Manifeſto*, without tacking about, and borrowing their Arguments from *thoſe*, whom they have long endeavour'd to repreſent as *Enemies to their Country*? What can *that Man* ſay, in particular, who was pleas'd to congratulate us upon the *Convention*, as a Treaty, *which had obtained more for us than could be expected at the End of a* ſucceſsful War; that the *Spaniards* were oblig'd to *pay us Coſts*; and that we have it now under the *Great Seal* of *Spain*? Theſe were all the mighty Advantages obtain'd, in Conſequence of that memorable Sentence, at the Concluſion of the foregoing Seſſion: *How ſhall I be ever able to ſhew my Face again in* this Houſe, *if I do not procure Juſtice to the Nation, and ample Satisfaction to our injur'd Merchants?*

This Gentleman is certainly very much oblig'd to the Author of a *late Addreſs to the Freeholders*, &c. which is the beſt Vindication of him from the repeated Charge (in the Manifeſto) of *unreaſonable Demands*, *Want of Confidence in the Spaniſh Court*, and backing the *S. S. Company* in their Refuſal to pay the 68,000*l.* whereas it appears in that Pamphlet, that no *Miniſter* ever made more Condeſcenſions in order to avoid a Rupture; and it is remarkable, that even the very *Aſſiegue Ships* arriv'd ſafe in Port, tho' they were met at Sea by almoſt every Body, except *thoſe*, who were appointed to look out for them. The *Manifeſto* itſelf very plainly intimates, that the *Miniſter* was ready enough to execute every Article of the *Convention*, if he had not been compell'd to alter his Meaſures by the *Clamours of the* People, and the *Party in Oppoſition to* him, who were highly enrag'd at it. Thus it ſtands in the *Original*, tho' the *Clamours of the* People are entirely left out of the *Tranſlation*, for Reaſons to be eaſily gueſs'd.

One would be apt to think that the Court of *Spain* had copied their Reflexions on our *Merchants*, and their Arguments againſt a free Navigation in the *American Seas*, from the *worthy Writers* in the *Gazetteer*, who have furniſh'd them with abundant Matter upon this Head, for ſeveral Years paſt. *Thieves*, *Robbers*, *Buccaneers*, and *Pyrates*, are the beſt Names they could afford them; and they have even gone ſo far as to aſſert, that the *Engliſh Seamen* have been guilty of more Inhumanity towards the *Spaniards*, than the *Spaniards* have been towards *us*——But to return.

If the Breach of the *Convention* was really owing to the *Party in Oppoſition to the* Miniſter, the Nation is very much oblig'd to them; for even a *War* is certainly preferable to a *Peace*, upon ſuch ignominious Terms.

But pray let me aſk what became of *another Treaty*, negotiated with *Spain*, about a Year ago, which may be ſuppos'd to have been much more advantageous to us for two Reaſons, *firſt*, as it was ſaid to be ſigned by moſt of the Members of what is commonly call'd the *Cabinet Council*; and *ſecondly*, becauſe the Court of *Spain* refus'd it? What Authority had Mr. *Keene* to lay aſide *that Treaty*, and ſubſtitute *another* in its Room, ſign'd by *himſelf only*? How came he to give up not only a *national Treaty*, but the Rights of a *Company*, in whoſe Service he had long been profitably employ'd? What a Figure do we ſee him make, thus yielding up a Point of ſuch Conſequence, as *Miniſter Plenipotentiary*; and then, as *Commiſſary Plenipotentiary*, deſiring to have it declar'd, that the King of *Spain* had not a Power to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento Contract*, as being a *national Treaty*? I will not take upon myſelf to ſay whether Mr. *Keene* had any Powers, or not, or indeed whether any Body could legally give him any Powers for ſuch a Procedure; but as this Affair is at preſent very dark and myſterious, it is hoped it well be thoroughly ſifted in a *proper Place*, and the whole Tranſaction fully explain'd to the World.

In former Times it was always uſual, upon ſuch important Occaſions, to employ Men of the *higheſt Rank* and *Eminence*; who, by their *Dignity*, might add a Weight to their *Negotiations abroad*; and, by their *Fortunes*, give a Pledge to their *own Country* for the Integrity of their Conduct. This was certainly a wiſe Precaution, which ought always to be obſerv'd; for a Man of *mean Birth*, and *low Fortune*, may be tempted to ſacrifice the *publick Intereſt* to *his own*; or, at leaſt, become the Tool of a *Miniſter*, by whoſe indulgent hand he was rais'd.

To conclude, ſince Matters are now come to ſuch an Extremity, as appears by the *Spaniſh Manifeſto*; and ſince *thoſe* who brought us into theſe diſaſtrous Circumſtances, ſeem to be aſham'd of their *former Timidity*, by apologizing for an *Alteration of Meaſures*; it becomes every *Briton*, who hath a due Regard for the Honour and Intereſt of his Country, firſt to probe the Wound to the Bottom, and then unanimouſly join Hand and Heart in Support of the *common Cauſe*.

Craftſman, Sept. 22. N° 689.

SIR,

IF any one ſhould ſay there was a Deſign on Foot *to have no more Parliaments*, it would be thought a very diſaffected Speech; and yet, to ſay that the preſent Houſe of Commons intend to continue themſelves a Year or two beyond their ſeptennial Period, or to take off all Limitation, as to Time of Continuance, is ſaying what, in effect, amounts to the ſame Thing; and therefore I conclude there cannot be any ſuch Intent. For, no doubt, if ſuch Attempt was made and ſucceeded, the People would, in deſperate Rage, univerſally wiſh and deſire that there might be no more Parliaments at all; upon ſeeing the moſt valuable Branch of our Liberties, the *Freedom* and *frequent Election* of the *Houſe of Commons*, which was recover'd by the *Revolution*, and aſſur'd to us by the glorious K. *William* in the *Triennial Act*, and ſo left unto us by Queen *Anne*; they ſeeing, I ſay, this Branch of our Liberties more than half taken away by the *Septennial Bill*, and then at laſt the Security of it totally defeated by *another Step*, would renounce the empty Name and uſeleſs Forms of Freedom, and would deſire that ſuch deluſive Shadows might be taken away too.

Some have thought, that in caſe our Parliaments become never ſo corrupt, and at the Direction and Devotion of a Miniſter, it would be ſtill beſt for the People to preſerve the Forms of Freedom, and to wait and ſee whether Time and Chance would not throw up ſome good Law, by which we might recover our antient Securities again; and this may perhaps in ſome Situations be a right Conduct; but in general, I am not of that Mind; and for this Reaſon among others, *viz.* becauſe, in ſuch Caſe, while the old Forms remain, the wicked Inſtruments of our Deſtruction would continue feeding on the Baits which had allur'd them; but when once the Forms were taken away too, they would be the firſt Sacrifices; as they were rich, they would be the moſt tempting Preys; and as they had been the Cauſes of every one's Inſecurity, they would be the moſt popular Objects for Sequeſtrations.

My main Intent in this Paper, is to ſhew, that beſides the *Place Bill*, intended to be ſtruggled for in the enſuing Seſſion, there will be wanting one Thing more, to unite and content the Minds of thoſe who are concern'd for the publick Welfare. What I mean, is the Revival of the *Triennial Act*; being perſuaded, that as our Conſtitution, conſiſting of a King, a Nobility, and a Repreſentative of the People, is as good a Form of Government as the Wit of Man can contrive; ſo, on the contrary, if ever the Repreſentative Body ſhould, by Corruption, or thro' Want of frequent Election, ceaſe to be a true Repreſentative of the People, it would become as ill a Form of Government as could ſubſiſt, and would moſt probably end in abſolute Monarchy.

He concludes with an Extract from the Debates in 1675, ſhewing the Expediency of frequent Elections, ſome Part of which we have formerly inſerted.

[*The reſt of the Eſſays in our next.*]

To Capt. ———, *on hearing of his having taken out* Letters of Marque.

WHEN ſtormy winds, and boiſterous ſeas
The daſtar'd mariner * affright,
To live at home in reſt and eaſe,
Free from the dangers of the night,
Is th' only boon that he'll requeſt;
Spare but the man, take all the reſt.

No more to dangerous waves he'll truſt
His life, his all, his gold, his ſtore;
Rather on land he'll live, and ruſt,
Contemn'd, deſpis'd, inglorious, poor;
Than ſally forth again for wealth,
And damnify both ſtock, and health.

But ſince th' inſulting *Spaniard* dares
True *Engliſh* fortitude defy;
Nor ſtorms, nor winds, nor death he fears;
Nay, in his country's cauſe he'll die,
Rather than live thus dead to fame,
And tremble at a *Spaniſh* name.

To arms, to arms, he'll bravely cry,
Aſſert your bleeding country's right;
Dare to be men, all toils defy,
Revenge, revenge, e'en dying fight:
Then will victorious *England* take
Madrid, and *Haddock* prove a *Drake*.

In vain his former vows and tears,
To *Spaniſh* regions he'll away;
With mellow punch he drowns his fears,
And every moment ſeems a day;
Farewel, ye fields, ye groves! again,
Tho' drown'd at laſt, he'll try the main.

Thus various, fickle, changing are
Our Inclinations, humours, minds;
Like troubled waters never clear,
Inconſtant, wavering as the winds:
Our fears are old, our hopes are new,
And both as often falſe, as true.

J. RECINO.

An Epiſtle to the Rev. Mr. John Cary, *upon his Retreat into* Cornwall.

WHILST miters, canons, blunderbuſs, and all,
Thy virtue ſlight, or triumph in thy fall;
Divert true merit's due by artful lies, [ſpiſe;
Or, wanting worth themſelves, thy worth de-
Blind to that learning which the world commends,
Yet not aſham'd to call themſelves thy friends:
The faithful muſe ſhall not betray her truſt,
Nor mingle with th' ungrateful and unjuſt,
But ſtill attend thee to thy calm retreat,
And, if ſhe envies, 'tis thy *rural ſeat*.
Could'ſt thou but cringe and fawn like other ſlaves,
Bow to the vile, and be the tool of knaves;
A ſcarf, e'er this, loſt virtue had repaid,
And wrapp'd it in an everlaſting ſhade;
The muſe had pity'd what ſhe now admires,
And ſcorn'd that friendſhip which ſhe now deſires;
Thy name enroll'd among the mean and baſe,
The laſt in virtue, tho' the firſt in place.
A mind ſo form'd could diſappointments bear,
And look on promiſes as — what they are,
Nor of a courtier's broken faith complain,
More than of jilting *Flavia*'s cold diſdain.
True virtue by ſuch trials is diſplay'd,
The more oppreſt the more illuſtrious made:
A heart like thine wants not the ſolar ray
To force its tender virtue into day,
But full of innate warmth it ſhoots and ſprings
E'er *zephyr* blows, or *Philomela* ſings,
Like the fam'd *Glaſton* thorn, defies the cold,
And bloſſoms in the winter, ſtrong and bold.
Titles and dignities are not the things,
From real worth alone true honour ſprings.
Did zealous *Peter*, or did honeſt *Paul*,
Loll in a deſk, or ſlumber in a ſtall?
Tho' ſainted now, on earth they had no *place*,
No miter, croſier, virger, ſilver mace, [fed
But preach'd the word, and whilſt the flock they
They pray'd and labour'd for their daily bread:
Learn hence thoſe vain diſtinctions to deſpiſe,
Nor think by mean and ſervile arts to riſe.
Content with food and raiment let me live!
'Tis what a biſhop's bleſſing cannot give.
Hard is our fate in this devoted town,
Small honour in, none paid unto, the gown.
To pleaſe in ſuch a ſphere, who can pretend,
When, what this man approves will that offend?
Such diff'rent parties, diff'rent int'reſts jar,
Virtue can ſcarce be neuter in the war,
Between the giddy factions rudely toſt,
And, ah! too oft amidſt the ſtruggle loſt.
Thrice happy you, who from theſe tumults free
Enjoy at length the ſweets of liberty,
Can call your time, your friends, your ſoul your own,
Nor fear a party's rage, or courtier's frown.
Let ſtateſmen rule us with an iron rod,
And ſerve their country as they ſerve their God,
Abuſe the ſmiles and favours of the cr—n,
And riſk the publick ſafety for their own,
Still be the ſport of *Fr—ce*, the dupes of *Sp—n*,
And only ſcare the *Nereids* of the main;
Let nations murmur, or let *P——y* baul,
And with his thunder ſhake St. *St——n*'s wall;
Safe from th' alarms and tumults of the great,
No fears diſturb St. *Winow*'s ſoft retreat,
Huſh'd all around, but *zephyr*'s gentle breeze,
And the ſweet warblers on the neighb'ring trees;
Or, if loud murmurs wake the peaceful ſhores,
'Tis only *auſter* blows, or *ocean* roars.
There in the vale of peace ſhalt thou repoſe,
Secure from treach'rous friends or furious foes;
There *Milton*, *Virgil*, *Pope*, and *Homer* read,
And join the living with th' illuſtrious dead,

* *Otium Divos rogat*, &c. Hor. *Lib.* II. *Ode* 16.

Compare their wits, and whilſt their rage admire,
Catch from the glowing page celeſtial fire;
Or, more retir'd, the ſacred books explore,
T'improve the wiſe, or teach th' unletter'd poor;
Conſult the learn'd, or thy own thoughts compoſe,
And breathe them forth in animated proſe;
While thy own flock its paſtor's voice ſhall hear,
(Not left unto another's venal care)
Learn wiſdom from the muſick of thy tongue,
With ſenſe melodious, and with ſweetneſs ſtrong:
So ſhalt thou merit and enjoy their love,
And whilſt their bliſs purſue, thy own improve.

Ex—n. PHILARETUS.

To a LADY, *who ſaid I had forgot her. In Imitation of* Virgil *and* Ovid *.

FOrget *Roſelia!* Sure it cannot be.
The *ſhrine* deſerted by the *devotee!*
Forbid it heav'n!—as ſoon may *Blue-ſtring* ceaſe
To guard *Britannia* from inglorious peace;
As ſoon the wakeful ſun forget to riſe,
And leave, to ſhine for him, *Roſelia*'s eyes;
Debts be remember'd by a thoughtleſs lord;
Or *ſtateſmen*, by a blunder, keep their word;
As ſoon may *ſwine* forſake their native ſtye;
As ſoon may *ſwaggering bullies* ceaſe to lie;
Spruce danglers quit *bohea* for nauſeous *port*;
Or *venal ſenators* oppoſe a *court*;
Peter his griping uſury give o'er,
As beautiful *Roſelia* charm no more.

Written on the firſt View of Tunbridge-Wells, *in* Kent. *By Mr.* Lockman.

CUrious, the bookiſh man ſurveying
The ſhiftings of this gaudy ſcene;
The tatling, gaming, dancing, praying,
Says, what can this ſtrange medley mean?

As in each new-found nook he pries,
Amaz'd, he ſhews a ſcornful air:
And, to himſelf, indignant cries,
This muſt be, *Vanity*, thy fair.

Not ſo the belle, in faſhions ſkill'd,
And a great traveller in romance.
To her the walks, balls, play-rooms yield
Raptures, which all her ſoul entrance.

Still as ſhe treads the fairy-round,
And the gay objects re-appear:
Sweet bliſs! (ſhe cries) thy ſeat I've found;
Eliſium can be only here.

Between this pair, who form the ſong,
The bard decides thus at firſt ſight:
The belle's idea may be wrong,
And the pale book-worm's mayn't be right.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

HAving lately ſent you ſome Lines under the plain and (I hope) inoffenſive Title of *Country Innocence*; (ſee p. 200, 251, 354.) I've now ventur'd to trouble you with a few more, under that univerſally-agreeable one of *Health and Content*. The former (I confeſs) look a litt'e giddy and fantaſtical, at firſt Sight. And, to the polite Sparks of the Town, the poor petulant Poet might perhaps appear (like moſt other Ruſtics,) ſomewhat rude and unmannerly. However, there's no great Harm (I hope,) in being an humble Advocate for *rural Simplicity*; or, in helping, all one can, to ſuppreſs (by whatever Means,) the very extravagant *Pride*, and inſupportable *Luxury* of the preſent Age.

As for the following blank Verſes,—they are of a more ſerious Sort; and were wrote with a ſincere View of benefiting both myſelf and others, when under the Preſſure of any *Worldly Calamity*, or *Bodily Indiſpoſition*; —of reconciling us, in ſome Meaſure, to the *light Afflictions* of this *momentary Life*;—and of prevailing on us to *run with Patience*, and even Chearfulneſs, the ſhort, (but ſignificant,) *Race, that is ſet before us.*—If you think, they're likely to be of *any ſort* of Service, you'll perhaps candidly admit them into one of your Collections.

I am, SIR,
Sept. 15. 1739. *Your faithful Correſpondent, And humble Servant.*

HEALTH *and* CONTENT. *A* Soliloquy. [*Being the Subſtance of ſome ſerious Thoughts, that occurr'd to the Author, when on a ſick Bed; but under a comfortable Expectation of a ſpeedy Recovery.*]

O HEALTH!—thou beſt of bleſſings here below!
Thou firſt, thou choiceſt of all outward comforts!
How ſhall I fitly celebrate thy praiſe?
How, ſing thy charming worth, O ſweet *content*,
Thou prime ingredient of true happineſs?
Bleſt emblem of that calm, pacific ſtate,
That unconceiv'd felicity to come!
Delicious antepaſt of boundleſs bleſſings,—
Of thoſe ſupreme, compleat celeſtial joys,
Tranſported ſaints, with rapture, then ſhall feel,
When the pure *ſouls of righteous men made perfect*
Shall with refulgent *bodies* be rejoin'd;—
Bodies, ſo bright, ſo vaſtly *glorify'd*,
In ſweet and *ſpiritual* manner ſo reform'd,
That, with ſuch rarely correſponding partners,

* *Ante leves ergo*, &c. Virg. *Ecl.* 1. *Cana prius gelido*, &c. Ov. Triſt. *Lib.* V. *El.* 13.

Rejoicing

Rejoicing *ſouls* may ſuitably aſſociate.
Such is the happy caſe,—at leaſt,—(ſo far
As temp'ral joys may fitly be compar'd
With ſatisfactions infinitely ſweet,
And bliſs extatic, boundleſs, and eternal:)
To ſuch an heart-rejoicing ſtate, as this,
We, ſurely, may ſuppoſe ſome ſmall reſemblance,
When the glad ſoul is quiet and ſerene,—
When all its various, briſk, enliven'd faculties
Are freſh and vigorous, free and undiſturb'd;
And, thro' each vein, pure, well-attemper'd blood,
With ſtrenuous beat, and ſober pace, purſues
Its conſtant, duly-circulating courſe.
These are the rare, the raviſhing effects,
Which, now and then, moſt happily reſult
From two ſuch bleſſings, in conjunction met,
As perfect *ſoundneſs*, both of *mind*, and *body*.
But, ah! how ſeldom are they both conjoin'd!
In this afflictive world, this *vale of tears*,
What common things are *ſickneſs*, *grief*, and *pain*, [*groans!*
Deſponding thoughts, deep *ſighs*, and dreadful
What frequent, fearful *maladies* infeſt
Our daily-dying part,—this *mortal body!*
What dire *diſtempers* indicate the doom,
It muſt expect,—a ſpeedy diſſolution;
Still pointing out, to our diſtracted view,
(O horrid ſight!) the griſly *king of terrors!*
Nor is, alas! that nobler part of *man*,
That principle divine, at all exempted
From dreadful ills:—in this vain, ſinful world,
The *ſoul* itſelf is ſubject to *diſeaſes!*
And, of a far more diſmal, dang'rous kind,
Than what, with fierce attack, thus overturn
These mouldring monuments of human frailty,
And cauſe 'em, ſoon, to mingle with the duſt.
How oft does *pride*,—th' infernal, fertil parent
Of ſin and folly, wickedneſs and vice,
Prove the direct *forerunner* of *deſtruction*,
And *an high ſpirit go before a fall!*
O! how, beyond all bounds, does wild *ambition*,
And the vain *puff* of popular applauſe,
Swel each aſpiring, proud, *inſatiate* ſoul?
The *luſt* of lawleſs *pow'r*, and *thirſt* of *gain*,—
How do they fill the world with endleſs rapine!
How is the mean, the *narrow*, *ſordid* ſoul
With paltry views, ſtill, wretchedly *contracted!*
How *ſtarves* the *miſer* in the midſt of plenty!
With what a wanton, prodigal *profuſeneſs*,
Do others oft *conſume upon their luſts*,
Their hoarded heaps of baſe, *unrighteous mammon*,—
And (ſtead of wiſely *making friends* thereof,)
Indulge, in *ſenſual* ſort, their *brutiſh* fancy,
And ſacrifice their gold to *guilty paſſions!*
With *front elate*, man views his *proſp'rous* fortune;
But, when *adverſity*, with rueful face,
Comes ruſhing on, he ſinks into *deſpair*.
If the ſad proſpect of approaching ills,
Of woful want, and conſequent contempt,
Diſplay itſelf in deep and diſmal colours;—
Or, if triumphant villany appear,
In glitt'ring pomp, to her offended view,—
How is the ſoul then fill'd with *dire alarms!*
How rack'd with *envy*, and *enrag'd* with wrongs!
To what a dreadful precipice are ſome,
By bold *preſumption* hurry'd!—and, again,—
(Thus are we vainly bent upon extreams!)
What *doubts* perplex the *melancholy* mind!
How is it overwhelm'd with *cares* and *fears!*
But, if poor, mortal, miſerable man
(As oft it haps,) be, all at once, *afflicted*,
Both in his *mind*, and *body*, and *eſtate*;
O! how *compleatly wretched* is he, then,—
In what a labyrinth of woe bewilder'd!
[*To be continu'd.*]

The CHOICE *of a* WIFE.

MARCUS, the pleaſure of your future life
Depends on chooſing, prudently, a wife.
This great concern demands your utmoſt care,
Would you avoid the torments others ſhare:
The muſe, at your command, with pleaſure brings [ſings.
Her help, to aid your choice,—and thus ſhe
Such be her birth, as beſt will ſuit your own,
Neither too mean, nor of too great renown;
For ſo prepar'd for all the turns of fate,
With decent joy ſhe'll meet a proſp'rous ſtate;
Or ſhould the meagre hand of pale diſtreſs,
With pinching want, on every ſide oppreſs,
Unmov'd at fortune's frowns, ſhe'll ſit and ſmile,
With chearful patience half your cares beguile.
Let beauty's pleaſing ſmiles her face adorn,
Gracefully modeſt, like the bluſhing morn;
Soft be the melting muſick of her tongue,
Artleſs and kind, ſweet as the *Siren*'s ſong;
Her actions free, her thoughts not vainly great,
Nor idly mean, but betwixt both compleat;
Eaſy her ſhape, majeſtick be her mien,
Moving reſpect and love, whene'er ſhe's ſeen:
Her temper affable, ſerene, and gay,
O'er which let no tempeſtuous paſſion ſway;
Aw'd by right reaſon, let her act and move,
Aiming at nothing, but to keep your love;
And unconſtrain'd in virtue's paths go on,
With piety to God, and truth to man:
You then agreeably your days will ſpend,
Finding in her, at once, a wife and friend.
But ſhould you, *Marcus*, mindleſs of your fate,
From the vain crowd of females chooſe a mate;
Confin'd to nonſenſe, vanity and pride,
Eternal noiſe, and fifty ills beſide,
(Altho' at firſt the flirting thing may pleaſe,)
You'll ſoon regret the fatal loſs of peace.
Or if, ambitious, you ſhould wed a dame,
Who by her birth preeminence may claim,
At every diſappointment, think to hear,
In boiſterous language ſounded in your ear,

Of

Of all that her fam'd anceſtors have done,
The many laurels which her grandſire won:
From hence, the nat'ral conſequence, will flow
Her *condeſcenſion*, when ſhe ſtoop'd to you:
"And dare you now refuſe?"
Or, ſhould you, to avoid this grating pain,
Elect a maiden from the meaneſt train,
No lovely proſpect on your choice will wait,
For dirty thoughts, attend a dunghil ſtate;
The ſad depravity of birth will prove
Too deeply fix'd, for fortune to remove.

Sept. 5, 1739. *S. G.*

On MIRANDA.

WHEN tuneful *Orpheus* ſung the fair one's praiſe,
And hills, and vales, reſounded with his lays,
When warm'd by muſick's animating ſound,
The feather'd choir did his fam'd harp ſurround,
Each jealous maid, a deep reſentment ſhew'd,
And rage inceſſant in each boſom glow'd;
Each conſcious of her charms the man upbraids,
Each angry fair reviles the fairer maids.
Oh ſhould the poet's hapleſs fate be mine,
Should ev'ry injur'd maid againſt me join,
Tho' hills and vales reſounded with my lays,
Still would I ſing *Miranda*'s matchleſs praiſe.
Oh thou, my guardian angel, heav'n-born maid,
Erato fair, my feeble fancy aid;
Still may I hope for thy peculiar care,
To raiſe my infant voice, and charm the fair.
Convey, ye ſouthern winds, thro' diſtant glades,
O'er craggy mountains, and thro' lonely ſhades,
Convey o'er woody wilds, *Miranda*'s fame,
Ye lowly vales, reſound the fair one's name.
M ild as the queen of *Cytherean* groves, [proves;
I s the dear maid, whom moſt my ſoul ap-
S o great her pow'r, that all are ſighing ſlaves,
S he kills at pleaſure, and at pleaſure ſaves.
I n *Layton*'s ſhades, bleſt ſcenes of ſocial love,
E nvy'd ſhe dwells, tho' all her charms approve.
N ot *Ida*'s ſhades, where wanton *Venus* ſtray'd,
N or *Paphos*' groves, enclos'd a lovelier maid:
Y oung and as blithe as roſy-footed *May*,
T rue without art, without coquetry gay;
E ncircled by a croud of ſylvan ſwains,
N o day but what new conqueſts ſhe obtains.
C eaſe then, unhappy youths, nor hope to gain
H er, whom ye ſigh for, for your ſighs are vain.

COMUS.

To a young LADY, who ſpoke in Defence of LIBERTY.

LIBER ut eſſe velim, ſuaſiſti, pulchra Maria;
Ut liber maneam, pulchra Maria, vale.

The preceding imitated.

POLLY, you ſaid, 'twas beſt to lead
One's life at liberty;
So to remain, fair nymph, I then
Will bid adieu to thee.

T. Kn—bt.

From Common Senſe, Sept. 22.

The Diſcontented APE. *A* FABLE.

I OWN, 'tis true, my frugal board
Luxurious plenty never ſtor'd:
No pow'r have I thy throne to awe,
Proud *Spain*, or give thy frenzy law.
Ne'er did perſuaſion tip my tongue
With beauteous art, to lead along
A following croud; nor e'er my wit
For poliſh'd ears was nicely fit.
I murmur not: plenty annoys
Sometimes, and, ſure as want, deſtroys:
Pow'r ſwells to madneſs; eloquence
May prove the bane of honeſt ſenſe:
And wit men hate as well as fear;
Our wicked wit may coſt us dear.
Our ev'ry lot's from God's own will:
'Twas always beſt, and muſt be ſtill.
God's prudent hand well knows to give;
Happy, could man as well receive!
Why then repine? why aſk for more?
'Tis hurtful, or 'twas yours before.
Aſk nothing, but what all may find
Who truly ſeek——an honeſt mind.
"Five thouſand acres (*Phenio* ſaid)
Behold my bending harveſts ſpread,
My deer along wide foreſts ſcud,
Tall rev'rend oaks imbrown the wood;
My ſide-board groans with maſſy plate,
Full twenty liv'ries round me wait.
Yet what, O what are theſe? can theſe
My nicer honour ſafely pleaſe,
Whilſt *Anſtis* muſt be brib'd to trace,
From *Saxon* kings, my nameleſs race?
What can I do? from all your ſtore
One bleſſing grant, I aſk no more.
Grant me, good heav'ns, a noble wife:
Thus ſhall fair fame adorn my life,
My ſon with glorious blood ſhall glow,
And the rich tide thro' ages flow."
Heav'n tir'd the frequent fool to hear,
Unwilling grants at laſt his pray'r.
The day is come, th' illuſtrious bride
Deigns one ſhort night to grace his ſide;
After ten months of mutual hate,
My lady muſt lie-in in ſtate;
To light a puny creature's brought,
A thing by nine peers half begot.
The boy poor *Phenio* views, and ſpies
His grace's noſe, his lordſhip's eyes;
Thoſe lips the gentle baron ſpeak,
And the pale viſcount wann'd that cheek.
He ſwears 'tis all Sir *James*'s ſon,
And damns the features not his own.
Such are by av'rice, pride oppreſs'd,
The world's own fools and lawful jeſt;
But all kinds feel the rage to riſe,
The gay, the grave, the mad, the wiſe;
For pow'r each hour of ev'ry day,
Fancy's proud ſlaves devoutly pray.
Of all who aſk, few can obtain;
Happy, who moſt muſt wiſh in vain.
My fable hear. Plac'd in a wood,
A country ape earn'd daily food;

Food

Fond of his fancy'd parts, and bleſt,
His pears and nuts were thought the beſt.
But ſoon uneaſy, weary grown
With the low buſineſs of a clown,
Reſtleſs, he fled their vile employs,
Their ſervile cares, and ſtupid joys:
His parts he thought too meanly far'd,
And honeſty too much rever'd.
It chanc'd, his friends and he reſort
To view the ſplendors of a court——
Pleas'd with its ſtate, with dazz'ling pow'r,
Too much he dreads the wretched hour
Which warns him home—"O ſpare me, *Jove*,
Nor bear me from the place I love:
I hate the wood's inglorious eaſe;
O let me act in ſcenes like theſe:
For ſome ſmall place I'm ſurely fit,
All own my talents and my wit."
To plague the diſcontented beaſt,
Jove nodded to his fond requeſt:
The wretch, by grandeur's charms beguil'd,
In queſt of power ſeverely toil'd,
With crook'd deſign, with cunning ſenſe,
And all the art of impudence;
In jealous hint, ſuſpicion ſly,
His doubtful tongue would mean a lye:
Yet no one with a bolder grace
Could hold out falſhood's naked face.
Above, below, around he plies,
By ſecret workings, where to riſe:
Deſtruction waits each beaſt of worth,
To lead his meaner merit forth.
'Tis dang'rous if the leopard ſtays,
The generous horſe is ſent to graze:
The noble tiger's thought too proud,
The fox has art, the dog's too good;
The faithful dog can't long be in,
His plainneſs is too vile a ſin.
'Twas thus he cozen'd friends and foes,
And ſafe o'er ruin'd virtue roſe.
Behold him ſeize the royal ear,
And ſtalk a weighty miniſter!
The monarch's eyes decay'd are grown,
A gentle opiate ſeals 'em down:
Unaw'd, alone the realm he ſways,
Oppreſſion on its vitals preys;
By rapine fat, buoy'd up by crimes,
In the mad ſtorm of broken times,
He ſwells with mighty miſchief great,
And boaſts a pow'r to curſe a ſtate.
Baſe grandeur! yet how ſhort, how vain!
The rouzing foreſt feels her chain,
She roars aloud her injuries,
For juſtice join the growing cries;
His foes are warm, each friend forſakes,
Sharp conſcience ſtings, with fear he quakes,
Like ſome old ill-built un-propt wall,
Behold him totter, nod, and fall.
An ant, in nature deeply read,
His riſe and end obſerving, ſaid;
Juſt, tho' ſevere, is folly's fate:
Belov'd of Jove, *curſelves we hate.*

The Verſes to Mr. Bridges *came too late for this Month. We ſhall be oblig'd to our Correſpondent for the Favour he promiſes.*

To a LADY *commanding her* LOVER's ABSENCE; *in Imitation of a* French *Epigram.*

BAniſh'd by your ſevere command,
I make an awful, ſad retreat
To ſome more hoſpitable land,
But ſhall I then my fair forget?
No, there I'll charm the liſt'ning throng,
With repetitions of thy name;
My paſſion tell in plaintive ſong,
And ſadly penſive ſooth my flame.
With in-bred ſighs, the grateful ſwains
My tale will beg me to renew,
Sweetly appeas'd, beguile their pains,
Tranſported—when I ſpeak of you.
But ſhou'd ſome curious youth demand,
Why from your beauteous theme I ſtray?
With what confuſion ſhou'd I ſtand;
What would my charmer have me ſay?

Part of the laſt CHORUS *of the 4th* ACT *of* Medea, *imitated from* Euripides.

FROM things conſider'd, with a ſtricter view,
And deeper thought, this fatal truth I drew:
Sure of mankind, th' unmarried part is bleſt,
By joys too much diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt.
Suppoſe there are ('tis but ſuppoſe, I fear)
Pleaſures that cou'd the nuptial ſtate endear;
Think thou mayſt wiſh, and ev'ry wiſh enjoy,
A beauteous daughter and a blooming boy:
Still where's the mighty comfort of a wife,
Or what is wanting in a ſingle life?
Pity not ours, nor thus thy fate admire;
The bliſs we know not we can ne'er deſire.
Yet this advantage on our ſide we boaſt;
The good is little, vaſt the ill we loſt. [pair;
All huſh'd and calm!—no griefs our eaſe im-
Free from the father's many a griping care:
Firſt how the child may gen'rouſly be bred,
Adorn'd with arts, and thro' each virtue led:
Next, how to crown him with a fair eſtate,
And, ſo to make him happy, make him great.
Parents from labours to new labours run,
To hoard up treaſures for the darling ſon:
Yet know not what this darling ſon may prove,
A roving ſpend-thrift may reward their love.
Not ſmall the evils which we here behold,
But far the greater ſtill remain untold.
Juſt when with utmoſt pain the drudging ſire
Has rais'd a fortune anſwering his deſire;
Already the firſt ſcene of life is done,
The boy forgotten, and the man begun;
Large promiſes and hopes the youth incite
His father's glory, and his friends delight;
But ſullen clouds involve the brighteſt day,
The lov'd, the wondrous youth untimely pines away.
Too well, alas! too well, ye gods, we knew
Our troubles many, and our pleaſures few;
Why needed this freſh plague be added more
To the rich, boundleſs, miſerable ſtore?
The old, as cloy'd with life, to death belong,
But muſt it rudely ſeize the brave, the young?
In vain we ſtrive; the cruel doom is read,
The bloſſom's wither'd and our hopes are fled.

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.

THE latter End of last Month, 4 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and (which is very remarkable) all for Murder, *viz. Thomas Pearson*, for the Murder of *Robert Langstaff*; *William Smith*, for the Murder of his Wife; *John Wilson*, for the Murder of *Barbara Trumble*; and *Michael Curry*, for the Murder of *Robert Sheavel*.

On the 31st, the following Ships of War were put into Commission, *viz.*

Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Captains.
Princess Amelia	520	80	J. Hemington.
Cumberland	520	80	James Stuart.
Norfolk	520	80	Tho. Graves.
Defiance	365	60	John Trevor.
Rippon	365	60	Hump. Orme.
York	365	60	John Gascoine.
Tilbury	280	50	Robert Long.
Litchfield	280	50	John Towry.
Bristol	280	50	W. Chambers.
Rochester	280	50	Corn. Mitchell.
Winchester	280	50	James Lloyd.
Ludlow Castle	190	40	John Crawford.

SATURDAY, *Sept.* 1.

An Express arriv'd at the *Post-Office*, with Advice that *Limpus*, was capitally convicted at the Assizes at *Wells* in the County of *Somerset*, for robbing the Western Mail. He was soon after executed.

WEDNESDAY, 5.

Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at this Court, set out this Morning for *Dover*, accompanied by Mr. *Terry*, the King of *Spain*'s Agent for the *Assiento* Contract, on their Way home. His Excellency had an Order from his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle* to the King's Agent of the Pacquet Boats at the said Port, to accommodate them with a Boat for *Calais*, if required. As soon as they took Coach, a *Spanish* Courier, ready mounted, rode off with an Express to *Madrid*, to acquaint the Court of *Spain* with their Departure. Mr. *Keene* left *Madrid* about the same Time.

SATURDAY, 8.

This Night ended the Sessions at the *Old Baily*, when the following Persons received Sentence of Death, viz. *William Cardell*, for a Street-Robbery; *John Albir*, for the Highway; *Edward Goynes*, for the Murder of his Wife; *Elizabeth Harwood*, for the Murder of her Bastard Child; *John Maw*, alias *Morris*, for robbing the *Reading* Waggon. The Jury recommended *Cardell* to his Majesty's Mercy. One was burnt in the Hand, Seven sentenced to be Whipp'd; and Thirty for Transportation.

MONDAY, 10.

This Night was a most violent Storm of Lightning and Thunder, accompany'd with an excessive Rain. The Flashes of Lightning were as quick and at the same Time as strong, as perhaps were ever known in this Part of the World; tho' the Thunder was not so violent. It began at 7 in the Evening, and the Flashes continued, more or less, till 12 at Night. The next Day the Wind was exceeding high from Morning till Night, which did considerable Damage to the Shipping, &c.

FRIDAY, 14.

This Day were executed at *Kennington* six of the eight Malefactors condemn'd last Assizes at *Kingston*, viz. *John Hanna*, *Michael Lucas*, *Eleanor Spencer*, *Noah Goobe*, *Peter Willington*, and *Joanna Rashford Sambo*. (see p. 411.)

By the *South Sea* Company's Answer to the *Spanish* Manifesto, as far as relates to the 68,000 *l.* said to be due from the Company to his Catholick Majesty, it is said, it is manifestly made out that on the Balance of Accounts there is due from the Crown of *Spain* to the Company above 130,000 *l.* a sufficient Reason for their General Court to refuse the Payment of the 68 000 *l.* demanded.

SATURDAY, 15.

Came Advice from the *Downs*, that Admiral *Balchen*, with the *Namur*, *Russel*, *Buckingham*, *Prince of Orange*, *Superb*, *Orford*, and *Lyon* Men of War, were sail'd from thence for *Spithead*, to join the *Kent*, *Lenox*, *Elizabeth*, &c. which last Ships left Admiral *Vernon*, who was bound for *Jamaica*, and arriv'd at *Spithead* about 3 Weeks ago, in order to join Sir *John Norris*'s Squadron.

SUNDAY, 16.

His Majesty's Ships the *Tyger*, *Mercury*, *Duke* and *Anne* Fire-Ships, and the *Salamander* Bomb Ketch, set sail from the *Downs* for the *Mediterranean*, with the Fleet of Merchant Ships bound to *Lisbon*, *Oporto*, *Leghorn*, &c. under their Convoy.

FRIDAY, 21.

A Proclamation was issued for calling the Parliament to sit for the Dispatch of Business on the 15th of *November* next.

SATURDAY, 22.

Was fix'd on a Marble Pedestal, in the middle Square of St. *Thomas*'s-*Hospital*, the Statue of the Founder, King *Edward* VI. in Brass, which was left by *Charles Joy*, Esq; deceas'd, late Treasurer of the said Hospital.

SUNDAY,

SUNDAY, 23.

The Court went into Mourning for the ...te *Landgrave* of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*.

WEDNESDAY, 26.

At a General Meeting of the Liverymen of ...ondon, at *Vintners-Hall*, it was unanimouſly ...greed to return Sir *John Salter* and Sir *Robert Godſchall* to the Court of Aldermen, for ...eir Choice of one of them to be Lord-Mayor, in Oppoſition to Sir *George Champion*, ...ho was next the Chair.

FRIDAY, 28.

Mr. Ald. *Heathcote*, and Sir *John Lequeſne*, ...t. and Ald. the 2 new Sheriffs, were ſworn ... at *Guildhall*.

We had an Account from *Bremen*, That ...n the 22d Inſtant N. S. about half an Hour ...ſt One in the Morning, the Lightning ...ruck into their Fort call'd *Broide*, which ...ood near and covered the Bridge between the ...ld and new Cities, and above 40000*lb.* of ...unpowder laid up there, took Fire, and ...lew up the whole Fort, with ſeveral adjacent ...ouſes and Mills, and ſpreading over both ...ities, ſet fire in about 25 different Places, ...hich put all the Inhabitants under the great...ſt Conſternation; but a heavy Rain falling, ...nd by the Help of the People, the Flames ...ound about were happily extinguiſh'd. A...out 40 Perſons living near the Fort were ...ill'd, and near 1000 Houſes damaged.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

REV. —— *Belton*, M. A. to Mrs. *Davis*, a 6000*l.* Fortune.—Mr. *Langley*, an e...inent Surgeon, to Mrs. *Weſt*, Widow of the ...te Dr. *Weſt*, a Lady with 800*l. per Ann.* and ...0,000*l.* in Money.—Sir *Edward Turner*, of *Ambroſeden*, in *Oxfordſhire*, Bart. to Miſs *Leigh* of *Glouceſter*, a 12,000*l.* Fortune.—*Thomas Digby*, ...ſq; to Miſs *Clayton*, only Daughter of *Charles ...layton*, Eſq; lately deceas'd, a 12,000*l.* Fortune. —*Robert New*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſq; to ...iſs *Glanvill*.—*Joſ. Knight*, of *Aſhburton*, De...on, Eſq; to Miſs *Kitchingham*.—*Tho. Le Cocq*, ...n. Eſq; to Miſs *Elizabeth Walmeſley*.—*John ...odd*, Eſq; of *Berkſhire*, to Miſs *St. Leger* of ...hat County.—Mr. *Samuel Turner*, an eminent *Weſt-India* Merchant, to Miſs *Elizabeth Wright* ...f *Farnham*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.—*Richard Hol...rd*, Eſq; Nephew to *Robert Holford*, Eſq; one ...f the Maſters in Chancery, to Miſs *Metcalf* ...f *Lamb's-Conduit-Street*, a 7000*l.* Fortune.— ...r. *Handaſyde*, to Mrs. *Bathurſt*.—The Lady ...f *Charles Tryon*, Eſq; Siſter to the Rt. Hon. the ...arl *Ferrers*, deliver'd of a Daughter.—Lady ...*rances Burgoigne*, Wife of Sir *Francis Bur...oigne*, Bart. and Siſter to the Earl of *Halifax*, ...f a Son and Heir.—The Lady of the Hon. ...*enry Pelham*, Eſq; of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

LAST Month, at *Paris*, the Rt. Hon. ...the Lady *Seafort*.—*Tho. Allen*, Eſq; Counſellor at Law, and a Commiſſioner of Bankruptcy.—Mr. *Tho. Teaton*, an eminent Silk Throwſter in *Spittle-Fields*, in the Commiſſion of the Peace for *Middleſex*.—Capt. *Macroe*, of Lieut. Gen. *Columbine's* Reg. at *Gibraltar*.—At *Reading* in *Berks*, *William Allen*, Eſq;—Rev. Mr. *Greenberry*, Rector of *Foul-Sutton* in *Yorkſhire*.—Rev. Mr. *Knight*, A. M. Sub-Chantor and one of the Vicars Coral of *York* Cathedral, *&c.*—Mr. *Cornelius Jeſſon*, one of the moſt conſiderable Sail-Cloth-Makers in *England*.—*William Shirley*, Eſq; Capt. of a Comp. in a Marching Reg. in *Ireland*.—Capt. *William Franks*, aged 93, who ſerv'd in the late Wars in *Flanders*.—The Lady of *Chriſtopher Tilſon*, Eſq; Firſt Clerk of the Treaſury.—At *Chelſea-College*, Capt. *Gibbons*, eldeſt Capt. of that *Hoſpital*, who behav'd with great Bravery in the Wars in *Flanders*.—*Francis Burton*, Eſq; Receiver General of the Deduction of the Civil Liſt.—Mr. *Hart*, Head Surgeon of *Fortin's Hoſpital* at *Portſmouth*, which Poſt he had poſſeſs'd 50 Years.—In the 15*th* Year of his Age, *Peter Stephenſon*, Eſq; of *Yorkſhire*, poſſeſs'd of an Eſtate of 900*l. per Ann.* which devolves to his next Brother, aged about 11.—*Charles Worſley*, Eſq; one of the Benchers of the *Middle-Temple*.—Mrs. *Frankland*, a Maiden Lady, Siſter of the late Sir *Thomas Frankland*, of *Dean* in *Middleſex*, Bart.—Rev. Dr. *Bolton*, Miniſter of the *Dutch* Church in *Auſtin-Fryars*: He was Chaplain to King *William*.—At *Ghent* in *Flanders*, aged upwards of 90, *George Payne*, of *Wylam* in *Northumberland*, Eſq; F. R. S. Member of the Royal Academy at *Berlin*, of the Noble Inſtitute of *Bologna* in *Italy*, &c. —*George Lillo*, Eſq; Author of *George Barnwell*, *the Chriſtian Hero*, &c.—Hon. Mrs. *Townſhend*, Wife to the Hon. *Tho. Townſhend*, Eſq; Brother to the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*. —Hon. *Eyer Evans*, Eſq; Brother to the Lord *Carberry* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.—*Charles Hornby*, Eſq; Chief Clerk in the Pipe-Office, a Place of 800*l. per Ann.*—Rev. Mr. *Roe*, M. A. Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Rockingham*.—Lady *Everard*, Relict of Sir *Richard Everard*, of *Bromfield-Green* in *Eſſex*, Bart. and one of the Daughters of the late Biſhop *Kidder*, who was kill'd (at *Wells*) in the great Storm in *Nov.* 1703.—*Charles Hale*, Eſq; poſſeſs'd of a plentiful Eſtate in *Hertfordſhire*.—Miſs. *Anne Armſtrong*, Daughter to Brig. Gen. *Armſtrong*.—*Henry Lupton*, Eſq; a Gentleman of a large Eſtate in *Worceſterſhire*. — Mrs. *Wolſtinholme*, of *Forty-Hill*, near *Enfield*.—Miſs. *Love* of *Clapham*, Daughter of *Samuel Love*, Eſq; formerly a *Turky* Merchant. — In *Scotland*, the Lady *Craigentenny*. — Sir *Francis Boynton*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Heddon* in *Yorkſhire*.—At *Oxford*, Mr. *Townſend*, the great Maſon and Builder.—Rev. Mr. *Metcalf*, Vicar of *Sunbury* and *Hanworth*. —Rev. *John White*, A. M. Prebendary of *Durham*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

THE Worſhipful Dr. *John Betteſworth*, Judge of the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, appointed Commiſſary to the Biſhop of *London*'s Court; and Dr. *John Andrew* (Maſter of the Faculties) made Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *London*, in the Room of the late Dr. *Henchman*.—Mr. *William Turvile*, A. M. Vicar of *Long Clauſton* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and a Juſtice of the Peace for the ſaid County, preſented to the Rectory of *Harby* in the ſame County.—Mr. *Bolt*, M. A. Rector of *Read* and *Woolverton* in *Somerſetſhire*, to the Rectory of *Yateſbury* in *Wiltſhire*—Mr. *Drake*, to the Rectory of *Foul-Sutton* in *Yorkſhire*.—Mr. *Cay*, M. A. Vicar of *Hawnes* in *Bedfordſhire*, to the Vicarage of *Wilſhamſtead* in the ſaid County.—Mr. *Huddleſton* made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary.—Mr. *Moſeley*, preſented by *Merton-College*, *Oxford*, to the Rectory of *Malden* in *Surrey*.—Rev. and Hon. *James Beauclerk*, (commonly call'd Lord *James Beauclerk*) made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary.—Mr. *Griffith*, M. A. Rector of *Whiſton* in *Yorkſhire*, preſented to the Rectory of *Ekington* in *Derbyſhire*.—Mr. *Samuel Carrington*, to the Living of *Waſs* in *Yorkſhire*.—Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Finch*, made a Prebendary of *Wincheſter*.—Dr. *Lewin*, preſented to the Chancellorſhip of the Dioceſe of *Rocheſter*, in the Room of the late Dr. *Henchman*.—Mr. *Fromanteel*, to the Living of *Coltſhorp*, by the Mayor and Commons of *Norwich*.—The Worſhipful Dr. *George Lee*, appointed Offici of the Archdeaconry of *Rocheſter*, in the Roo of the late Dr. *Henchman*.

Promoti ns CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* ap pointed Col. of his Majeſty's own Roy Reg. of Dragoons, in the Room of Lie Gen. *Gore*, deceas'd.—Lieut. Gen. *Churchil* made Governour of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*.—Ma jor Genera *Cope*, Governour of *Londonderry*.— Brig. Gen. *Bowles*, Gov. of *Limerick*.—H Majeſty appointed Capt. Lieut. *Lampton*, to Col. of the Comp. in the 2d Reg. of Foo Guards, late Col. *Chudleigh*'s, deceas'd;—Lieu *Lethieullier*, to be Capt. Lieut. of the Earl *Scarborough*'s own Company, in the Room Col. *Lampton*;—Enſign *Granſon*, to be Lieu in the room of Capt. Lieut. *Lethieullier*;— George *Chudleigh*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of the la Col. *Chudleigh*, to be an Enſign in the fo Reg. in the room of Lieut. *Granſon*.—Rob *Jocelyn*, Eſq; Attorney Gen. in *Ireland*, a pointed Lord High Chanceſſor of that Kin dom.—Hon. *Rob. Trevor*, Eſq; appointed Em voy Extraordinary to the States-General.— Major Gen. *Armſtrong*, made Maſter Gene of the Ordnance in *Ireland*.—The Son of Ma jor *Roberts*, made Page of Honour to the Prin ceſs *Caroline*.—Capt. *Hickman*, made Major Gen. *Sabine*'s, Reg. of Royal *Welſh* Fuzilier in the room of Major *Pole*, made Lieut. Co to Brig. *Bowles*'s Reg. of Dragoons in *Irela*

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	94 $\frac{1}{8}$ a 93 $\frac{3}{4}$	*Afric.*	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
—*Bonds*	19*s.*	*Royal Aſſ.*	89 $\frac{1}{2}$
—*Annu.*	109 $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{3}$	*Lon. ditto*	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bank	139 $\frac{1}{4}$ a 139	3 *per C. An.*	98
—*Circ.*	1*l.* 15*s.* a 2*l.*	*Salt Tallies*	$\frac{1}{2}$ a 1*l.* $\frac{1}{2}$
Mil. Bank	114	*Emp. Loan*	109 $\frac{1}{2}$
India	155 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 154	*Equiv.*	112 $\frac{1}{8}$
—*Bonds*	2*l.* 17*s.* a 19*s.*	*Lot. Tick.*	7*s.* 6*d.*

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 10 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Bilboa*	39 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
D. Sight	35 7 a 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Leghorn*	49 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rotter.	35 11 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Genoa*	52 $\frac{1}{16}$
Hamb.	34 5	*Venice*	50 $\frac{1}{4}$
P. Sight	31 $\frac{5}{8}$	*Lisb.*	5*s* 4*d* $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{9}{16}$
Bourdx.	31	*Oport.*	5*s* 4*d* $\frac{1}{2}$
Cadiz	39 $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	*Antw.*	36 7 a 6
Madrid	39 $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	*Dublin*	8 $\frac{1}{8}$

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30	35	*Oats*	12	14
Rye	13	17	*Tares*	21	23
Barley	12	18	*Peaſe*	19	29
H. Beans	18	25	*H. Peaſe*	16	17
P. Malt	16	23	*B. Malt*	13	18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKL BILL, from *Aug.* 21. to *Sept.* 2

Chriſtned	Males	777	14
	Females	688	
Buried	Males	1201	23
	Females	1176	
Died under 2 Years old			10
Between	2	and 5	2
	5	10	
	10	20	
	20	30	1
	30	40	1
	40	50	2
	50	60	1
	60	70	
	70	80	
	80	90	
	90	and upwards	

Hay 36 to 42*s.* a Load.

AFTE

AFTER the *Muſcovite* Army under Count *Munich* had paſſed the *Nieſter*, as mentioned in our laſt, the *Turks* and *Tartars* did not attempt to make any Attack upon him till the 22d of *July*; when Intelligence was brought of a great Appearance of the latter in a Wood near *Choczim*, upon which the uſual Signal was made to call in the Foragers. Accordingly, moſt of them returned immediately to the Camp, but the Detachment that had been ſent out to cover them, being too near the Enemy to retire, the Officer that commanded, poſted himſelf with his Detachment, and a few ſmall Pieces of Cannon, ſo advantageouſly in a Valley, behind a Parcel of Waggons, that he defended himſelf till the Arrival of the Picquet Guard, and ſome other Forces from the grand Army. Count *Munich* coming up ſoon after with the Horſe Guards, and ſome Companies of Grenadiers, cauſed the Troops immediately to advance upon a Hill, from whence they could plainly ſee the Enemy, who fell with great Fury upon the left Wing; but being every where repulſed, and in Danger of being overpowered by the Arrival of freſh Troops from the grand Army, they at laſt began to retire, tho' not till it was too late to purſue them. In this Action, the *Muſcovites* had but 39 Men killed and 112 wounded, tho' the Party of the Enemy that attacked them conſiſted of no leſs than 6000 *Turks* and 12 or 13000 *Tartars*, whoſe Loſs muſt have been a great deal more conſiderable; becauſe a Baſhaw with two Tails and ſeveral other Officers were found dead upon the Field of Battle, three Pair of Colours and two Battoons of Command taken, and a Murſa of *Budziack* made Priſoner.

From this Time till the 26th of laſt Month, the two Armies continued pretty quiet in their reſpective Camps; but that Night, the *Turkiſh* Army having, it is ſuppoſed, been informed that the *Ruſſians* deſigned to attack them next Day, they marched and retired into an Intrenchment on which they had been working Night and Day for almoſt a Month preceding. The Intrenchment was defended by four Batteries of Cannon, two of which were in the Center, and one upon each Wing. The 27th, at Seven in the Morning, the *Ruſſian* Army began their March, and advanced towards the Intrenchment between a Lake and a Marſh; about Nine the Firing began on both Sides, *viz.* from the left of the *Ruſſians* and the right of the *Turks*, and continued till Two in the Afternoon, when the *Ruſſian* Army wheeled ſuddenly towards the right, marching in order of Battle, and fronting the Intrenchment, under a continual Fire of their Cannon and Mortars. Towards the Duſk of the Evening they formed their Camp near the left Wing of the Enemy, where they reſted that Night, and next Morning early march'd out and attacked the Intrenchment upon that Side, which they ſoon forced, and by that Means obtained a comp'eat Victory; the *Turks* having loſt all their Artillery and Baggage, beſides a great Number of Men. In a few Days after this Victory, Count *Munich* inveſted *Choczim*, which was immediately ſurrendered, and the Gariſon made Priſoners of War.

About the ſame Time that Advice of this Victory was brought to *Peterſburgh*, that Court received Letters from their other General, Count *Laſci*, with the News of the *Turks* and *Tartars* having abandoned *Precop*, upon the Approach of the *Ruſſian* Army under his Command; and the next Day another Courier arrived from Admiral *Bredal*, with Advice that the *Turkiſh* Fleet in the *Euxine* Sea had been almoſt deſtroyed by a furious Storm, by which he was in a Condition to ſupply Count *Laſci* with every Thing he might want during his Campaign in the *Crim*.

Our late Accounts from *Hungary* and *Vienna* are of a different Nature. Tho' the *Turks* had laid Siege to *Belgrade*, as mentioned in our laſt, and had continued it for ſeveral Weeks, yet they had met with ſo little Succeſs, that ſome People began to doubt of their being able to make themſelves Maſters of the Place, this Campaign, even tho' the *Imperial* Army ſhould not have been in a Condition to raiſe the Siege. This made People believe that the *Imperial* Court would not, for this Campaign at leaſt, have given Ear to any diſhonourable or diſadvantageous Terms of Peace; but the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Port* having arrived in the *Turkiſh* Camp before *Belgrade*, the 5th of laſt Month, Count *Neuperg* was ſent thither from the Imperial Army on the 7th, and, it ſeems, carried with him full Powers to conclude a Peace. The Negotiation laſted till the 31ſt, when a ſeparate Treaty of Peace was concluded between the *Emperor* and the *Ottoman Port*, the chief Terms of which are, That *Belgrade*, *Orſova*, and all *Servia* ſhall be given up to the *Turks*; but the Fortifications of *Belgrade* ſhall be razed: That the *Emperor* ſhould have leave to withdraw from *Belgrade* his Troops, Artillery, Magazines, *&c.* and the Inhabitants to have four Days to retire with their Effects: That this Treaty ſhould be guarantied by *France*: That the Imperial Troops ſhould not evacuate the Place till the Fortifications were razed; but, that one of the Gates ſhould be delivered to the *Turks* the very Day the Treaty was ſigned. This Peace, we may ſuppoſe, is owing to the Politicks of the Court of *France*; but the Succeſs their Politicks have, of late Years met with, we muſt allow, to be owing to a ridiculous Jealouſy of the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which too often governs the Counſels of ſome of the *German* Electors. As ſoon as the Peace was ſigned, and one of the Gates of *Belgrade* delivered up,

the

the *Prime Vizir*, ſent a large Detachment from his Army, with Orders to march with all poſſible Diligence into *Moldavia* againſt the *Ruſſians*, where they may perhaps meet with rougher Treatment, than they have met with from the *Imperialiſts* in *Hungary*.

As the *Emperor* has, by this Treaty, deſerted his old and faithful Ally the *Czarina*, which is a little the more extraordinary, conſidering the bad Terms he has got for himſelf, he has thought fit to declare, that as well in what relates to *Belgrade*, as in all and every one of the other Particulars of this Treaty, Count *Neuperg* has not only exceeded his Inſtructions but acted directly contrary to them; particularly in yielding to the ſtrangely precipitate Execution of the Treaty; but as it is impoſſible to apply a Remedy, he will firmly obſerve and keep what has been agreed on with the *Ottoman Port*. However, as Count *Neuperg* is neither impriſoned, nor threatened with any capital Puniſhment, this Declaration ſeems to ſavour as much of *French* Fineſſe as the Treaty does of *French* Politicks.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* September, 1739.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. A TREATISE of Menſuration of Superficies and Solids. By *T. Rowland*. Sold by *J. Robinſon*, Folio, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

2. A Diſcourſe on antient and modern Learning. By *J. Addiſon*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Oſborne*, price 1*s*.

3. A Philoſophical Eſſay on Muſick. Printed for *J. Walſh*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

4. An Addreſs to the Gentlemen of the Faculty of Phyſick. Sold by *W. Meadows* and *J. Clarke*, price 6*d*.

5. Memorials and Characters N° XI. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

POETRY.

6. *Horace*'s Odes, *&c.* In *Engliſh* Proſe, Book II. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, pr. 1*s*.

7. A Satire in the Manner of *Perſius*. Printed for *J. Clarke*, price 1*s*.

8. Hemp. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 6*d*.

9. An Epiſtle to *S. Duck*, by *M. Collyer*. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

10. The *Britiſh* Lion rous'd. Printed for *G. Brett*, price 6*d*.

11. The Dunces of *Norfolk*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

12. The Paſtoral Letter verſified. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 6*d*.

13. *Tunbridge* Miſcellany for 1737. 1738, 1739. Printed for *T. Webb*, price 6*d*.

14. The Lark. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, 12mo, price 2*s*.

POLITICAL.

15. The King of *Spain*'s Manifeſto. Printed for *R. Amey*, price 1*s*.

16. An Examination of the Manifeſto. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 1*s*.

17. Obſervations upon the Manifeſto. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

18. The Manifeſto render'd into *Engliſh* Metre. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

19. Paſquin. Numb. I. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

20. A Political-Chymical-Chriſtian Preparation. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

21. * A new Political Catechiſm. The 2d Edition. Sold by the Bookſellers, pr. 1*s*.

SERMONS.

22. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge*. By *J. Cradock*, M. A. Sold by Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, pr. 6*d*.

23. A Sermon preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Oxford*, *Aug.* 2, 1739. By *J. Trapp*, D. D. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 6*d*.

24. A Sermon before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, againſt Enthuſiaſm. By *J. Wilder*, A. M. Sold by Meſſ. *Doe* and *Burrows* in *Oxon*, pr. 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

25. The Euchariſtical Sacrifice; or, the Queſtion concerning the Euchariſt, in a ſacrificial View, impartially diſcuſs'd, in Anſwer to the Objections made to it by Dr. *Waterland*. By *Chriſt. Beeke*, A. B. Printed for *T. Aſhley*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

26. Church Diſcipline according to the antient Standard. By *R. Bragge*. Sold by *J. Buckland*, price in Sheep 2*s*.

27. An Examination of a late Vindication of Water-Baptiſm. Sold at the *Bible* in *George-yard*, price 1*s*.

28. The True Chriſtian. In two Parts. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 6*d*. ſtitch'd.

29. Some Thoughts upon the Grounds of Man's Expectation of a future State. Printed for *D. Farmer*, price 1*s*.

30. A Collection of original Texts of Scripture, *&c.* relating to Chriſtian Diſcipline. By *W. Whiſton*, M. A. Sold by *J. Whiſton*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

31. Truth Triumphant. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

32. A Defence of the further Enquiry after Truth. By *L. Wayman*. Printed for *J. Marſhall*, price 1*s*.

33. A Treatiſe on the Lord's Prayer. By *S. Hebden*. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

34. The Sentiments of Archbiſhops *Tillotſon* and *Sharp* on Regeneration. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s*.

35. The abſolute and proper Eternity of Hell-Torments. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 6*d*.

36. A Preſervative againſt unſettled Notions. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

37. Dr. *Hammond*'s Expoſition of *Gal.* vi. 15, and Bp. *Hopkins*'s Expoſition of *John* iii. 5. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 445.

I SHALL now give you the Subſtance of ſome of the moſt remarkable Speeches that were made in our Club, upon he late Convention with *Spain*; which Affair, becauſe of the Im- A ortance of the Subject, and beauſe a great many Members of ur Club had a Mind to give their entiments upon it, was twice deated, and each Time fully argued, y different Members.

The firſt Day this Affair was or- B ered to be debated, 'twas reſolved, hat the ſeveral Members who were ſpeak, ſhould ſuppoſe themſelves embers of the higher Houſe of rliament; whereupon *C. Cicerejus* od up and ſaid, If he had the onour to be a Member of that C ouſe, he would move, That an mble Addreſs ſhould be preſented his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty e Thanks of that Houſe for laying e Convention between his Majeſty d the King of *Spain*, dated the th Day of *January* laſt, together D th the ſeparate Articles, before t Houſe: To declare that they ught it their indiſpenſable Duty, on that Occaſion, to expreſs their juſt Senſe of his Majeſty's Royal Care of the true Intereſt of his People, and to acknowledge his great Prudence, in bringing the Demands of his Subjects for their paſt Loſſes, which had been ſo long depending, to a final Adjuſtment by the ſaid Convention, and procuring an expreſs Stipulation for a ſpeedy Payment; and in laying a Foundation for accompliſhing the great and deſirable Ends of obtaining future Security, and preſerving the Peace between the two Nations: To beg Leave alſo to declare to his Majeſty, their Confidence and Reliance on his Royal Wiſdom and ſteady Attention to the Honour of his Crown, and the Welfare of his Kingdoms, and that in the Treaty to be concluded in purſuance of that Convention, proper Proviſions would be made for Redreſs of the Grievances ſo juſtly complained of; and particularly, that the Freedom of Navigation in the *American* Seas, to which his Majeſty's Subjects were intitled by the Law of Nations, and by Virtue of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns,

would be ſo effectually ſecured, that they might enjoy, unmoleſted, their undoubted Right of Navigating, and carrying on Trade and Commerce from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions to any other Part thereof, without being liable to be ſtopp'd, viſited, or ſearched, on the open Seas, or to any other Violation or Infraction of the ſaid Treaties; the mutual Obſervance thereof, and a juſt Regard to the Privileges belonging to each other, being the only Means of maintaining a good Correſpondence, and laſting Friendſhip between the two Nations: And to deſire Permiſſion at the ſame Time, in the moſt dutiful Manner, to expreſs their firm Dependence, that in the Treaty to be concluded in purſuance of the ſaid Convention, the utmoſt Regard would be had to the Rights belonging to his Majeſty's Crown and Subjects, in adjuſting and ſettling the Limits of his Majeſty's Dominions in *America*; and to give his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that in caſe his juſt Expectations ſhould not be anſwered, that Houſe would heartily and zealouſly concur in all ſuch Meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary to vindicate his Majeſty's Honour, and to preſerve to his Subjects the full Enjoyment of all thoſe Rights, to which they were intitled by Treaty, and the Law of Nations.

This Propoſition introduced the Debate upon the Convention, in which many excellent Speeches were made both for and againſt it; but as the Whole would take up a great deal of more Room than you have to ſpare, I ſhall give you the Subſtance only of ſome of the moſt remarkable.

The firſt I ſhall give you, was that made by C. Plinius Cæcilius, *who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

THE Addreſs now propoſed to you, is ſo agreeable to the Reſolutions you came to laſt Seſſion of Parliament, upon the Depredations that had been committed by *Spain*; and it is ſo natural a Conſequence of the Addreſs you preſented to his Majeſty upon that Occaſion, and of the Meaſures his Majeſty has ſince taken in purſuance of that Addreſs, that when I firſt heard it propoſed, I did not expect it would have met with the leaſt Oppoſition. By the Reſolutions you came to laſt Seſſion of Parliament, you aſſerted the Right which the People of this Nation have to a free Navigation in the open Seas of *America*; and you declared, that many unjuſt Seizures had been made, and great Depredations committed, by the *Spaniards*, to the great Loſs and Damage of the Subjects of *Great Britain* trading to *America*, and in direct Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. This was the Sum of your Reſolutions, and in conſequence of theſe Reſolutions, you addreſſed his Majeſty to uſe his Endeavours with his Catholick Majeſty, to obtain effectual Relief for his injured Subjects, and Security for our Navigation and Commerce in Time to come; and at the ſame Time you aſſured his Majeſty, that in caſe his Royal and Friendly Inſtances ſhould not prevail, you would effectually ſupport his Majeſty in taking ſuch Meaſures, as Honour and Juſtice ſhould render neceſſary.

From hence, my Lords, it appears to have been the Opinion of this Houſe laſt Seſſion of Parliament, that we had then no Occaſion to come to an immediate Rupture with *Spain*; but that his Majeſty ſhould firſt try what he could do by peaceable Means, for obtaining Reparation for paſt Injuries, and Security againſt any ſuch for the future. Accordingly his Majeſty did, in purſuance of this Advice from his Parliament, renew his Negotiations with the Court of *Spain*, and

to give his Negotiations their proper Weight, he fitted out ſuch Squadrons as were ſufficient for protecting the Trade, and vindicating the Honour of this Nation by Force of Arms, in caſe that Court had refuſed, or unreaſonably delay'd hearkning to thoſe friendly Inſtances, that were made to them by his Majeſty.

This, my Lords, we now find has had the deſired Effect. From the Preparations that were made here at home, and the Squadrons that were fitted out, *Spain* ſaw we were in earneſt, that his Majeſty was reſolved not to be any longer trifled with, and therefore they began ſeriouſly to conſider the Conſequences of an open Rupture. Theſe Conſequences they had Reaſon to be afraid of, they were afraid of them, and by their Fears they were induced, I may ſay compelled, to give ear to the friendly Inſtances that were made to them, and to acknowledge the Injuries they had done, by promiſing to make as ample a Satisfaction as we could reaſonably inſiſt on. I ſay, my Lords, as ample a Satisfaction as we could reaſonably inſiſt on; for ſurely, if we expected Satisfaction from them, it was but reaſonable that we ſhould allow them Satisfaction for all the juſt Claims they had upon us. According to this, which is certainly the juſt, and the only reaſonable Way of Reckoning, in every Caſe where there are mutual Demands, the ſtipulated Payment, which they have agreed to make in four Months after the Ratification of the Treaty, is a full Reparation for all the Demands we had to make upon them, allowing a reaſonable Diſcount for prompt Payment. For even according to the Account ſtated by our own Commiſſaries, the Claim of our Merchants did not, at a moderate Computation, amount to above 200,000*l.* and the Claims they had upon us, were allowed to amount at leaſt to 60,000*l.* which reduced the Sum due by them to us to 140,000*l.* for the prompt Payment of which, we have allowed them 45,000*l.* which is but a reaſonable Allowance, conſidering the Delays we might have met with, if we had accepted of Aſſignments upon his Catholick Majeſty's Revenues in *New Spain*: Allowing therefore of this Diſcount, it reduces the 140,000*l.* which is all we could pretend to be due, to the Sum of 95,000*l.* which Sum they have, by this Convention, expreſsly promiſed to pay here at *London*, within four Months after the Ratification; and that without delaying the Payment of the ſaid Sum, on Account of any Reſtitution that has been made, in conſequence of his Catholick Majeſty's Orders, of the Whole, or any Part of the Value of the Ships mentioned in the 4th Article.

Thus, my Lords, we may ſee, that by this Convention his Majeſty has obtained one of the chief Things recommended to him by his Parliament laſt Seſſion; and as this has been obtained without involving the Nation in a War, we have the more Reaſon to thank his Majeſty for the tender Regard he has had, not only for thoſe of his Subjects that have already ſuffered by the *Spaniſh* Depredations, but for all his Subjects; becauſe it is certain they would all have greatly ſuffered, if he had raſhly and unadviſedly involved the Nation in a dangerous and expenſive War. But with reſpect to our future Security, as it depends upon Diſputes, which it was impoſſible to enquire into fully, and determine abſolutely, without a very mature Deliberation, therefore, from the very Nature of the Thing, we could not expect, nor could his Majeſty with any Show of Reaſon inſiſt upon its being explicitly provided for by a preliminary Convention; however, his Majeſty has taken ſo great Care of the future Security of our Navi-

gation and Commerce, that he has got the *Spaniſh* Court to agree, by this Convention, to ſubmit all the Diſputes that now ſubſiſt between the two Nations, to the Diſcuſſion of Plenipotentiaries, to be named reſpectively by the two Crowns; and that no chicaning Delays may be made uſe of on the Part of *Spain*, it is expreſsly provided, that the Plenipotentiaries ſo named ſhall begin their Conferences ſix Weeks after the Exchange of the Ratifications, and ſhall finiſh them within the Space of eight Months.

This was, in my Opinion, my Lords, all that it was poſſible to do by a preliminary Convention, with regard to the other Diſputes that now ſubſiſt between us and *Spain*; but tho' the final Determination of thoſe Diſputes be deferred for a ſhort Time, tho' we have ſubmitted them to the Diſcuſſion of Plenipotentiaries, yet by ſuch Delay and Submiſſion, we are ſo far from having acknowledged any of our undoubted Rights to be diſputable, as has been groundleſsly inſinuated, that the *Spaniards* have, in ſome Meaſure, given up that Right which is the principal one in Diſpute between the two Nations. They pretended to a Right to ſearch our Ships in the Seas of *America*, in order to ſee whether they had been concerned in an illicit Trade, and to ſeize and confiſcate Ship and Cargo, in caſe it appeared that they had been concerned in ſuch a Trade, by their having what they call contraband Goods on board. They have by this Convention agreed to make good to us the Damages we have ſuſtained by their Exerciſe of ſuch a pretended Right. They have agreed to pay us Coſts; and is not this a direct Acknowledgment that they have been in the Wrong? This is at leaſt a tacit Acknowledgment, that they now think they had no juſt Claim to the Right they have ſo long pretended to; and this I think, is a certain Sign, that by the definitive Treaty, which is to be concluded, in purſuance of this preliminary Convention, they will make no Scruple to give it up in the moſt expreſs Terms we can deſire.

But, my Lords, with regard to the preſent Diſputes between the *Spaniards* and us, I find People have generally fallen into a very great Miſtake, by not diſtinguiſhing properly between a Right and the Enjoyment of that Right. We have a Right to a free Navigation in the *American* Seas, and to carry on what Commerce we think fit between our own Colonies and *Great Britain*, or between any one of our own Colonies and another: This is a Right which the *Spaniards* never pretended to diſpute with us. On the other hand, they have a Right to prevent the carrying on of any contraband Trade with their Settlements in *America*; which is a Right we never pretended to diſpute with them. The chief Diſpute between us is about the Enjoyment of our reſpective Rights. They do not diſpute our Right to a free Navigation in the *American* Seas; but the Queſtion between us is, how we ſhall enjoy that Right, ſo as not to prejudice their Right to prevent a contraband Trade's being carried on with their Settlements, in that Part of the World: Nor do we diſpute their Right to prevent ſuch a contraband Trade; but the Queſtion is, how they ſhall enjoy that Right, ſo as not to prejudice our Right to a free Navigation. This is the chief Diſpute now ſubſiſting between the two Nations; this muſt be regulated before Peace and Friendſhip can be fully reſtored; and this could not be done in a ſhort Time, or by a preliminary Convention. The Affair muſt be fully examined and maturely conſidered, in order to con-

trive

trive and mutually ſettle ſuch Regulations as may not be prejudicial to either. For this Reaſon it was referred by both to be enquired into and regulated by Plenipotentiaries: But what are theſe Plenipotentiaries to regulate? Not the Rights of either Nation; but only the Methods by which each Nation is to enjoy its reſpective Right for the future.

My Lords, if we would but conſider our own Caſe, I am perſuaded we would look upon this as an Affair not quite ſo eaſy to be ſettled as ſome People imagine. We pretend to a Right, and we certainly have a Right, to prevent any Goods from being clandeſtinely run into this Iſland, or into any of our Dominions. We pretend to a Right, and we certainly have a Right, to prevent the Exportation of our Wool. On the other hand, the *Dutch*, the *French*, and all other Nations, have a Right to ſail with their Ships along our Coaſts, and even through the *Britiſh* Channel. As long as they give us the Honour of the Flag, and abſtain from all clandeſtine and prohibited Trade, we have no Right to interrupt them; yet every one knows, that our Guard-Ships and *Cuſtom-Houſe* Sloops often ſtop them in their Voyage, in order to examine, whether they have been concerned in any clandeſtine Trade, ſuch as the exporting of Wool, or running any prohibited or uncuſtomed Goods. Nay, we have gone ſo far as to make Laws againſt Ships that ſhall be found hovering *within two Leagues* of our Coaſt; and particularly, by a Law paſſed but very lately, it is enacted, That, where any Veſſel coming from foreign Parts, and having on board 6lb of Tea or any foreign Brandy, or other Spirits, in Caſks under 60 Gallons, except two Gallons for each Seaman, ſhall be found at Anchor, or hovering within the Limits of any Port of this Kingdom, or *within two Leagues* of the Shore, and not proceeding on her Voyage with the firſt Opportunity, all ſuch Tea, foreign Brandy, and Spirits, together with the Package, or the Value thereof, ſhall be forfeited, and the ſame may be ſeized.

This, my Lords, I do not mention with a Deſign to draw any Parallel between our Behaviour and the Behaviour of the *Spaniards*: We have exerciſed our Right in ſuch a Manner, that no foreign Nation has the leaſt Reaſon to ſay we have done them an Injury, or to complain of the Regulations we have made for the Preſervation and Exerciſe of our Right. On the contrary, the *Spaniards* have exerciſed the Right they have to prevent a contraband Trade with their Settlements in *America*, in ſuch a Manner, that not only we, but every Nation in *Europe* that has any Trade in that Part of the World, have juſt Reaſon to complain of them, and to inſiſt upon their altering the Regulations they have made for the Preſervation of their Right. Therefore, I ſay, I do not mention this, in order to make a Compariſon between their Conduct and ours; but I mention it to ſhew that, where a Nation has a Right of any Kind, they have a Power to make ſuch Regulations, even with regard to Foreigners, as they think neceſſary for the Preſervation and Exerciſe of that Right, provided thoſe Regulations be not inconſiſtent with the Law of Nations, nor prejudicial to the Rights or Privileges of their Neighbours. This is the principal Diſpute at preſent between *Spain* and us. We ought in Juſtice to allow them to make ſuch Regulations, as may be neceſſary for preventing the carrying on of any contraband Trade with their Settlements in *America*; and on the other hand, they ought in Juſtice to give up, and depart from any Regulations they have made, if upon Examination they be found contrary to the Law of Nations,

Nations, or if by Experience they have been found prejudicial to the undoubted Rights and Privileges of this Nation. We have a Right to a free Navigation in the *American* Seas; but we ought not to inſiſt upon that Navigation's being ſo very free and unconfined, as to render it impoſſible for the *Spaniards* to prevent an illicit Trade with their Settlements in that Part of the World. We would look upon it as the Height of Injuſtice, if the *French* or *Dutch* ſhould inſiſt upon ſuch an unlimited Navigation along our Coaſts, and through the *Britiſh* Channel, as would render it impoſſible for us to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, or the Running of prohibited and uncuſtomed Goods in upon us. If your Lordſhips conſider the Affair in this Light, I am convinced you will be all of my Opinion: You will look upon it as an Affair that could not be eaſily ſettled; and will therefore think, that the moſt his Majeſty could do, was, to have it referred to Plenipotentiaries, in order that they might ſettle ſuch Regulations between *Spain* and us, as might be effectual for the Enjoyment of the Right of each Nation reſpectively, without hurting the Right of the other; and at the ſame Time you will ſee, that the Word, Regulate, was the only proper Term upon this Occaſion, and that it does not mean an Acknowledgment of any unjuſt Right pretended to by *Spain*, nor a giving up of any of the undoubted Rights of this Nation, as ſome People have endeavoured to repreſent.

It has been proved at your Bar, my Lords, and every Man who conſiders the Situation of our Iſlands, and the *Spaniſh* Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Nature of the Winds and Tides in the *American* Seas, muſt ſee, that the Ships of both Nations muſt often and neceſſarily ſail *within two Leagues* of the Coaſts of one another: Our Ships may even ſometimes be obliged to hover upon their Coaſts; and it may, for what I know, be found abſolutely neceſſary, to allow the *Spaniards* a Liberty, under proper Regulations, to examine ſuch of our Merchant Ships as they find hovering within a certain Diſtance of any of their Coaſts in that Part of the World. This Liberty, I ſay, may, for what I know, be neceſſary, for enabling them to prevent an illicit Trade being carried on between our Subjects, and their Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*. It is a Liberty we ourſelves take with the Ships of all Nations, that are found hovering *within two Leagues* of our Coaſts. Nay, it is a Liberty which ſeems to be granted to them, and eſtabliſhed by the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; for by the 4th Article of the Treaty between *Spain* and us, in the Year 1667, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, That if any Ship belonging to the Subjects or Merchants of the one or other Nation, entering into Bays, *or in the open Sea*, ſhall be encountered by the Ships of War belonging to the other Nation; ſuch Ship of War may examine ſuch Merchant Ship, and if any prohibited Goods be found on board ſuch Ship, the ſame may be taken out and confiſcated. From whence it appears, that the *Spaniſh* Ships of War have already Power to examine ſuch of our Merchant Ships as they encounter in the open Seas, whether in *America* or *Europe*; for the Article is without Limitation; and if they have of late made an unjuſt or wrong Uſe of that Power, we ought to remedy upon its being put under ſuch Regulations, as may prevent ſuch a wrong Uſe being made of it in Time to come; but as the contriving and ſettling ſuch Regulations, muſt require a Conſultation with thoſe who are well acquainted with the Trade and Navigation in *America*, we

t ſuppoſe they could be ſettled by preliminary Treaty; and therefore, e only Meaſure that could be ken, was, to refer them to be ttled by Plenipotentiaries, ſo as at they might afterwards be made rt of a dennitive Treaty between e two Nations.

I muſt now, my Lords, beg Leave conſider a little, the Diſpute be-ween *Spain* and us relating to *Ca-lina* and *Georgia*. This, likewiſe, y Lords, cannot properly be called Diſpute about any of the undoubted ights either of this Nation or of *ain*. They do not diſpute, at leaſt ey have not lately diſputed, our ght to what was formerly called *rolina*, of which *Georgia* is a Part; r do we diſpute their Right to e *Southern* Parts of *Florida*: The ly Diſpute between us, is about e Limits between our reſpective ſſeſſions in that Part of the World; d this Diſpute it was impoſſible to tle by a preliminary Convention. ch Diſputes, we know, are ſel-m adjuſted even by a definitive eaty; for when any ſuch Diſpute biſts between two Nations, they en, I may ſay generally, con-ude even a ſolemn and definitive eaty, and by that Treaty they ree, that the Limits between their ſpective Territories ſhall be after-rds adjuſted and ſettled by Com-ſſaries or Plenipotentiaries, to be med and appointed by the two ntracting Parties reſpectively; and erefore, my Lords, I muſt ſay, I ſurprized to hear the leaſt Ob-tion made againſt this Part of the nvention now under our Conſide-ion.

Tis true, my Lords, we have a-ed, that during the Time that Diſcuſſion of this Affair, relat-to the Limits between *Carolina* *Florida*, ſhall laſt, Things ſhall ain in the aforeſaid Territories *Florida* and *Carolina*, in the Situ-on they are in at preſent, without increaſing the Fortifications there, or taking any new Poſts. This is a Sort of Suſpenſion of the free Enjoyment of our Right, but this is a Confirmation of the Right itſelf; becauſe it imports an Acknowledgment from *Spain*, that we have a Right to ſome Territories in *Florida* or *Carolina*. And for this very Reaſon, it would have been wrong in us to have admitted of any Article or Words in this Treaty, for obliging the *Spaniards* to ſuſpend ſearching our Ships on the open Seas of *America*, during the Diſcuſſion of that Affair; becauſe our having ſtipulated any ſuch Suſpenſion, would have been an Acknowledgment that they had ſome Sort of Right to do ſo; in which Caſe, ſome Lords would have had much more Reaſon than they have at preſent, to inſinuate, that by this Treaty we had given up, or rendered diſputable, ſome of the moſt undoubted Rights of this Nation.

Having thus, my Lords, ſhewn, that no reaſonable Objection can be made to the Treaty now before us, I muſt beg your Lordſhips to conſider the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, the Circumſtances of this Nation, and the Relation we ſtand in to *Spain*. To all Nations it muſt be granted that Peace is a deſirable Thing. It muſt be allowed, that no Nation ought to enter into a War againſt any neighbouring Nation whatever, if they can obtain every Thing they can juſtly demand by peaceable Means. But with regard to this Nation, we ought to be more cautious of entering into a War than moſt others. We are a trading Nation: A great Part of our People ſubſiſt by Trade; and even our landed Gentlemen, who have no Concern in Trade, owe a great Part of their yearly Revenue to the Commerce and Manufactures we carry on; for if it were not for our Trade and Manufactures, our

Farms could not let at ſo high a Rent as they do, nor could we have near ſo many Houſes in our Towns and Villages. Therefore, as War muſt always interrupt our Trade, we ought to be extremely cautious of engaging in War, and more ſo with regard to *Spain* than moſt other Nations in *Europe*; becauſe, I believe, it will be allowed, that our Trade with *Spain* is more profitable to the Nation in general, than our Trade with any other Nation in *Europe*, except *Portugal* alone. But ſuppoſe we were under a Sort of Neceſſity to engage in War, yet unleſs that Neceſſity were extremely urgent as well as unavoidable, we ought to put off engaging in War for ſome Time, both on Account of our own Circumſtances, and on Account of the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs in *Europe*. With regard to our own Circumſtances, it muſt be confeſſed, that, conſidering the preſent heavy Load of Debt we labour under, and the many Taxes we are obliged to raiſe for the Payment of that Debt, we are at preſent in no very good Condition for engaging in a dangerous and expenſive War; and with regard to the Affairs of *Europe*, they were never in a more unlucky Situation for us, than they are at this Time. If we ſhould immediately engage in a War with *Spain*, 'tis poſſible, I may ſay, 'tis probable, that the *Spaniards* will be aſſiſted by *France*, and perhaps by ſome other Powers of *Europe* we little dream of at preſent. On the other hand, as the Emperor is engaged in a War with the *Turks*, and has been moſt ſurprizingly unlucky in the Proſecution of that War, we can expect no Aſſiſtance from that Quarter; and this will of Courſe prevent any of the other Powers upon the Continent from giving us any Aſſiſtance, becauſe it will be impoſſible to form an Army upon the Continent, ſufficient for protecting them againſt the united Force of *France* and *Spain*, aſſiſted, perhaps, by ſeveral of the other Princes and States in *Europe*.

I know, my Lords, it may be ſaid, that as we have the good Luck to be environed by the Sea, and have a Fleet ſuperior to any that *France* and *Spain*, joined together, can bring againſt us, we may protect our own Trade and Dominions, and ſo much infeſt the Trade and Dominions of our Enemies, as to make them at laſt glad to agree to reaſonable Terms; but, my Lords, if our Enemies are, by their great Land Armies, abſolute Maſters upon the Continent, they may not only prevent our receiving Aſſiſtance from any of the Princes or States upon the Continent; but they may induce or oblige them all to join againſt us; at leaſt they may oblige them to deny us Acceſs to any of their Ports or Harbours, either for our Men of War or Merchant Ships, which would at once put an entire Stop to our Trade, and would make it impoſſible or very dangerous to ſend our Squadrons to any great Diſtance from our own Ports; for tho' they may be ſuperior to any Squadrons that can be fitted out againſt them, they are not equal to Winds and Tempeſts. By theſe they may be ſcattered and diſperſed, ſome of them perhaps ſwallowed up, and the reſt left a Prey to a puſillanimous Foe, that might lie ſkulking in Port, and watching for ſuch an Opportunity.

It muſt therefore be acknowledged, my Lords, that the preſent Circumſtances of our Affairs both at home and abroad, are no Way ſuitable for our engaging in an immediate War. I ſhould have been far from ſaying ſo much of them, if they had not been well and publickly known. And as every Thing I have ſaid is well known to every Court in *Europe*, I think, that, inſtead

ead of finding Fault with the lit-
e we have obtained by this preli-
inary Treaty, we have Reaſon to
e ſurprized, that his Majeſty was
ble to obtain ſo much. If the
reaty had been much leſs favour-
ble for us, I ſhould have been for A
pproving it; becauſe it would have
revented our being obliged to come
an immediate Rupture; for tho'
e Circumſtances of our Affairs,
oth abroad and at home, be at
reſent in a bad Situation, they
annot long continue ſo: Our own B
ircumſtances, while we remain at
eace, will be every Day growing
etter: We ſhall every Year be able
pay off ſome Part of our Debt,
d thereby either diminiſh our
axes, or increaſe our Sinking Fund.
nd as to the Circumſtances of Af- C
irs in *Europe*, they cannot long re-
ain in the preſent Situation: It is
e peculiar Happineſs of this I-
nd, that no one Nation in the
orld can attack us; and if we do
t raſhly and unadviſedly attack
em, if we will but have Patience, D
e can ſeldom fail of meeting with
good Opportunity, in every four
five Years Time, for making the
oudeſt and the moſt powerful Na-
n in *Europe*, heartily repent of
ving injured this Nation, and that
thout expoſing our own Country E
the leaſt Danger, or to any great
pence. As there are a great many
fferent Intereſts upon the Conti-
nt, as thoſe different Intereſts are
ry Day creating Diſputes among
Princes and States thereof, and
ſeveral Deaths may happen that F
ſt give the Affairs of *Europe* a
rn in our Favour; it would be
ſt imprudent in us to engage in
War at preſent, when the State of
airs in *Europe* is in a Situation
moſt unfavourable for this Na-
n that ever any Age produced; G
therefore, I muſt think, that
Convention now before us, was
of the wiſeſt Steps that could
be made, and that it highly de-
ſerves the Thanks of every Man
who wiſhes well to his Country.

To what I have ſaid, my Lords, I muſt add, that in a few Years we ſhall probably be more united among ourſelves, than we are at preſent. It muſt be allowed, that we have at preſent a very numerous Party amongſt us, who would be ready to join any Invader, againſt our eſtabliſhed Government: Some out of a real Principle, ſome from the Hopes of making or mending their own private Fortunes by the Change, and ſome from Malice and an unjuſt Reſentment againſt thoſe who are employed in our Adminiſtration. The Numbers of thoſe who are from Principle diſaffected to our Government, will be decreaſing every Day; becauſe, as their Diſaffection proceeds from a wrong Education in their Youth, their Children have had an Opportunity of learning other Principles, and of diſcovering the Ridiculouſneſs of thoſe Principles by which their Parents were governed, ſo that Nature itſelf muſt put an End to this Diſaffection, ſince it can meet with no conſiderable Supply from the riſing Generation. As for thoſe who hope for Advantage by a Change, their Numbers will always depend upon the Probability of Succeſs, and therefore muſt always be greater or leſs, according as the Juncture of Affairs abroad is unlucky or favourable for this Nation: And as to thoſe who are governed by Malice and Reſentment, Time itſelf muſt blunt the Edge of their Paſſions; and common Prudence will prevent their engaging with the Enemies of their Country, when, from the State of Affairs in *Europe*, they can have but little Probability of Succeſs.

From all which Conſiderations, my Lords, I muſt be of Opinion, that if the preſent Convention had not been near ſo ſatisfactory as it is,

it would have been more prudent in his Majeſty to have accepted of it, than to have engaged the Nation in an immediate War; but as I have ſhewn, that we have thereby obtained all we could reaſonably deſire, it muſt be allowed that his Majeſty has cloſely, and with ſurprizing Succeſs, followed the Advice that was given him by his Parliament laſt Seſſion; and therefore, I think, we can do nothing leſs than thank him in the Terms propoſed.

The next that ſpoke was M. Agrippa, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

AS I have before given you my Opinion upon this Queſtion, which is not in the leaſt alter'd by any Thing the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt has ſaid, I riſe up now only to take Notice of ſome Things that fell from that noble Lord. In the firſt Part of his Diſcourſe he endeavoured to ſhew, that the Meaſures purſued ſince laſt Seſſion, and the Convention that has been concluded, were agreeable to the Reſolutions and Addreſs of this Houſe laſt Seſſion of Parliament. My Lords, 'tis ſo far otherwiſe, that to any one who reads the Reſolutions we then came to, and the Addreſs we then preſented, both the Meaſures we have purſued, and the Treaty we have concluded, muſt appear to be directly contrary to the Advice we then gave. We adviſed peaceable Meaſures, 'tis true, but we did not adviſe that the Nation ſhould, in the Midſt of Peace, be put to the Expences of War: We adviſed his Majeſty, 'tis true, to endeavour to procure Satisfaction and Security by peaceable Means, but we did not adviſe him to accept of a Treaty which ſtipulates neither the one nor the other: On the contrary, we expreſsly recommended to his Majeſty to inſiſt not only upon no Search, but upon no contraband Goods; whereas in the Treaty his Miniſters have adviſed him to accept of, there is not ſo much as a Stipulation againſt either the one or the other, tho' both have been for ſeveral Years openly and expreſsly pretended to by the *Spaniards*, and many of our Merchants plundered and ruined under that Pretence.

My Lords, to pretend to give Weight to Negotiations, by raiſing Armies and fitting out Squadrons, is a very modern, and a very extraordinary Piece of Politicks: A Sort of Politicks that was never practiſed in any Country but this, nor in this before the happy Æra of our preſent Adminiſtration. When a Nation is actually engaged in War, it would, indeed, be imprudent to diſband their Armies, or lay up their Squadrons, till a Peace is fully ſettled; but in Time of Peace, it is ridiculous to put a Nation to the Trouble and Expence of Armaments, till a War is actually reſolved on. As long as there are any Hopes of obtaining Satisfaction by peaceable Means, no wiſe and frugal Government ever put themſelves to the Expence of extraordinary military Preparations. When all ſuch Hopes are vaniſhed, they then, indeed, prepare for War; but it is always with a Deſign to make a proper Uſe of the Preparations they make, unleſs their Enemies, beſides Satisfaction for all former Demands, agree to make good the Expences which their Obſtinacy has occaſioned. To raiſe Armies, and fit out Squadrons, under Pretence of giving Weight to Negotiations, can ſerve no End therefore, but that of Miniſters, who by ſuch Means get an Opportunity of filling their own and the Pockets of their Friends; for there is no Power we can negotiate with, but knows, that we can both raiſe Armies, and fit out Squadrons,

drons, in caſe our Negotiations ſhould prove unſucceſsful; and our putting ourſelves to ſuch Expence before we know the Iſſue of our Negotiations, muſt give thoſe we negotiate with, a bad Opinion of our Conduct, which will of Courſe diminiſh the Weight of our Negotiations; becauſe they will conclude, that thoſe who do not know how to govern in Time of Peace, will much leſs know how to govern in Time of War. This we may know from fatal Experience; for this Nation had never ſo little Influence upon the Counſels of *Europe*, as ſince we began to pretend to give Weight to our Negotiations, by maintaining or increaſing peaceable Armies, or fitting out harmleſs Squadrons: We have by a long Courſe of ſuch Politicks, I am afraid, brought the Nation into ſuch Contempt, that our Neighbours now as little regard our military Preparations, as they do our pacifick Negotiations; and we have of late Years made ſo many counter Treaties, that, I'm afraid, every Nation in *Europe* deſpiſes our Promiſes, as much as they contemn our Threatnings.

If we conſider what has been done ſince laſt Seſſion, and the great Expence the Nation has been put to, nay, if we give Credit to what has been inſinuated by the noble Lords who have ſpoke in Favour of this Convention, we cannot ſay his Majeſty has obtained this Treaty, ſignificant as it is, by peaceable Meaſures, but by warlike Preparations; and if the Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards* made ſuch Preparations neceſſary, they, and not the People of this Nation, ought to have been made to pay for their Obſtinacy. But with regard to the Treaty itſelf, if we will but look upon the Reſolutions and Addreſs of laſt Year, we muſt ſee that it is ſtill more contrary to the Advice we than gave. We adviſed and recommended in the ſtrongeſt Terms, that his Majeſty ſhould inſiſt upon no Search, and alſo upon no contraband Goods: In this Treaty there is not a Word of either; and yet every one muſt allow, that we recommended, and that we had great Reaſon to recommend, that the *Spaniards* ſhould be obliged, either by peaceable Means, or by Force of Arms, to paſs from both theſe Pretences in the moſt expreſs Terms. The *Spaniards*, my Lords, may, without our Conſent, make what Regulations they pleaſe for preventing an illicit Trade with their Colonies in *America*, provided thoſe Regulations be not inconſiſtent with the Law of Nations, nor contrary to the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns: But that of ſearching our Ships on the open Seas, is not only inconſiſtent with the Law of Nations, but expreſsly contrary to the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. The noble Lord was pleaſed to repeat a Part of the 14th Article of the Treaty 1667: I wiſh he had repeated the Whole; for by that Article it is expreſsly ſtipulated, That if any Ship belonging to the Subjects and Merchants of the one or the other Nation, *entring into Bays*, or in the open Sea, ſhall be encountred by the Ships of War of the other; ſuch Ships of War, to prevent Diſorders, *ſhall not come within Cannon-Shot*, but ſhall ſend their Long-boat, or Pinnace, to the Merchant Ship, *and only two or three Men on board*, to whom the Maſter ſhall ſhew his Paſſports and Sea-Letters, *to which, entire Faith and Credit ſhall be given.* Nay, by the foregoing Article it is provided, That if the Ships belonging to the Subjects of the one or other Nation, be neceſſitated to anchor in the Roads or Bays of either, or even to enter into the Ports of either, *they ſhall not be moleſted or viſited*; but that it ſhall be ſufficient for them to ſhew their Paſſports or Sea-Letters, which being ſeen by the

reſpective Officers of either King, the ſaid Ships ſhall return freely to Sea without any Moleſtation. From hence we may ſee, how careful our Adminiſtration was in the Reign of *Charles* II. to guard againſt our Merchant Ships being expoſed to the Trouble and Inconveniences of a Search; and yet ſome People are as ready to cenſure every Thing that was done in that Reign, as they are ready to applaud every Thing that has been done in the preſent.

This Treaty of 1667, my Lords, as the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt has obſerved before me, is a general and unlimited Treaty: It relates to the Seas of *America*, as well as to the Seas of *Europe*; and as it has been renewed and confirmed by every Treaty between the two Crowns ſince that Time, it plainly demonſtrates, that the ſearching our Ships in any Part of the World, or under any Pretence whatſoever, is contrary to Treaty, as well as inconſiſtent with the Law of Nations. Therefore, as the *Spaniards* have lately ſet up a Pretence to ſearch our Ships on the open Seas of *America*, before we had ſubmitted to treat with them about any Regulations for rendering effectual the Right they have to prevent an illicit Trade with their Settlements in that Part of the World, we ought to have inſiſted upon their paſſing from this Pretence, in the moſt explicit Terms that could be made uſe of.

Now, my Lords, with regard to contraband or prohibited Goods, for we muſt take Care to diſtinguiſh between the two: Becauſe contraband Goods are only Arms, Ammunition, and other Utenſils of War, which are on board a Ship bound to an Enemy's Port; therefore none of our Ships, either in the *American* Seas, or any other Seas, can have any Goods on board, which the *Spaniards* can call contraband, unleſs ſhe be bound to ſome of the Ports of thoſe who are at that very Time in War with *Spain*. But ſuppoſe a *Spaniſh* Ship of War ſhould meet at Sea a *Britiſh* Ship, and that by her Paſſports or Sea-Letters it ſhould appear, that ſhe is bound to a Port then belonging to the Enemies of *Spain*; for it can no other Way appear but by her Paſſports or Sea-Letters, as is evident from the 14th Article of the Treaty 1667, which I have already mentioned: Yet even in that Caſe, the *Spaniards* are not to ſearch the *Britiſh* Ship at Sea, nor are they to confiſcate the Ship and Cargo, for the Sake of the contraband Goods that appear to be on board. By the 23d Article of the ſame Treaty, it is expreſsly provided, That in caſe any contraband Goods be found on board, *by the above-ſaid Means*, they ſhall be taken out and confiſcated; *but for this Reaſon the Ship, and the other free and allowed Commodities which ſhall be found therein, ſhall in no wiſe be either ſeized or confiſcated.* And to prevent all Diſputes about what may be deem'd contraband, the ſeveral Sorts of Goods to be deem'd contraband, are particularly enumerated in the 24th Article; and by the 25th Article it is expreſsly ſtipulated, That Wheat, Rye, Barley, or other Grain, or Pulſe, Salt, Wine, Oil, and generally whatſoever belongs to the ſuſtaining and nouriſhing of Life, ſhall not be deemed contraband, tho' deſigned to be carried to the Towns or Places of Enemies, unleſs ſuch Town or Place be beſieg'd, and block'd-up, or ſurrounded; which ſhews, that if the *Spaniards* had the leaſt Regard for the Nation, or for the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, they would never have pretended to have ſeized a *Britiſh* Ship in the *American* Seas on Account of her having any contraband Goods on board.

As to prohibited Goods, my Lords, they are very different from that properly called contraband. Prohibited Goods, which in *Latin*

called *Merces Prohibitæ*, without adding the Words, *Vulgo Contrabandæ*, are ſuch Goods as are prohibited to be imported, or ſuch as are prohibited to be exported, by the Laws of any particular Country. Both in *Spain* and *England* there are Goods which are prohibited to be exported, and as there is an Intercourſe of Trade between the two Nations in *Europe*, the Subjects of *England* may be liable to be puniſhed, if they ſhould export from *Spain* any of the Goods prohibited to be exported by the Laws of that Kingdom, as well as the Subjects of *Spain* may be liable to be puniſhed, if they ſhould export from hence any of the Goods prohibited to be exported by the Laws of this Kingdom. This, I ſay, may be the Caſe with regard to our reſpective Dominions in *Europe*; and therefore this Caſe too was regulated by the Treaty 1667; for by the 15th Article of that Treaty it is ſtipulated, That if any prohibited Goods be exported from the Territories of either of the ſaid Kings, by the reſpective Subjects of the one or the other, the prohibited Goods ſhall be *only* confiſcated, *and not the other Goods*; neither ſhall the Delinquent incur any other Puniſhment, except he ſhall carry out from the Dominions of the King of *Great Britain*, the proper Coin, Wool, or Fullers Earth of the ſaid Kingdoms; or ſhall carry out of the Kingdoms or Dominions of the ſaid King of *Spain*, any Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought; in either of which Caſes the Laws of the reſpective Countries are to take Place.

But, my Lords, as there is no Intercourſe of Trade between the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, or between the Subjects of *Spain* and the *Britiſh* Settlements in that Part of the World, therefore there can be no Goods on board any Ships of the one Nation trading in thoſe Seas, that can be called prohibited by the other. The very Trade itſelf is prohibited, and conſequently every Shilling's Worth that any *Britiſh* Ship can export from the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, let the Goods be of whatever Sort or Kind, muſt be prohibited; and may be ſeized and confiſcated, not becauſe ſhe has got prohibited or contraband Goods on board, but becauſe ſhe has been concerned in an illicit Trade.

From what I have ſaid, my Lords, it muſt appear, that no *Britiſh* Ship ſailing in the *American* Seas, can have any Goods on board which the *Spaniards* can call prohibited or contraband Goods; and as they have lately ſet up ſuch a Pretence, and have ſeized and confiſcated a great many of our Ships upon that Account, therefore we ought to have inſiſted upon their waving that Pretence, before we had ſubmitted to treat with them upon any other Article. But ſuppoſe the *Spaniards* ſhould ſay, they do not ſeize our Ships in the *American* Seas on Account of their having prohibited or contraband Goods on board, but on Account of their having Goods on board which are the proper Produce of their Settlements in that Part of the World, becauſe they look upon their having ſuch Goods on board as an inconteſtable Proof of ſuch Ships having been concerned in an illicit Trade with their Settlements. My Lords, it would be ridiculous in us to admit of this, and ſtill more ridiculous to admit of their ſearching *Britiſh* Ships on the open Seas of *America* upon this Pretence; for they would certainly ſoon after pretend to ſearch every Ship they met with in the *European* Seas, and to confiſcate Ship and Cargo, in caſe they ſhould find any *Spaniſh* Gold or Silver on board; becauſe they would ſay, that her having *Spaniſh* Gold or Silver on board, was an inconteſtable Proof of her having exported it

it clandeſtinely from ſome Part of *Spain*, and conſequently that the Laws of their Country ought to take Place, according to the 15th Article of the Treaty 1667. Whereas by that Treaty, and by the Cuſtom ever ſince, no *Britiſh* Ship can be ſearched on the open Seas by any *Spaniſh* Ship of War, and conſequently even thoſe Goods which are prohibited to be exported from *Spain*, cannot be ſeized or confiſcated, after they are loaded on board a *Britiſh* Ship, and that Ship fairly out at Sea, unleſs it ſhould appear by her Paſſports or Sea-Letters, that they were exported from *Spain*, which is a Caſe that can never happen; for it can never appear by a Ship's Paſſports or Sea-Letters, that ſuch Goods were exported from *Spain*; becauſe when they are exported from thence clandeſtinely, as they muſt be, no Account of them can appear in the Ship's Paſſports or Sea-Letters; and ſuch Goods, when exported from any other Country, cannot then be called prohibited Goods by the *Spaniards*; becauſe they appear then by the Ship's Paſſports or Sea-Letters, not to have been exported from *Spain*, and conſequently can neither be ſeized nor confiſcated by the *Spaniards*.

I ſhall allow, my Lords, that the *Spaniards* have as good a Right to prevent an illicit Trade with their Settlements in *America*, as we have to prevent an illicit Trade with ours. Between theſe two Caſes a Parallel may be drawn, in order to ſee which of us takes the wiſeſt and the juſteſt Methods for preſerving our Right. But I was ſurprized to hear a Parallel attempted to be drawn between an illicit Trade with the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, and a clandeſtine or unlawful Trade upon the Coaſts of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. In the former there is no Intercourſe of Trade allowed to Foreigners: No foreign Ship can enter any of their Ports, but in Caſes of the greateſt Neceſſity; therefore, it is eaſy to prevent an illicit Trade, without any ſevere Precautions: To which I muſt add, that as there is no Convenience of Land Carriage from the By-Creeks and Corners of their Coaſt to any of their great Towns, no illicit Trade can be carried on, but at Places near ſome of their great Towns, and there it would be eaſy to prevent it, by proper Officers and proper Regulations at Land: Nay, even one of their own Governors was of Opinion, as appears by a Letter of his, which was read at our Bar, that it would be eaſy to prevent an illicit Trade, by proper Precautions at Land, without employing one *Guarda Coſta* at Sea. Whereas in *Britain* and *Ireland* there is a free Intercourſe of Trade allowed to all Foreigners, and convenient Land or Water Carriage from every By-Creek and Corner of our Coaſts, to many populous Cities and Villages; and therefore, it is ſo eaſy for Foreigners, as well as our own Subjects, to run prohibited or uncuſtomed Goods in upon us, or to ſteal our Wool or Fullers Earth away from us, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to take Precautions, both by Sea and Land, againſt ſuch Practices.

However, my Lords, notwithſtanding the Difficulty we labour under in this Caſe, let us but conſider the Laws we have made againſt the Exporting of our Wool, and againſt Smuggling, and we ſhall find that no foreign Nation can have the leaſt Ground to complain of them, nor can any Foreigner ſuffer by them, unleſs he is really guilty, or very much to blame. We have, 'tis true, very ſevere Laws againſt the Exportation of our Wool, and we have Guard-ſhips appointed on purpoſe, and inſtructed to ſeize all Ships exporting that valuable Commodity to foreign

oreign Parts; but thoſe Guard-ſhips never pretend to ſearch or ſeize any foreign Veſſel, unleſs they have a full Proof, or very great Cauſe of Suſpicion, that ſhe has Wool on board, which was actually exported, or carried out to her, from ſome Part of *Britain* or *Ireland*. And as to thoſe Laws that have been made againſt Ships hovering within two Leagues of our Coaſts, they are ſo limited, that it is hardly poſſible any Foreigner can ſuffer, unleſs he has a real Deſign to ſmuggle; for even by the laſt Act that was made againſt ſuch Ships, which is the moſt ſevere, I mean the late famous Smuggling Act, paſſed but about 3 Years ſince, the Veſſel muſt have Tea, or foreign Spirits on board, and thoſe Spirits muſt be in Caſks under 60 Gallons; and farther, ſhe muſt not only appear to be hovering, but alſo it muſt appear, that ſhe did not proceed upon her Voyage, Wind and Weather permitting, and without the Maſter's being able to ſhew, that ſhe was detained, or prevented from proceeding, by any neceſſary Cauſe whatſoever.

But, my Lords, leſt ſome of the *Spaniſh* Advocates in this Country ſhould from theſe Laws pretend, that we may allow the *Spaniards* to make free with ſuch of our Ships as they find ſailing within two Leagues of their Coaſts in *America*, I muſt take Notice of ſome very material Differences between the *Britiſh* and the *American* Seas. In the firſt Place, I am ſure no Man that has a true *Britiſh* Heart, will allow the *Spaniards* to uſurp ſuch a Dominion over the *American* Seas, as we have a juſt Right to over the *Britiſh*. And in the next Place, I muſt obſerve, that no foreign Ship, not bound for any of our Ports, can have the leaſt Occaſion to come within two Leagues of any Part of our Shore, and much leſs to hover within two Leagues of our Shore, unleſs ſhe has ſome bad Deſign; but on the contrary, as our Coaſts are flat, and full of Sand-Banks, every fair Trader will endeavour to keep above two Leagues from our Shore. Whereas, there are none of our Ships that come from *Jamaica* to *Britain*, or that are bound from thence to any of our Colonies upon the Continent of *America*, but muſt ſteer their Courſe cloſe in with the Shore of the *Spaniſh* Iſlands of *Hiſpaniola* or *Cuba*: The Reaſon of this is, becauſe the Courſe from *Jamaica*, by the windward Paſſage, is much ſafer than that by the Gulf of *Florida*; therefore it is choſen by all Ships coming from *Jamaica*, if they can poſſibly make it; but as the Trade-Winds are almoſt directly in their Teeth, they are obliged to keep cloſe in with the *Cuba* Shore, becauſe there is a Land Breeze comes off from that Iſland, which greatly aſſiſts them in their Courſe, and without which it would be impoſſible for them to make the windward Paſſage. And even when they find they cannot make the windward Paſſage: When they find they muſt bear away for the Gulf, they muſt, for many Leagues together, ſail along the *Cuba* Shore; and as they are obliged, after they paſs *Cape St. Antonio*, upon the *Weſt* End of the Iſland of *Cuba*, to turn up againſt the Trade-Winds, they are under a Neceſſity of keeping cloſe in with the *Cuba* Shore, in order to take the Benefit of the Land Breezes from that Iſland; for otherwiſe they would be in great Danger of being forced by the Trade-Winds and the Currents, either into the Gulf of *Mexico*, or upon the *Martieres*; the Danger of which has been confirmed by Experience; for it was proved at our Bar, that two Ships were loſt but laſt Year, becauſe they, in their Courſe, kept farther from the Shore of *Cuba* than uſual, in order to avoid the *Guarda Coſta's*, by which Means

Means they were both drove upon the *Martieres* and loſt. But this is not all, our Ships muſt not only keep cloſe in with the *Cuba* Shore, but when they are endeavouring to make the windward Paſſage, they are often obliged to hover near that Shore, or the Shore of *Hiſpaniola*, for two or three Weeks, when the Trade-Winds blow hard, in order to wait for a Calm, that they may thereby have an Opportunity of making that Paſſage.

This ſhews, my Lords, that we cannot allow the *Spaniards* to ſearch our Ships within any Limits at Sea, even tho' they ſhould be found hovering upon their Coaſts; and they have made ſo bad an Uſe of the Power they have lately uſurped, that we have, I am ſure, no Reaſon to give them a Right to that Power by Treaty, under any Limitations whatever. But farther, it is a Power they have no Occaſion for, unleſs it be to injure and interrupt our Trade; for their Coaſts are not like ours in *Britain* and *Ireland*: They are not full of Inhabitants, and fiſhing or trading Villages at every Creek: They have no Inhabitants, but in, or near their great Towns, therefore no illicit Trade can be carried on but in their Ports, or at ſome Creek very near them; and there it is impoſſible to carry on any illicit Trade, but by the Connivance of the *Spaniſh* Governor, which is generally purchaſed by illicit Traders, in which Caſe the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's* dare not touch them; ſo that theſe *Guarda Coſta's* can be of no real Uſe, but to moleſt and plunder, or ſeize, under frivolous Pretences, thoſe foreign Ships that have no Deſign to carry on an illicit Trade with the *Spaniſh* Settlements, and therefore will not be at the Expence of making Preſents to *Spaniſh* Governors.

I hope, my Lords, I have now made it appear, that no Regulations can be ſettled between *Spain* and us, for preſerving the Right they have to exclude Foreigners from carrying on any Trade in their Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*. They may lay what Penalties and Forfeitures they will, upon their own Subjects in that Part of the World; They may even lay what Penalties and Forfeitures they will, upon thoſe *Britiſh* Subjects that ſhall come within their Territories, contrary to the Treaty 1670; but they can lay no Penalty or Forfeiture on, nor can they ſubject to their Regulations, any *Britiſh* Ship or Subject that does not come within their Territories in *America*, which we cannot allow them to extend beyond the Limits of their Ports, Havens, and inhabited Creeks, unleſs we have a Mind to yield up to them the Sovereignty of the *American* Seas, which I hope no *Britiſh* Miniſter will dare. Therefore I cannot comprehend what our Plenipotentiaries have to regulate, with relation to our Trade and Navigation, unleſs they are to regulate and reſtrain (for every Regulation muſt be a Reſtraint) our Right to a free Navigation in the *American* Seas, or our Right to carry in our Ships, whatever Goods or Merchandize we pleaſe, from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions to another. From hence it is evident, that this Convention is ſo far from being agreeable to the Reſolutions of this Houſe laſt Seſſion, that it is directly contrary to them; for which Reaſon, it ought certainly to be ſome Way amended.

But to me, my Lords, no Amendment can be of any Signification. I ſhall be againſt the Motion however amended: The Convention I cannot approve of in any Shape or in any Words: I have ſhewn it to be a moſt diſhonourable and deſtructive Treaty; and therefore, if any Motion had been made for cenſuring it, I ſhould have moſt hea-

ily concurred; but as no ſuch Mo-
ion is now before us, I ſhall ſatisfy
yſelf with giving a Negative to
he preſent Queſtion. In this, I
ope to have a Happineſs I have
een for many Years very little ac-
uſtomed to: I hope to have the
Concurrence of a great Majority of
his Houſe; for ſurely, no Lord that
ears me, can be under the leaſt
Difficulty in joining with me upon
his Occaſion. If the Queſtion had
een for cenſuring this Treaty, bad
s it is, ſome Lords might have
ound themſelves under Difficulties:
hey might, perhaps, have been
nwilling to cenſure what has been
one by their Friends; but no Rule
f Friendſhip can lay them under
Difficulty in giving their Nega-
ive to the preſent Queſtion. It is
nly refuſing to approve of what
hey think does not deſerve their
pprobation; and to approve with
ur Lips, of what we in our Hearts
eſpiſe, is the Part of a Flatterer,
ot of a Friend.

pon this C. Cicerejus *ſtood up again, and made a ſhort Speech, the Purport of which was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

AS I am far from having the leaſt Doubt of our Right to a free avigation in the *American* Seas, or our Right to carry in our Ships hat Goods or Merchandize we ink proper, from one Part of his ajeſty's Dominions to another, I ry much approve of what the no-e Lord that ſpoke laſt has ſaid in indication of theſe our Rights; t from his having been at the ins to ſay ſo much in their Vin-cation, I am perſuaded the *Spa-ards* may have ſomething to ſay ainſt them, or at leaſt that they ay have ſome Reaſons to offer, hy we ſhould agree to their being d under ſome Regulations, in or-r to ſecure them againſt an illicit Trade's being carried on by our People in their Settlements; and this convinces me, that our Diſputes upon this Subject, were of ſuch a Nature as could not be fully ſettled by a preliminary Treaty. It muſt require ſome Time to convince the *Spaniſh* Court, that theſe our Rights can admit of no Regulations, eſpecially, as it is the Intereſt of the *Spaniſh* Governors and Captains of *Guarda Coſta's* in *America*, to inſiſt upon it that they may; and as there is nothing in the Convention now before us that can in the leaſt derogate from either of theſe Rights, I am far from having ſuch an Opinion of it as ſome noble Lords have been pleaſed to expreſs. On the contrary, I think it the moſt we could expect in ſo ſhort a Time, and therefore, I thought the leaſt I could do, was to move for an Addreſs in the Terms I have taken the Liberty to propoſe.

If this were a ſolemn and definitive Treaty, my Lords, there might be ſome Reaſon for ſaying that it did not come up to our Reſolutions and Addreſs of laſt Seſſion; but as it is only a preliminary Convention, and as by this Preliminary his Majeſty has obtained, by peaceable Meaſures, a Part of what was recommended to him laſt Seſſion, I mean Reparation for our Loſſes, and has, in my Opinion, laid a Foundation for obtaining, by the ſame Means, all that was recommended to him, I think he deſerves Thanks from every Man who delights in Peace, or wiſhes Proſperity to the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain*. From ſuch, I ſay, he deſerves Thanks, and he deſerves it the more on Account of his having obtained thoſe Terms by peaceable Meaſures; for tho' the fitting out of Squadrons may be called warlike Preparations, they cannot be called warlike Meaſures; and whatever other Lords may think, I ſhall al-

ways be of Opinion, that in Time of Peace, as well as in Time of War, the Courts we negotiate with will have the more Regard to what we propoſe, when they know we are ready to back our Propoſals with a well-diſciplined Army, and a powerful Fleet to convey that Army wherever we have a Mind. We can, 'tis true, raiſe Armies, and fit out Squadrons whenever we pleaſe, but we can do neither in an Inſtant; and when foreign Powers know that we have none ſuch ready, they will of courſe ſuppoſe, they may have Time to prepare for their Defence, before we can be in a Condition to attack them, which will render them leſs pliable than they would be, if they knew that the immediate Conſequence of their Refuſal would be a powerful Invaſion from this Kingdom, upon ſome Part of their Territories.

For theſe Reaſons, my Lords, I do not think the Motion I have made ſtands much in need of any Amendment; but if the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, or any other Lord, will pleaſe to propoſe an Amendment, I ſhall willingly agree to it, unleſs it appear to be a very unreaſonable one; for all that I propoſe, my Lords, is, that we ſhould make ſuch a Compliment upon the preſent Occaſion to his Majeſty, as has always been uſual when any Treaty, Convention, or Negotiation, has been laid before this Houſe by the King's Order. This, I think, is upon all ſuch Occaſions neceſſary; but upon the preſent I muſt think it more neceſſary than upon moſt others; becauſe his Majeſty's Succeſs, with regard to the ſolemn and definitive Treaty, which is to be concluded in purſuance of this preliminary Convention, muſt entirely depend upon the Reſpect ſhewn to his Majeſty by his Parliament upon this Occaſion.

The next that ſpoke was L. Piſo, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

A I VERY little mind the Addreſs propoſed, or any Addreſs that can be propoſed upon this Occaſion; Nor am I under the leaſt Concern, whether you amend it or no; for I ſhall be againſt it, however amended. I think this Convention the B moſt inglorious, the moſt pernicious, that this Nation ever made; and therefore I ſhall be againſt any Thing that may ſeem to inſinuate the Approbation of this Houſe. We are ſworn to be faithful Counſellors to his Majeſty, and I think it would C be deceiving him, it would be a Breach of our Honour, a Breach of our Oath, to preſent to his Majeſty an Addreſs that may bear the moſt diſtant Reſemblance of an Approbation of ſuch a Treaty. I do not know who were the Authors of it; D and therefore I cannot condemn the Convention becauſe of the Authors, but I muſt condemn the Authors, be who they will, becauſe of the Convention. But, my Lords, tho' I do not know who were the Authors, I know who were not: I E know his Majeſty was not: I know he would never have approved of it, if Matters had not been egregiouſly miſrepreſented to him. It is not, my Lords, to the King, we are to ſhew our Reſpect by an Addreſs upon this Occaſion: It is to his Miniſters; for I muſt always look upon F Addreſſes that ſeem to inſinuate an Approbation of publick Meaſures, as Addreſſes made to the Miniſters who adviſed and conducted thoſe Meaſures. It is not therefore to the King, but to his Miniſters, that we G are to ſhew our Reſpect upon this Occaſion; and the only Method by which we can regain from foreign Nations that Reſpect which is due

to this, and that which we have forfeited by our late Conduct, especially by our agreeing to this Convention, would be to ſhew no Reſpect to thoſe that made it, but to cenſure it, and then addreſs his Majeſty, to know who had adviſed it. This would be ſhewing a due Reſpect to our Sovereign, and a due Reſpect to our own Honour. As for our Succeſs, with regard to the ſolemn and definitive Treaty, that is to be concluded in purſuance of this preliminary Convention, I hope we ſhall have none, I would diſappoint it if poſſible; for I am ſure it is impoſſible to obtain an honourable Treaty, in purſuance of ſuch a diſhonourable Preliminary.

Laſt Seſſion of Parliament, my Lords, we ſtrengthened the Hands of the Crown in a moſt extraordinary Manner: We put it in the Power of the Crown to obtain Satisfaction, Reparation, and Security, by Force of Arms, if they could not be obtained by peaceable Means; but no proper Uſe has been made of the extraordinary Powers we then granted. Great Fleets have, indeed, been fitted out: The Nation has been put to great Expence, our Seamen harraſs'd, and our Trade interrupted: From theſe mighty Preparations the Nation expected great Things; but the *Spaniards* knew better: They knew the Inſtructions given to our formidable Squadrons; or at leaſt they judged of them from former Experience. They knew our Fleets were directed by the ſame Counſels they have been for ſeveral Years paſt, and therefore they concluded, they were furniſhed with the ſame harmleſs Inſtructions. We had before ſent a Fleet to *Carthagena*, where it lay peaceably for ſeveral Months, an Overmatch for *Spain*, but an unequal Match for the Worms and Climate. We had before ſent a Fleet to *Gibraltar*, when it was actually beſieged by the *Spaniards*; but that Fleet was not to attack or annoy them: No, it was ſo civil as to open to Right and Left, and let Proviſions paſs through for the Enemy's beſieging Army: Nay, it ſeems, they had Inſtructions not even to protect our Trade; for ſome of our Merchant Ships were taken under their very Noſe.

Our Fleets ſent out laſt Summer, my Lords, now appear to have had the ſame Sort of Inſtructions. We may judge of the Inſtructions given to that ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, from an Accident that happened. One blunt *Engliſh* Captain that was ſent out upon a Cruiſe, imagining that his Country was not put to the Expence of ſending out Fleets to do nothing, happened to meet with a *Spaniſh* Regiſter Ship, which he took and brought into *Jamaica*, as a lawful Prize; but the Commodore knew the Secret: He knew we were not to take, but in the moſt humble Manner to ſue for Satisfaction and Juſtice; and therefore he ordered the Captain not only to ſet his Prize at Liberty, but to convoy her back, with great Reſpect, to the Latitude in which he took her. Our Squadron ſent to the *Mediterranean* could have no warlike Inſtructions; becauſe they could do no Harm to *Spain*, unleſs it had been to make Prize of ſome of their fiſhing Boats, or coaſting Barks: They had no Land Forces on board, nor were provided with any Thing proper for annoying any *Spaniſh* Town or Village upon the Sea Coaſt. None of our Fleets therefore could give the leaſt Weight to our Negotiations: They could ſerve for nothing, but to confirm the *Spaniards* in the contemptible Opinion they have long entertained of us; and the Conſequence we find is agreeable. We have obtained no Satisfaction for the many Indignities that have been put upon us: It does not appear that

we ever aſked for it. We have obtained no Reparation for our Loſſes; but what was before agreed to by *Spain*, or what one Part of our own People muſt make to the other. And we have obtained no Security for our Trade or Navigation: That we have left entirely to our Plenipotentiaries; and they are ſuch Plenipotentiaries, as, I believe, no Nation in the World would have truſted with an Affair of ſuch Conſequence; for I do not know that either of them has one Shilling's Worth Eſtate in any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, to anſwer for any Malverſations or Breaches of Faith they may be guilty of.

I am ſurprized any Lord ſhould imagine, we have got as ample Satisfaction as we could inſiſt on. My Lords, the Word Satisfaction ought not to be mentioned by any one that talks in Favour of this Convention: We have got none. Has *Spain* agreed to puniſh or deliver up any one of its Governors or Captains, that have ſo cruelly uſed our Seamen? This alone can be called Satisfaction; and this we were afraid to aſk. We have not ſo much as got, by this Convention, any Reparation for our Loſſes; and yet we have by this Convention given the *Spaniards* a general Releaſe. My Lords, I ſhall ſhew that we have got no Reparation, but what *Spain* had before agreed to give, or what one Part of our own People muſt make to the other; and in order to do this, I muſt examine the juſt Demands, which, 'tis ſaid, *Spain* had upon us. The only Demands I ever heard of are, that which relates to the Ships we took from them in the *Mediterranean* in 1718; and that which relates to the Ship they call the *Sta. Thereſa*, which was ſeized at *Dublin* in 1735. If there are any other, I wiſh the noble Lords who talk ſo much in Favour of the Convention, would mention and explain them.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the Ships we took from them in 1718, I muſt inſiſt upon it, that they were juſtly taken, and were lawful Prize. But as we, by the Treaty in 1721, agreed to reſtore them, let us examine the Words of that Treaty, in order to ſee whether we have not long ſince complied, as far as we were obliged, with the Terms of that Treaty. The Words of the 5th Article of that Treaty are, That his *Britannick* Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be reſtored to his Catholick Majeſty, all the Ships of the *Spaniſh* Fleet which were taken by that of *England*, in the naval Battle fought in the Seas of *Sicily* in 1718, with the Guns and other Equipage, *in the Condition they are at preſent*, or elſe the Value of thoſe that may have been ſold, *at the ſame Price that the Purchaſers ſhall have given*. Theſe are the Words of the Treaty; and in purſuance of this, his Catholick Majeſty ſent Commiſſaries to *Port Mahon*, where all theſe Ships were, except one, for I never heard that any more of them were ſold, and the Ships were accordingly, by his Majeſty's Orders, offer'd to be delivered to theſe Commiſſaries, with their Guns and other Equipage, in the Condition they were then in, which was all we were obliged to; but the Commiſſaries refuſed to accept of them, becauſe they were in a decayed Condition, and unfit for Service. Therefore, if theſe Ships were not reſtored, it was the King of *Spain*'s own Fault; for we performed all that was incumbent upon us by the Treaty 1721; except as to what related to the Ship that had been ſold, and that Ship having been ſent to *Spain* by thoſe that purchaſed her, after they had fitted her up for Service, at a very great Expence, the *Spaniards* thought fit to ſeize her, by which they gave us a Claim upon

upon them, instead of their having any upon us, on account of that Ship; for we were obliged to account for her only at the Price at which she was sold, whereas, when they seized her, she was worth a great deal more.

From hence it appears, my Lords, that they could have no just Demand upon us, on account of any Obligation we laid ourselves under by the Treaty 1721. And with respect to the Ship they called the *Sta. Theresa*, it is well known, that she was one of those many *British* Ships that have been of late most unjustly seized and confiscated by the *Spaniards*; and as she happened to be sent upon a Voyage to *Dublin* by some *Spanish* Merchants, the former Owner being there at the Time, immediately discovered her to be his Ship; and he having applied to the Government there, and fully proved his Property, we could not refuse to do Justice to our own People in our own Ports; tho' we have for many Years neglected to obtain Justice for them from the *Spaniards*; but if we consider the Convention, we shall find, that the Value of this Ship is not to be included in the 90,000*l* Demand which they make upon us; for by the 2d separate Article, this Ship is to be referred to the Plenipotentiaries, and if they should give it against us, the Value of her is still to be accounted for, or to be allowed in Whole, or in Part, as a Compensation for the *British* Ship called the *Success*, the Restitution of which is stipulated by the same Article.

I hope I have now shewn, that the *Spaniards* had no just Demands upon us; and therefore, I cannot comprehend how any Lord can talk of the mutual Demands that were between the two Nations. My Lords, there were no mutual Demands: The Demands were all of our Side: We had taken great Care they should have no Demands upon us; for to our Christian Patience and Long-suffering, we added a Christian Sort of Revenge. We heaped Coals of Fire upon their Heads, by returning them many good Offices for many Injuries received; but whatever Christianity may teach with regard to private Life, I am sure it inculcates no such Doctrines with regard to the Behavour of Nations or Governments towards one another; and I have good Reason to believe that those who have been the chief Authors of our political Tameness and Submission, were no Way influenced by any Christian Motives.

I shall now, my Lords, consider the Demands we had upon *Spain*; and here I must observe, that the Demands of our Merchants for Ships plundered or seized by the *Spaniards*, before our Commissaries returned from *Spain*, which is three or four Years since, amounted to above 400,000*l.* which Sum was reckoned as the Value of what was taken or plundered at prime Cost, for if our Merchants had valued it at what they might have sold the Cargoes for at Market, it would have amounted to above 500,000*l.* besides the Damages they suffered by the Interruption of their Trade, raising the Premiums upon Insurance, and Loss of Ships, two of which we had an Account of from the Gentlemen that were examined at our Bar, besides many others that were never heard of, some of which there is great Reason to suspect, were taken by *Spanish Guarda Costa's*, and the Ships, with every living Soul on board, sent to the Bottom of the Sea, after those Pirates had gutted them of all they thought fit for their Purpose. Therefore, the Amount of our real Damages, and consequently of our real Demands upon *Spain*, at the Time our Commissaries left that Kingdom, was at

least

leaſt 500,000*l.* Sterling; and as the *Spaniards* have taken and plundered a great many of our Ships ſince that Time, our Demands upon them for Damages, without reckoning Coſts, muſt have amounted to a great deal above 500,000*l.* at the Time we began to negotiate this Convention; for if to this we ſhould add our Coſts, I mean the extraordinary Expence the Nation has been put to by their obſtinate Refuſal of Juſtice, our Demands upon them at that Time, would Amount, I believe, to at leaſt *a Million Sterling*, without one Shilling's Worth of a juſt Demand upon their Side; and this whole Demand we have by this Convention releaſed, for the Sum of 27,000*l.* which is leſs than the King of *Spain* himſelf had allowed (before this Convention was thought of) to be juſtly due to us, as I ſhall preſently make appear.

My Lords, the Value put by our Commiſſaries on the Demands of our Merchants, is what I have not the leaſt Regard to. They ſeem to have been *Spaniſh* and not *Engliſh* Commiſſaries. 'Tis true, they reduced the Demands of our Merchants to 200,000*l.* but they had not the leaſt Reaſon for what they did. One of them that was examined at our Bar, could not give the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon for making any Reduction, and much leſs for making ſuch an extraordinary Reduction. From what he ſaid, we may judge, how they lumped Things in Favour of *Spain*. He told us, that for about 20 Sloops, that even they allowed to have been unjuſtly ſeized, they lumped them at 100*l.* a-piece, tho' every one knows, that no Sloop, proper for ſailing on Seas where Tornado's, Tempeſts, and Hurricanes are frequent, can be built and fitted out for 100*l.* without reckoning the Seamens Cloaths, Proviſions, and other Things, that muſt be on board. From hence we may ſee, they were reſolved to reduce the Demands of their Country-Men as low as poſſible. From whom they could have Inſtructions for this, I cannot imagine: I am ſure it was not from his Majeſty; and if they received ſuch Inſtructions from any of his Miniſters, they ought not to have complied with them: It was betraying his Majeſty, and ſacrificing the Intereſt of his People, to the ſelfiſh Views of ſome of his Miniſters.

But even this Sum of 200,000*l.* the Court of *Spain* was reſolved, it ſeems, not to make good; and as our Miniſters were, it ſeems, reſolved to have a Treaty at any Rate, it became neceſſary for them to reduce this Sum: For this Purpoſe we have allowed of a Demand of 60,000*l.* which the *Spaniards* made upon us, tho' they had not, as I have ſhewn, the leaſt Pretence for making ſuch a Demand. This reduced the 200,000*l.* to 140,000*l.* Well, but even this Sum of 140,000*l.* the Court of *Spain* refuſed to pay; therefore we allowed them to deduct 45,000*l.* for prompt Payment. Whatever other Lords may think, I muſt think, an Allowance of near one third of the Sum due, is a pretty extraordinary Allowance for prompt Payment; eſpecially, when that which is called prompt Payment, is only a Promiſe to pay in four Months. I have often, my Lords, heard of an Allowance made for prompt Payment, when Money is paid before it is due by Law or Cuſtom; but I never heard that the Creditor made an Allowance for prompt Payment, when he gave his Debtor four Months Forbearance: The Allowance is then generally on the other Side. This was the Caſe between *Spain* and us. The Money was due, and immediately payable both by Law and Cuſtom; therefore they ſhould have made us an Allowance for Forbearance, inſtead of our making them an Allowance for prompt

prompt Payment. What Neceſſity, what Obligation, could we lie under to accept of Aſſignments upon his Catholick Majeſty's Revenues in *New Spain?* It would have been ridiculous to accept of any ſuch; becauſe we knew, by Experience, they were good for nothing.

However, my Lords, every Pretence was to be admitted, that could be made for diminiſhing the Sum due to us from *Spain:* Therefore this Allowance for prompt Payment was admitted of, and this reduced the 140,000*l.* to 95,000*l.* But ſtill this Sum was too large: The Court of *Spain* would not ſo much as promiſe to pay even this Sum; therefore our Negotiators allowed, for what I know, prompted them to ſet up a moſt unjuſt Claim of 68,000*l.* againſt our *South-Sea* Company; and tho' the *Spaniards* are, by their own Acknowledgment, indebted to our *South-Sea* Company in a much larger Sum, yet it was agreed, that this 68,000*l.* ſhould be immediately paid by the Company to the King of *Spain*; and this immediate Payment was made the fundamental Article of the Convention; for the King of *Spain*'s Proteſtation, or Declaration, I muſt, and, I am convinced, the Court of *Spain* will, conſider as a Condition *ſine qua non*; and our agreeing to accept of any Treaty under ſuch a Condition, is the more extraordinary, for that it was done by one who was the Company's Servant, and at that very time intruſted with the Management of their Affairs at that Court.

We may now ſee, my Lords, what Reparation the King of *Spain* has, by this Convention, agreed to make us. He has agreed to make ſtipulated Payment of 95,000*l.* to be in four Months, provided our *South-Sea* Company make an immediate Preſent to him of 68,000*l.* ſo that he is to pay to us but 27,000*l.* out of his own Pocket, which is a leſs Sum than he had acknowledged to be due to us, before this Convention was thought of; becauſe, before this Convention was thought of, he had acknowledged, that the *five* Ships, mentioned in the 4th Article, were unjuſtly ſeized, and had actually ſent Orders to *New Spain* for their Reſtitution; and the Value of theſe *five* Ships will, I am ſure, amount to more than 27,000*l.* Nay, if, in purſuance of theſe Orders, they have been reſtored, which, indeed, I believe, we have no Reaſon to apprehend, I do not know but we may be brought 4 or 5000*l.* in Debt; for by that Article, the Whole, or any Part of them, that ſhall appear to have been reſtored, is to be repaid by us.

Let us now ſee, my Lords, what Reparation we have obtained by this Convention. Our plundered Merchants are, indeed, to have 155,000*l.* divided among them, the Salaries, Fees and Perquiſites of thoſe who are to make the Diviſion, being firſt deducted; and this they are to have as a full Satisfaction for their Damages, which amount to more than 500,000*l.* But how is this 155,000*l.* to be raiſed? Why 60,000*l.* of it, muſt be raiſed by a Tax upon our own People, or by making a new Incroachment upon our Sinking Fund; 68,000*l.* another Part of it, is to be raiſed by, or rather taken by Violence from, our own *South-Sea* Company; and the remaining 27,000*l.* is to be paid to us by the King of *Spain*, which is a leſs Sum than he had acknowledged to be due to us, before this Convention was thought of. I beg Pardon, my Lords, for detaining you ſo long upon this Head; but as this Treaty ſeems to have been artfully calculated for palming a ſham Reparation upon the Nation, I was obliged to examine it to the Bottom, in order to

detect

detect the Artifices that have been made uſe of for covering the Deceit.

Now, my Lords, with regard to our future Security, we have been ſo negligent of it in this preliminary Treaty, that we have not ſo much as obtained from the *Spaniards* a Suſpenſion of their wonted Depredations. Where *Spain* is to be a Gainer by a Suſpenſion, there it is expreſsly ſtipulated; but where we are to be Gainers, it is entirely neglected. We have promiſed to ſuſpend all Fortifications and Improvements in *Georgia* and *Carolina*; but *Spain* has not promiſed to ſuſpend ſearching our Ships, and confiſcating them upon frivolous Pretences. For this Neglect a learned Lord has found out a moſt ingenious Excuſe: He has told us, that if we had ſtipulated any ſuch Suſpenſion, it would have imported an Acknowledgment of their Right to ſearch and confiſcate. How this may be in Law, I do not know; but I do not think it agreeable to common Senſe. I cannot think, that my exacting a Promiſe from a Man to ſuſpend doing me an Injury, is the leaſt Acknowledgment, that he has a Right to do me an Injury. But if a Suſpenſion could be any Way underſtood to be an Acknowledgment of their Right to ſearch and confiſcate our Ships, the allowing them to continue the Practice, muſt be a more direct, and, I am ſure, a more hurtful Sort of Acknowledgment. Therefore, I muſt look upon this Neglect in the preliminary Convention, as a bad Omen, with reſpect to the definitive Treaty. The Time, it is true, in which this definitive Treaty is to be ſettled, is but eight Months: They cannot, perhaps, do us any great Injury in that Time; but that Term may be renewed, may be often renewed, I believe it will be renewed from Time to Time, as long as ſome People have any Influence in our Counſels; for I do not believe it will ever be in their Power to make the *Spaniards* give up any Right they pretend to; and no *Britiſh* Miniſter will ever dare to grant them, by a ſolemn Treaty, a Right to ſearch *Britiſh* Ships on the open Seas, or a Right to preſcribe to his Majeſty's Subjects, what Sort of Goods they ſhall be allow'd to carry in their Ships from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions to another. For this Reaſon, I do not know, but that our Negotiations for a definitive Treaty may laſt as long as our Negotiations for this Preliminary have continued, which I muſt look on to be at leaſt ten Years; for theſe Renewals or Continuations may be ſafely agreed to, becauſe they will not be much taken notice of, or reſented by the People; and during that whole Time, the *Spaniards* are to continue to exerciſe a moſt unjuſt Incroachment upon us, while we muſt continue to ſuſpend the natural Right we have to fortify and improve our own Dominions.

As for the Pretence, my Lords, that the *Spaniards* have given up their Right to ſearch or confiſcate our Ships, and have acknowledged themſelves in the Wrong, by agreeing to pay us Damages and Coſts, I have already ſhewn that they have not agreed, by this Treaty, to pay us any Damages but what they had before acknowledged to be due; and I was ſurprized to hear a learned Lord, who certainly underſtands what is meant by Damages and Coſts, ſo far miſtake the Matter as to ſay, the *Spaniards* have agreed to pay Coſts. Our Coſts are the Expences the Nation was put to in warlike Preparations laſt Summer, which the *Spaniards* have not agreed to pay one Shilling of; for whether thoſe Preparations are to be called warlike Meaſures or not, they certainly coſt us a great

of Money; and in all Nations but this they look mighty like War: Even in this, till within theſe twenty Years, they have generally been the certain Harbinger of War; and will be ſo again, as ſoon as we begin to have a Regard to our Character abroad, or our Œconomy at home.

My Lords, I have this Day, and upon this Occaſion, heard a Diſtinction made by a learned Lord, between a Right, and the Enjoyment of a Right. What the noble Lord meant by his Diſtinction I cannot comprehend; for it is a Diſtinction which, I confeſs, I do not underſtand. I am ſure no Right is good for any Thing unleſs it be enjoy'd, nor farther than it is enjoy'd; and I muſt think, that whilſt a Man prevents my enjoying my Right, he, for that Time at leaſt, takes from me the Right itſelf. But after the noble Lord had made this incomprehenſible Diſtinction, I was amazed to hear him ſay, there is no Matter of Right now in Diſpute between *Spain* and us. Do not they ſay, they have a Right to ſearch our Ships on the open Seas? It does not ſignify to us what frivolous Pretence they found that Right upon: They do pretend to it, they have enjoyed it, by our Tameneſs, for too many Years. Do not they ſay, they have a Right to ſeize and confiſcate our Ships, if they find any Gold, Silver, Logwood, Cocoa, or other Goods on board, which they are pleaſed to call the Produce of their Settlements in *America*? It ſignifies nothing to us, what Reaſon they give for ſetting up ſuch a Claim: They do pretend to it, and have actually exerciſed this Right, even ſince this Treaty was firſt ſet on Foot; for they ſeized Captain *Vaughan*'s Ship in the 29th of *June* laſt, and have ſince condemned her for no other Reaſon, but becauſe of her having ſome Goods on board, which they ſaid was the Produce of their Settlements, tho' it appear'd that he had taken them in at *Jamaica*. Theſe, my Lords, are Matters of Right, which I hope our Miniſters diſpute with them: I hope no *Britiſh* Miniſter will ever dare to yield to them in either of theſe Reſpects. And on the other hand, do not we ſay, we have a Right to a free Navigation in the *American* Seas? Do not the *Spaniards* deny we have any ſuch Right? Do not they expreſsly ſay, we have no Right to any Navigation in thoſe Seas, but ſuch as they have granted us by Treaty? And That, they ſay, is only to and from our own Colonies, whilſt our Ships ſteer a direct Courſe; which they, as Sovereigns of the *American* Seas, are to be the only Judges of. This is the Meaning they put on the 8th Article of the Treaty 1670, which every Man muſt be convinced of that has read *Mr. de la Quadra*'s Letter to *Mr. Keene* of the 10th of *February* was a Twelvemonth: His Words are, after having given an Abſtract of that Article, ——'That theſe Words plainly ſhew the little Grounds of the Propoſition you have advanced, that his *Britannick* Majeſty's Subjects have a Right to a free Commerce and Navigation in the *Weſt-Indies*, the only Navigation that can be claimed by them being that to their Iſlands and Plantations, *whilſt they ſteer a due Courſe*; and their Ships *liable to Seizure and Confiſcation*, if it be proved that they have altered their Route, without Neceſſity, in order to draw near to the *Spaniſh* Coaſts.——' This, 'tis true, my Lords, is a moſt falſe and ridiculous Interpretation of that Article; but this they have been prompted to inſiſt on by our Tameneſs, and by our puzzling the Caſe with our Negotiations.

From hence we muſt ſee, my Lords, that there are Rights of great Importance in Diſpute between

Spain and us. They pretend to Rights which we can never admit of, as long as we poſſeſs a Foot of Ground, or have any Trade, in the *Weſt-Indies*; and they deny us a Right that every free State in the World has a juſt Title to by the Laws of Nature and Nations; and I will venture to propheſy, that without a War they will never give up the former, nor acknowledge the latter. We may negotiate as long as we pleaſe: We may conclude ſham Treaties and Conventions, as temporary Expedients for amuſing our own People; but from our late Conduct they have conceived ſuch a contemptible Opinion of us, that we muſt now fight them before we can expect any Juſtice or Satisfaction from them. This muſt at laſt be the Caſe; but when this happens, it will not be thoſe who then adviſe a War, but thoſe who by their puſillanimous Conduct have made it neceſſary, that ought to be blamed for having led the Nation into a War. If we had properly reſented the firſt Inſult, and had peremptorily inſiſted upon full Satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable Means; but now, I'm afraid, it is become impoſſible: We muſt go to War before we can expect either Satisfaction or Quiet; and when we do, I hope it will be conducted with Wiſdom and Vigour; for if we ſhew the ſame irreſolute Conduct in War, we have lately done in Peace, if we ſeem afraid of hurting the Enemy too much, like a ſenſeleſs and ſpiritleſs Animal fallen into a Mire, the longer we ſtruggle, the deeper we ſhall ſink, and may at laſt come to be ſuffocated in the Mud: Whereas, by a bold and vigorous Puſh at firſt, we might have got through the Quagmire, and thrown ourſelves ſafe upon the oppoſite Shore.

Having now ſhewn, that our Right to a free Navigation in the *American* Seas, is one of thoſe Rights that is diſputed by *Spain*, we muſt from thence conclude, it is one of thoſe Rights, that is by this Convention to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries. That is to ſay, my Lords, it is to be given up by our Plenipotentiaries; for if it be regulated, it muſt be deſtroyed: Every Regulation muſt be a Reſtraint, and that which is put under a Reſtraint, can in no Senſe be ſaid to be free. The Right *Spain* pretends to, of ſearching our Ships in the open Seas; and the Right they pretend to, of preſcribing to us what Sort of Goods we may carry in our Ships, from one Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions to another, are Rights which, I hope, are now in Diſpute between *Spain* and us; and are therefore Rights that are referred to be regulated by our Plenipotentiaries. My Lords, if we agree to regulate them, we grant them; and if we grant them under any Regulations, we can no longer pretend to a free Navigation or Commerce in the *American* Seas; therefore, my Lords, I muſt look upon this Article as an artful or indirect Surrender (I ſhall not give it the Name it deſerves) of the moſt undoubted and the moſt valuable Rights of the People of *Great Britain*. A learned Prelate who ſpoke ſome Time ago *, and a learned Lord who ſpoke ſince †, have, indeed, upon this Subject, ſhewn themſelves excellent Advocates for *Spain*: I hope the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries will neither have ſo much Eloquence, nor ſo many Arguments; for, if they have, as I have no very great Opinion of the Capacity of Qualifications of our own, I am afraid we ſhall come off with the worſt. But their Arguments in Favour of *Spain* have been ſo full

* *This relates to a Speech made by* Q. Salonius Sarra, *who aſſumed the Character of a Right Rev. and learned Prelate.* † *This relates to the Speech of* C. Plinius Cæcilius *above mentioned, who aſſumed the Character of a learned Lord.*

anſwered by a noble Duke * that ſpoke after the reverend Prelate, and a noble Lord †, that ſpoke laſt but one, that I need not, if I could, add any Thing to the Anſwers they have made; therefore, I ſhall only wiſh that our Plenipotentiaries had been here to have heard them, in order that they might have learned, how to defend the Cauſe of their Country, againſt the moſt artful Arguments that can be made uſe of by its Enemies.

The only other Right now in Diſpute between *Spain* and us, that ſeems to have been taken the leaſt Notice of in our late Negotiations, is our Right to *Georgia* and *Carolina*. This the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt but two, has repreſented as a Diſpute about Limits only; tho' every one knows the *Spaniards* have lately begun to diſpute our Right to *Georgia*, and even to a great Part of *Carolina*, particularly our Right to the former, which they ſo peremptorily deny, that they would not allow the Name to be ſo much as mentioned in this Convention; and as we have lately given that Country the Name of *Georgia*, not only by Charter, but by Authority of Parliament; our accepting of an Article about the Regulation of Limits, without mentioning our frontier Province, will, I'm afraid, be conſidered by the *Spaniards* as a Surrender of that Province. We may, if we will, give up *Georgia*: We may give up *South-Carolina*, and yet ſay that the only Diſpute between *Spain* and us was about Limits; becauſe the *Spaniards* inſiſted, that the River *Podie* upon the Borders of *North Carolina*, was the proper Limit between *Florida* and *Carolina*; whereas we inſiſted, that the River *Catamaha* was the proper Limit. This, I ſay, might be called a Diſpute only about Limits; but if we ſhould give up all the Country lying between theſe two Rivers, if we do not give up a Right, I will ſay, we give up a very valuable Poſſeſſion.

I have now ſhewn, my Lords, that, by this Convention, we have obtained no Reparation, and that, ſo far from obtaining future Security, we ſeem to have, in ſome Meaſure, given up every Thing, upon which our future Security can be founded. What, then, could induce us to accept of ſuch an unſatisfactory, ſuch a diſhonourable Preliminary? Which is a Queſtion that leads me of courſe to conſider the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe* in general, and of this Nation in particular. This, my Lords, I confeſs, is a Subject which I touch on with Reluctance; becauſe, I am ſure, it can afford no great Comfort, either to the Speaker, or to the Hearer. The State of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, I ſhall grant, is diſmal enough; but I am ſorry to hear it made more diſmal than it really is, for the Sake of juſtifying an inglorious Treaty, or a daſtardly Submiſſion to the moſt provoking Inſults. The Affairs of *Europe* are, indeed, at preſent, in a Situation not very favourable for this Kingdom; but what is this owing to? It is owing, my Lords, to a ridiculous Notion we took up about *fifteen* Years ago, of the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: A Notion that could be inſtilled into us by nothing but *French* Counſels, and who were the chief Propagators of this pernicious Notion, we may well remember. This Notion produced the Treaty of *Hanover*: A Treaty calculated for diſſolving an Alliance, which we ought to have cultivated and ſtrengthened with all our Art; becauſe it could be prejudicial

* *This relates to the Speech of* L. Æmilius Paullus, *who aſſumed the Character of a noble Duke.* † *And this relates to the Speech of* M. Agrippa, *likewiſe above mentioned, who aſſumed the Character of a noble Lord.*

dicial to no State in *Europe* but *France* alone. And this Treaty of *Hanover* drove us into that long Chain of Negotiations, Treaties, and Expence, by which we not only re-united the two Branches of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, but contributed at our own Expence to aggrandize them. Our Fleets were employed to give Principalities to one of the Branches of that Houſe; and now we are told, you muſt not vindicate your Rights or your Honour againſt one of theſe Branches, becauſe it may be aſſiſted by the other.

My Lords, if this Argument proves any Thing, it proves too much; if we dare not revenge the Affronts that are put upon us, nor repel the moſt unjuſt Incroachments, for Fear of *France*, we have nothing to do but lie down and die. It ſignifies nothing to put it off by Patchwork and Expedients for *eight* Months longer. But this, my Lords, has been our Method for ſeveral Years: Like Builders, that build a Houſe to laſt only for the Term of their Leaſe: They build of rotten Materials; and if they can by Patchwork keep it up while they are in it, they do not care if it tumbles upon, and cruſhes the Landlord under its Ruins. A Miniſter that has no Credit or Character abroad, nor any Authority or Affection among the People at home, muſt have recourſe to Patchwork and Expedients. He can have no Materials but the rotten Hearts of Sycophants and Time-ſervers; and theſe muſt be kept together, at a great Expence, by temporary Expedients: He neither can, nor will think of building a ſolid and laſting Fabrick; but, I hope the Nation will never allow him to build for them; or if they ſhould be ſo unwiſe as to allow him to erect a deceitful Fabrick, that they will pull it about his Ears, before he has Time to encloſe them; for if they ſhould allow him to go on, he may ſo environ them with Ruins, that it will hardly be poſſible for them to find their Way out.

I cannot eaſily believe, my Lords, that *France* will aſſiſt *Spain* in putting a Yoak upon us, that may afterwards ſerve as a Precedent for putting the ſame Yoak upon themſelves. The Court of *France* is ſeldom ſo ſhort in its Politicks. I am rather inclined to think, that the Court of *France* will either endeavour to prevail on us to accept of ſham Treaties, and a precarious Security, or, in caſe of a War, that they will endeavour to prevent our bringing it to a ſpeedy Iſſue by a vigorous Proſecution. I hope we ſhall take Care not to be directed or dup'd by *French* Counſels in either of theſe Caſes; for both will be deſtructive to this Nation, both will ſerve the Ends of *France*: A precarious Peace, or a languid War, will keep up a Contention between *Spain* and us; and ſuch a Contention will contribute greatly to eſtabliſh the Trade of *France* upon the Ruins of the Trade of this Nation. But ſuppoſe theſe two Nations ſhould unite againſt us, and that we have negotiated ourſelves out of every Alliance that can give us any Aſſiſtance; yet ſtill we muſt do the beſt we can. By a wiſe and vigorous Conduct we might make both of them repent of their Undertaking. They both depend greatly upon their Trade and Territories in the *Weſt-Indies*, where we may be Maſters if we will; and tho' they have both of late got great Additions of Power by our Blunders, yet they muſt not pretend to preſcribe to all the Powers of *Europe*. Such an Attempt would bring back to us thoſe Allies whom we have detach'd by our late Conduct; and in that Caſe, a Confederacy might ſoon be formed, that would be able to preſcribe Laws both to *France* and *Spain*, inſtead of receiving Laws from them.

them. The preſent Aſpect of Affairs in *Europe* is, 'tis true, diſmal enough; but it is not yet ſo diſmal as it was in the Beginning of the Year 1702; and every one knows the glorious Succeſs of the Confederacy that was then formed againſt *France* and *Spain*. But before we can expect any Succeſs either in War, or in forming Confederacies, we muſt take Care to unite our People amongſt themſelves, and to eſtabliſh among them a Confidence in the Conduct of thoſe that govern them; which I am afraid cannot be done by thoſe who have ſpread Diſunion and Diſtruſt not only amongſt our Allies abroad, but amongſt our People at home.

Our Trade with *Spain*, my Lords, was once a profitable Trade to this Nation; but as *France* has lately got much into that Trade, it is not near ſo profitable to us as it was. If it were not for our Plantations, I believe we ſhould be no great Gainers upon the Balance. We ſhall manage the War but ill, if we do not make more by a War with *Spain*, than we can do by a precarious and interrupted Trade. But if it were otherwiſe, we cannot preſerve our Trade with that Nation, or with any Nation, but by preſerving their Eſteem and their Friendſhip; and theſe we muſt loſe, if we ſubmit tamely to their Inſults. Theſe Walls, my Lords, ought to put us in Mind of the Methods by which our Anceſtors preſerved the Trade, and vindicated the Honour of the Nation. Theſe ſhew it was not by Negotiation, nor by lumping away the juſt Demands of their Country. I do not know, if there are any hiſtorical Looms now at work, but I'm afraid our *Spithead* and *Carthagena* Expeditions would make as bad a Figure in a Piece of Tapeſtry, as they will hereafter do in our Hiſtories.

But, I hope, my Lords, we have no ſuch Looms at Work: It would be for the Honour of the Nation, if no Memorandum could be preſerved of ſome of our paſt Tranſactions; for we muſt alter our Meaſures, before we can tranſmit to Poſterity what they can reflect on with Satisfaction or Emulation. If we had taken Example from the Conduct of a Miniſter in a neighbouring Country, our Affairs both at home and abroad, would have been in a very different Situation: By encouraging Trade and Manufactures, by Parſimony in publick Expence, by not engaging needleſsly in any Broils, and by vindicating the Honour of his Country with Reſolution when there was Occaſion, he has rendered his Country happy and himſelf glorious. But we have followed contrary Meaſures, and by ſo doing have brought ourſelves into that Diſtreſs, which is now made the chief Argument for our agreeing to this inglorious Convention.

However, my Lords, I think the State of our Affairs not yet ſo deſperate, as that it ought to be a prevailing Argument upon this Occaſion. I hope I have ſhewn, that the State of Affairs in *Europe*, is not ſo bad as it has been repreſented; and as to our domeſtick Affairs, can they improve by ſubmitting to daily Inſults, and to Uſurpations that muſt deſtroy our Trade? In ſuch Circumſtances can we pay off our Debts, can we preſerve our Sinking Fund? No, my Lords, by the Decay of our Trade, our People muſt every Day become poorer, and leſs numerous: This will diminiſh our Conſumption; and this again will of courſe diminiſh the annual Produce of our Taxes: We may, by a more rigorous Collection, keep it up to its old Value for ſome Years; but it will ſoon begin to ſink conſiderably every Year; and this will at laſt annihilate our Sinking Fund! We cannot

not therefore propoſe to pay off our Debt, unleſs we preſerve our Trade; nor can we pay any Debt, if in Time of Peace we muſt be at the Expence of War, which was our Caſe laſt Summer, and may probably be ſo for many Summers to come; for if great Armaments and military Preparations were neceſſary to procure a preliminary Convention, ſurely they will be as neceſſary for procuring a difinitive Treaty; therefore we muſt have a numerous Army at Land, and formidable Squadrons, I mean in Show, my Lords, at Sea, till this Treaty be concluded and ratified, which I am convinced will not be very ſpeedily. In the mean Time, as we have ſtipulated no Suſpenſion, our Merchants will be plundered, and our Seamen cruelly uſed by the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*; which will of courſe render our People more and more diſcontented, and at laſt diſaffected. Our People, 'tis true, may become more united; but it will be againſt our eſtabliſhed Government; and in that Caſe, I hope, it will be allowed, that our domeſtick Affairs would be in a worſe Condition than they are at preſent, and our Government leſs able to carry on a foreign War, than our preſent Government can be ſuppoſed to be.

Our domeſtick Affairs may therefore, my Lords, grow worſe, but they cannot grow better, by our continuing in ſuch a warlike Peace, as we have continued in for almoſt theſe twenty Years; and we can expect no other Sort of Peace, till we retrieve our Character, and eſtabliſh our Security, which, I think, can now be done no other Way but by a vigorous and well-conducted War. But ſuppoſe, my Lords, the State of Affairs, both at home and abroad, were as diſmal as it has been repreſented by thoſe who have ſpoke in Favour of this Convention, could this be any Reaſon for our ſuing for, or agreeing to ſuch a Treaty? We were in no Danger of being attacked by *Spain*: We were not ſo much as threatned with any ſuch Attack: We wanted only Satisfaction and Reparation for paſt Injuries, and Security againſt future: Therefore we had no Shadow of Reaſon for agreeing to any Treaty that did not give us either the one or the other. By this we have obtained neither: We have abſolutely releaſed and given up the former; and we have rendered the latter more precarious than it was before. If we had made no Treaty, no Preliminary, *Spain* could only have continued to ſeize and confiſcate ſuch of our Merchant Ships as they could meet with and overcome; and this they may ſtill do, notwithſtanding this Treaty. What would have been the Conſequence? Suppoſe the Nation at preſent abſolutely unable to vindicate its Rights or its Honour by Force of Arms, yet we might have waited with Patience till an Opportunity offered, without being expoſed to ſuffer, in the mean Time, more than we are now expoſed to, notwithſtanding this Treaty; and when an Opportunity offered for vindicating our Rights and our Honour by Force of Arms, we could then have inſiſted upon full Reparation for all Loſſes, all Damage, all Expence, which we cannot now do; becauſe by this Treaty we have given a general Releaſe.

I ſhall agree, my Lords, that this Nation can never long want an Opportunity for Revenge againſt any Nation in *Europe*. This is our Happineſs: but this ought to have been an Argument againſt our granting ſuch a generous Releaſe as we have granted by this Preliminary. Beſides, my Lords, it is an Argument ſome People ought to be aſhamed to mention, if they could be aſhamed of any Thing. It is almoſt twenty Years

Years ſince *Spain* ſet up every Claim againſt us, they now pretend to: It is almoſt twenty Years ſince they have been in a continued and uninterrupted Courſe of inſulting the Nation, plundering our Merchants, and maltreating our Seamen; and 'tis ſtrange, that in ſo long a Time, we could find no Opportunity for Revenge, againſt a Nation, which no Man will ſay is by itſelf an equal Match for this. My Lords, we have had many Opportunities; but we have neglected them all, or have been prevailed on by *French* Counſels, or worſe, to make uſe of none of them. We had one about ſeven Years ſince, which, it is amazing, we neglected; and the fatal Conſequences of that Neglect now begin to appear; but, I'm afraid, they do not yet all appear: If they are not prevented by a Change of Meaſures in this Kingdom, they may prove fatal to *Europe* as well as *England*; and they cannot be prevented without an infinite Expence to this Nation, for which thoſe who gave Riſe to them, ought, I hope, they will be made to anſwer.

This ſhews, my Lords, that we ought not to have beeu ſo ready, I ſhall not ſay raſh, in approving of Treaties or Negotiations, as we have been for ſeveral Years paſt. We ought to approve of no Treaty without maturely conſidering its Terms and its Conſequences, as alſo the Neceſſity there was for agreeing to it; for as every Treaty is a new national Obligation, no Treaty ought to be agreed to, without ſome Neceſſity for ſo doing. And I am convinced that no Man who maturely conſiders the Treaty now before us, either in its Terms, its Conſequences, or the Neceſſity there was for our agreeing to it, will approve of it in any Shape. An immediate War is not the neceſſary Conſequence of our refuſing to approve of it, by putting a Negative upon this Motion. His Majeſty may, nevertheleſs, wait for a more proper Opportunity for declaring War. But if we ſhould, in any Shape, approve of this Treaty, the Demands which we may juſtly make, and fully obtain, in caſe of a ſucceſsful War, will thereby be greatly diminiſhed; therefore the Motion which the noble Lord has been pleaſed to make will, I hope, be diſagreed to.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

PROCEEDINGS *at the late* ELECTION *of* LORD MAYOR *for the City of* LONDON.

IT may be proper, for the Sake of ſome of our Country Readers, to take notice, by Way of Introduction, that the Liverymen of the City of *London*, in Common Hall aſſembled, have a Right, annually to return to the Court of Aldermen, on *Michaelmas-Day*, two fit and able Perſons, of whom the ſaid Court are to chuſe one, whom they are to declare Lord Mayor for the Year enſuing: That ſome Years ago, a Cuſtom was introduced, and has ſince been continued, of electing Mayors, in Common Hall, by *Rotation*, that is, by the Liverymen returning the two ſenior Aldermen, who have not ſerv'd the Office of Mayor, as next the Chair, and the Court of Aldermen chuſing the Senior of thoſe two. But Sir *George Champion*, the Alderman next the Chair, and who is Member of Parliament for *Ayleſbury*, having voted for the late Convention, great Numbers of Liverymen reſolved to reſume their antient Right of a free Election, in order to ſet him aſide: In which they ſucceeded, as will appear by the following Account.

On *Saturday*, *Sept.* 29, a greater Number of Liverymen appear'd at *Guildhall*, than was ever known on the like Occaſion. Between one and two o'Clock, the Right Hon. *Micajah Perry*, Eſq; Lord Mayor opened the Court, when Sir *William Thompſon*, Knt. Recorder of the City, made a Speech to the *Common Hall*, telling the Citizens, "That it was their undoubted Right to return to the Court of Aldermen, two fit and able Perſons of

of that Court, who had ſerved the Office of Sheriff, out of whom they were to chuſe one of them, to be Lord Mayor for the Year enſuing; and that he would not take upon him to dictate to them, in their preſent Choice, well knowing their Prudence would direct them, to act in the beſt Manner for the Good, Peace, and Welfare of this great City."

The two ſenior Aldermen, next below Sir *George Champion*, were Sir *John Salter*, Knt. and Sir *Robert Godſchall*, Knt. and the Liverymen did not intend, on this Occaſion, to depart any farther from the late Method of Rotation, than to ſet aſide Sir *George*. Accordingly, upon holding up of Hands, the Sheriffs declared Sir *John Salter*, and Sir *Robert Godſchall*, duly returned to the Court of Aldermen.

But notwithſtanding the vaſt Majority of Hands, a Poll was demanded for Sir *George Champion* againſt Sir *Robert Godſchall*; and on the other Side, for Sir *John Salter* and Sir *Robert Godſchall*, againſt Sir *George Champion*; which began at Four the ſame Afternoon, but continued not a Quarter of an Hour, before it was flung up by Sir *George* and his Friends. Then the Sheriffs adjourn'd the Court of Huſtings to *Monday* Morning, Eleven a Clock.

Accordingly, on that Day, they held a Court by Adjournment, and declared the Numbers upon the Poll to be as follows:

For Sir *John Salter*, Knt. and Ald. 95
Sir *Robert Godſchall*, Knt. and Ald. 90
Sir *George Champion*, Knt. and Ald. 21

And for Want of a ſufficient Number of Aldermen to make a Court, the Common Hall was further adjourn'd to the next Day.

But before they were adjourn'd, Mr. *Glover*, an eminent *Hamburgh* Merchant, addreſſed himſelf to the Sheriffs to the following Effect:

Mr. Alderman Heathcote *and Sir* John Lequeſne.

THE Worthy Liverymen of this City, here aſſembled before you, have now ſet aſide, in all Probability, irrevocably and perpetually ſet aſide, one Candidate from the honourable and powerful Office of Lord Mayor of this great Metropolis. The Reaſons of this Proceeding, muſt, to every impartial Citizen, appear obvious and inconteſtable, being founded on that juſt Indignation which it becomes every true *Engliſhman* at this Time to entertain, at the many Diſgraces, Barbarities and Inſults, which have been ſuffer'd to fall upon his Country, from a Nation eſteem'd in all preceding Times as the Object of our Contempt, and whoſe Inſolence we have as often reduced and humbled, as we have exerted our Power. But ſtill this Proceeding, begun and purſu'd with ſo much Spirit, conducted with ſo much Diſcretion and Decency, where the Peace and good Order of this great City have been conſulted with as much Caution, as the principal Purpoſe itſelf has been ſupported with Reſolution and Vigour; I ſay, this very Proceeding may ſtill be liable to the Cenſure of Abruptneſs and Inconſiſtency, if the ſame Motives which have influenced our Conduct in the Election of our Mayor, do not now create the ſame Unanimity to pay our moſt grateful Acknowledgments to our Four Worthy Repreſentatives in Parliament, for their ſteady and faithful Adherence to all our Rights, for their vigorous Support of our Trade in particular, and of the Honour of this Kingdom in general, by their Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons to the late Convention with *Spain*. Our Inſtructions ſhou'd likewiſe accompany our Thanks, that the Tenour of our Conduct may appear to be conſiſtent and uniform throughout. For this Purpoſe, I have received this Paper from ſeveral Gentlemen of the higheſt Conſideration and Character in this City, who know, that it was at the particular and moſt earneſt Entreaty, that I have taken upon me to make the following Motion, tho' from the Propriety of the Thing itſelf I hope I ſhould otherwiſe ſtand excuſed: I therefore humbly move, that the Paper may be read; and if, as I doubt not it obtains the Approbation of this Aſſembly, that you, Gentlemen, our Worthy Sheriffs may be deſired to preſent Copies of it to the Right Honourable *Micajah Perry*, Eſq; Lord Mayor, to *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; Alderman, to Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. and Alderman, and to *Robert Willimot*, Eſq; Alderman, our four Repreſentatives in Parliament.

To the Right Hon. Micajah Perry, *Eſq*; *Lord Mayor*,
Humphry Parſons, *Eſq*; *Alderman*,
Sir John Barnard, *Knt. Ald. and*
Robert Willimot, *Eſq*; *Alderman*,

Repreſentatives *of the City of* London *in the preſent Parliament.*

WE the Liverymen of the City of *London*, in Common Hall aſſembled, in order to exert our undoubted Right of electing two proper Perſons to be return'd to the Court of Aldermen for the Mayoralty of this great City for the Year enſuing, ſhould be wanting both to you and ourſelves, if, whilſt we are ſhewing a juſt Reſentment by ſetting aſide that Perſon, whoſe Conduct we diſapprove, and whom we judge unworthy of that high and honourable Office, we did not take the firſt Opportunity of returning you our ſincere and hearty Thanks for your general Conduct in Parliament; and in a more particular Manner for your late Endeavours to preſerve us from the ruinous Conſequences we then too juſtly apprehended from the Convention with *Spain*.

And, tho' neither your Endeavours at that Time, nor the Interpoſition of this City, had the deſired Effect, yet every Man in this Nation muſt be now fully convinc'd of the Diſhonour, as well as Danger, of that fatal Treaty.

We are now made deeply ſenſible of the unhappy State of this Kingdom, from the imminent Miſchiefs which ſeem to threaten us from abroad; and it is with great Grief we obſerve our excellent Conſtitution declining in ſome Inſtances at home: But when the true Spirit and Vigour of a *Britiſh* Parliament ſhall exert itſelf, we promiſe ourſelves, that, with the Divine Aſſiſtance, we ſhall be equally preſerved from the Dangers of both.

In a free and uncorrupted Aſſembly of our Repreſentatives conſiſts not only the Dignity, but even the Character and very Eſſence of a Parliament. It is of the higheſt Importance, that thoſe, whom we intruſt with an unreſtrained Power of making all Laws, affecting our Trade, Properties, Liberties and Lives, ſhould be uninfluenc'd by any lucrative Conſiderations; and yet, notwithſtanding ſeveral good Laws have been made to ſecure the Independency of the Houſe of Commons, how inſecure muſt that great Bleſſing be, from the Number of Placemen who have already got Footing there, and who may be augmented hereafter by many more!

It is therefore, as we apprehend, abſolutely neceſſary, that ſome new and more effectual Proviſion ſhould be made to reduce and limit their Number; and we require and inſiſt, that you would uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to promote a Bill for that ſalutary Purpoſe, in Conjunction with ſuch Patriots as may be willing to join with you, and aſſiſt you in this great and neceſſary Work.

As the Nation has on many Occaſions found the happy Effects of applying to their reſpective Repreſentatives, and giving them proper Inſtructions in Caſes of great Conſequence, as in particular with Regard to the late pernicious Exciſe Scheme, which was calculated for the Deſtruction of the Liberties of this Nation, which vile Attempt was by theſe Means defeated, ſo we are unwilling to entertain the leaſt Doubt of meeting with the ſame Succeſs upon this Occaſion: And as this is a Point on which the very Being of Parliaments, and the Proſperity of this Kingdom abſolutely depends, we once more earneſtly require you to make it a previous Step to the paſſing of any Money-Bill whatſoever.

The Motion for reading this Paper, *&c.* being ſeconded by *William Benn*, Eſq; High Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, and approv'd of by the Hall, it was accordingly read by Mr. Sheriff *Heathcote*, and receiv'd with the loudeſt Acclamations; and Copies of it were preſented by the Sheriffs to the Four City Members, according to the Requeſt of the Common Hall.

Mr. Sheriff *Heathcote* deliver'd his Opinion in a very pathetick Manner, with regard to the Negative Voice of the Court of Aldermen, and aſſured the Common Hall that he would enlarge on that Subject the following Day.

The Citizens expreſſed the greateſt Pleaſure at the candid and juſt Behaviour of the Sheriffs on this Occaſion, and return'd them their Thanks, and likewiſe to Mr. *Glover* for his Motion.

The Speech to the Liverymen concerning the Court of Aldermens Negative, was to the following Effect:

Gentlemen,

YOU have now aſſerted your Right in chuſing a Lord Mayor, and vindicated the Honour of the City with Zeal, and govern'd your Zeal with Temper: But it will be impoſſible for you to act with that deciſive Weight which you otherwiſe might have, without endeavouring to preſerve, I had almoſt ſaid to retrieve, your Independency. I don't mean your Independency in your private Characters; moſt of you, I dare anſwer for it, are above all Dependency; but your Independency as to your Common-Council, a conſtituent Part of the Legiſlative Body of this City. Conſider, Gentlemen, that it is in the Power of a Majority of the Court of Aldermen, to put a Stop to the moſt vigorous Efforts of your public Virtue. It is in their Power to prevent your ſetting that Example to the Nation which may one Day animate it with a proper Spirit. Not all the Convictions of Common Senſe, not the univerſal Voice of Mankind, nor the apparent and approaching Ruin of Liberty can avail you to procure Juſtice from Parliament, ſhould a corrupted Majority prevail in putting a Negative upon your preſenting your juſt Complaints and Remonſtrances. Thus, Gentlemen, you are in a worſe Situation than any Body of Men in this Nation; you may, if ſuch a Majority prevails, be depriv'd of what the Laws of Nations, the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and immemorial Practice, declare as the undoubted Right of all Subjects. This Situation, Gentlemen, is the more intolerable, when we conſider with how great a Power the Laws in being have veſted a Miniſter. It is in his Power to tempt Men with whatever Ambition can expect, or Avarice deſire; therefore unleſs you can pronounce Men void of human Paſſions and Affections, you cannot ſay that you are independent. The Integrity of the preſent Miniſtry, and the Purity of the preſent Court of Aldermen, are no Security. A corrupted and corrupting Miniſtry may ſucceed the preſent; among the Court of Aldermen, Men may be hereafter found, whoſe Connexion with, and immediate Dependence upon ſuch a Miniſtry are viſible to all the World. If a Miniſtry, by Places, Poſts and

Penſions, can bring over but fourteen Aldermen to their Side, give me Leave, Gentlemen, to aſk you, what Means you can find to throw out a future Exciſe, or to ſhew your Oppoſition to a future Convention? It is a fatal Compliment that moſt Communities have made to good Magiſtrates, when they have inveſted them with Powers unknown to the original Form of their Government. They don't conſider that, while they are ſtrengthning the Hands of good Magiſtrates, they are perhaps forging the Fetters which they and their Poſterity are to wear. Therefore, Gentlemen, unleſs you have a poſitive and an evident Certainty, that the Court of Aldermen never can be corrupted by a Miniſtry, you ought to do your utmoſt Endeavours, you ought to exert your utmoſt Vigour, to procure a Repeal of that Clauſe. The Liberties of your Community, the Liberties of your Country, yourſelves and your Poſterity require it from you. All other Efforts of your public Spirit, without this, are in vain. In vain you labour to procure a Limitation of the Number of Placemen in Parliament, unleſs you, at the ſame Time, labour this Point; for ſuppoſing the moſt diſintereſted Parliament that ever was, to be now ſitting, ſuppoſing that an Affair of the utmoſt Conſequence to your Trade and Liberties to be depending before them, let me aſk you, Gentlemen, how it is poſſible, if the Majority of the Court of Aldermen are in the Intereſts of your Enemies, for the Parliament to be inſtructed in the Senſe of your Community? They can put a Negative upon your petitioning in your incorporate Capacity, and it is next to impoſſible for you to petition in a regular Manner in your private Capacities. Conſider what the Effect muſt have been, had ſome Gentlemen in a late memorable Event ſucceeded in what they endeavour'd to effectuate. You will eaſily gueſs that I mean the Convention. Had the Majority of the Court of Aldermen been prevail'd upon to have given a Negative to your preſenting your Petition, how muſt the Parliament and the Nation have known the Senſe of the City of *London?* Might not then the Repreſentatives of the Nation, if they had unanimouſly and abſolutely approv'd of the Convention, have juſtify'd their Conduct, by ſaying, that the Acquieſcence of the City of *London* was their Motive? You were more concern'd in its Conſequences than all the Nation beſides, and had you objected nothing to it, might it not have been fairly preſum'd, that it was for the Intereſt of the Nation? How would the reſt of the Kingdom have behav'd in ſuch an Event? Might they not have reaſonably thought, that the City of *London* were much better Judges of the commercial Intereſts of the Nation than they were, and that it muſt be a good Meaſure becauſe you did not oppoſe it?

Give me Leave, Gentlemen, to ſet the Conſequences of this Power veſted in the Court of Aldermen in a ſtill ſtronger Light. I ſhall ſuppoſe that under a future Miniſtry a Bill is brought into Parliament, depriving the Liverymen of *London* of their Right to nominate two Aldermen for Lord Mayor, and that they ſhall be nominated by the Crown. Pray, Gentlemen, even in this Caſe, what Method could you fall upon to oppoſe this Step, but that of petitioning againſt it? But if the ſame Influence that procur'd the Meaſure to be ſet on Foot, ſhould procure a Majority in the Court of Aldermen to put a Negative upon your petitioning againſt it, what Redreſs could you have, or how prevent the Blow? Are you tamely to give up your Rights? Or are you to aſſert them in a Manner that is contrary to Law and diſreſpectful to your Superiors? The Conſequences that muſt follow from this are too plain and too ſhocking for me to ſuggeſt them.

But, Gentlemen, it is very poſſible for you to reconcile your Duty with your Intereſt; the more dutiful your Manner of petitioning or ſolliciting Redreſs is, it muſt be the more ſolid, and more laſting. It is impoſſible for you to procure any Advantages, if theſe Advantages are ſollicited in a Manner that is inconſiſtent with the Duty you owe to your lawful Superiors. The ſober, the wiſe Part of Mankind will deſert a Cauſe carried on in ſuch a Manner; and when Prudence and Moderation in Conduct are wanting, the Spirit from which you act muſt ſoon flag, and your Redreſs be with the more Difficulty obtain'd. Give me Leave therefore, Gentlemen, to put you in Mind of what was obſerv'd by *Tacitus*, one of the greateſt Politicians, as well as one of the greateſt Friends to the Liberties of the People that ever liv'd: He obſerves, that in the Event of all Contentions betwixt the Government and the People, if theſe Contentions proceed to Tumults, the Government, as it gets the better, always acquires a new Acceſſion of Power.

From what I have ſaid, I believe it is very plain, that your Liberties as *Engliſhmen* entirely depend on one ſingle Fact, which is, that no Miniſter ſhall ever find the Means to corrupt fourteen of the Court of Aldermen into his Intereſts. I have only one or two Particulars more to trouble you with on this Head. To give any Body of Men whatſoever, who are not a ſupreme Legiſlature, a Negative upon the People, is contrary to every Maxim of good Government, becauſe the People muſt then become the Slaves of thoſe, who are themſelves but a ſubordinate Power. The every End of Government may be perverted and the People left to the melancholy Reflexion of their not having had it in the Power to make one Struggle. But this Abſurdity is vaſtly heighten'd, when we conſider that, tho' the Government of the City

L

London is a popular Government, the only Negative that is lodg'd in any Branch of that Government is upon the People. Thus the Tribunitial Power, which in *Old Rome* was ſo uſeful towards preſerving the Liberty of the People, is revers'd; for amongſt them the Negative was upon the Government; amongſt you, it is upon the People. But there is one Circumſtance ſtill more abſurd than all the reſt, which is, that this Negative is lodg'd in a Body of Men, who, by their Offi e, are cloath'd with a Perpetuity of Power; ſo that if Corruption ſhould obtain amongſt them, you have no Chance to work yourſelves clear of it but by their Death. As an Alderman, I am now endeavouring indeed to abridge my own Power; but the Dangers which the future Abuſe of this Power may ſubject us to, appear to me ſo terrible, that I ſhould deſerve to be conſider'd as the meaneſt of Mankind, if I could, but for a Moment, put any Privileges of my own in Competition with what I believe to be of ſuch immediate Conſequence to the publick Liberty.—*He then concluded with the following Prayer:*

May the Great God of Heaven, who has often ſo wonderfully and miraculouſly preſerv'd this Nation, ſtill continue his Bleſſing and Preſervation of us; that under the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, the Laws, Liberties and Trade of all his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions, may continue and be preſerv'd till Time ſhall be no more. *To which the whole Hall return'd a hearty and loud* Amen.

On *Tueſday*, the Common Hall were again aſſembled, purſuant to their Adjournment; and about Two o'Clock, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen aſcended the Huſtings, and declar- Sir *John Salter*, Knt. Alderman, Lord Mayor of the City of *London* for the Year enſuing. Which was approved of by the Citizens with the loudeſt Acclamations, it being one of the moſt numerous Aſſembles that ever was ſeen on the like Occaſion.

The following Queſtion was moved to be put to the Common Hall by Mr. *Hill*, who was ſeconded by another Liveryman, and by the general Voice of the Hall:

Gentlemen,

"Do you conſent earneſtly to entreat your Lord Mayor to call a Common Council with all convenient Speed, in order to conſider of a moſt dutiful and loyal Addreſs to his Majeſty, on the preſent State of the Kingdom?"

The Lord Mayor did not think fit to put the Queſtion, but on the general Requeſt of the Hall to have it put, he aſſur'd them that he would call a Common Council for the Purpoſe mention'd in the Queſtion on any Day themſelves ſhould appoint. A Day was accordingly appointed, but before it came the Gentlemen thought fit to drop the Affair.

Then the Lord Mayor was going to adjourn the Court: But before that could be done, Mr. Sheriff *Heathcote* addreſſed himſelf to his Lordſhip in Words to this Effect:

My Lord,

I CRAVE your Lordſhip's Patience a little longer, it is a Matter in which the Rights and Liberties of my Fellow Citizens are deeply concerned, and I have a Right to ſpeak, and muſt ſpeak; and, I hope, theſe are ſufficient Reaſons for my taking up, at this Juncture, a few Moments of your Lordſhip's Time.

I move, my Lord, That our Four Worthy Repreſentatives be deſired by the Common Hall to endeavour, in the next Seſſion of Parliament, the Repeal of a Clauſe of an Act, intitled, *An Act for the better Regulating Elections in the City of London*, &c.

Mr. Sheriff then read the Queſtion in Form, as follows: "Whereas by a Clauſe in an Act of the 11th Year of K. George I, for regulating Elections within the City of *London*, &c. it is enacted, *That no Act, Order, or Ordinance, whatſoever, ſhall be made, or paſſed in the Common-Council of the ſaid City, without the Aſſent of the Mayor and Aldermen preſent at ſuch Common-Council, or the major Part of them*; Do you, good Men of the Livery, now require and inſtruct the Right Hon. *Micajah Perry*, Eſq; Lord Mayor, *Humphrey Parſons*, Eſq; and Alderman, Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. and Alderman, and *Robert Willimott*, Eſq; and Alderman, your Four Worthy Repreſentatives, to uſe their moſt ſtrenuous Endeavours for repealing the ſaid Clauſe?" And then ſaid, My Lord, I deſire that the Queſtion may be put, by the Common Crier, or Common Serjeant.

Which Motion was ſeconded by the general Voice of the Common Hall, who loudly called out for the Queſtion. Upon which, the Right Hon. *Micajah Perry*, Eſq; Lord Mayor, aroſe from his Seat, and, coming forward upon the Huſtings, ſpoke to the Citizens, in Words to this Effect:

Gentlemen,

THIS Thing is quite new to me, nor can you expect me to be ready to give you my Reaſons why I will not have the Queſtion put; only, that I do not remember a Precedent of this Nature, and I beg, Gentlemen, that this Affair may be deferred to a more convenient Opportunity.

His Lordſhip alſo complain'd to Mr Sheriff of Diſreſpect, in thus bringing Queſtions before that Aſſembly, without previouſly acquainting him therewith; which Mr. Sheriff handſomely clear'd himſelf of, and then begged of his Lordſhip to fix the Time, and to declare it then to the Citizens, when the Queſtion ſhould be put, and to adjourn the Court over to that Day.

His Lordſhip did not ſeem willing to do this, and ſo there enſu'd a Silence for about half an Hour, only the Hall frequently call'd out for the Queſtion. At length, his Lord-

ſhip came forwards to the Citizens, and made a Speech to this Effect:

Gentlemen,

I Have called to my Aſſiſtance your Common Serjeant, and other Officers, and have made Enquiry of them, whether there is a Precedent for this preſent Method of Procedure, and they all agree, that there is no ſuch-like Inſtance of putting Queſtions here in the Common Hall.

Gentlemen, I have heard your Deſire, and, let me beg of you to drop the Queſtion, and I aſſure you, upon my Honour, that I will take Care, that your Requeſt ſhall be conſidered, in a ſhort Time, and in a more proper Place.

Gentlemen, You have intruſted me with your Rights and Privileges, you have advanced me to the greateſt Honour and Dignity in this City you can confer on me, and I flatter myſelf I have behaved to the general Satisfaction of you my Fellow Citizens. I have always ſtudied your Intereſt, and the Good of this City has ever been at my Heart. And I will not be wanting to ſerve you in any Thing that ſhall be thought conducive to the Good of this City. The only Thing I deſire is, that, as the Time approaches, when I muſt deliver up that high Truſt, you have intruſted me with, I may convey to my Succeſſor, the Conſtitution of this City, in the ſame Manner I receiv'd it from my worthy Predeceſſor.

Upon the Concluſion of his Lordſhip's Speech, the Liverymen ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſatisfied, and did not now, as before, ſo generally call out for the Queſtion. And Alderman *Heathcote* addreſſed himſelf to the Common Hall in a Speech to this Effect:

Gentlemen,

I Have the Honour to be perſonally acquainted with his Lordſhip, and to be a Member of that Honourable Houſe, in which his Lordſhip is one of your Repreſentatives, and I do ſolemnly affirm, that his Lordſhip has always in that Houſe ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the Rights and Liberties of this City in particular, and of this Kingdom in general, and, I am certain, that there never was one Perſon, in whom you have intruſted your Liberties in the Quality of your Repreſentative and Mayor, that more deſerves your Eſteem, and the Continuance of it, than his Lordſhip.

Gentlemen, His Lordſhip has now given us his Word, that he will ſhortly take our Requeſt into Conſideration, and no one here preſent can with Juſtice, in the leaſt, queſtion the Honour and Veracity of his Lordſhip. And, Gentlemen, in my Opinion, I ſee no Difference, if we obtain the End propoſed, whether it is done by a Queſtion, at this Time, or through the future Endeavours of his Lordſhip. His Lordſhip now plainly ſees, that the Subject of the Motion I have made is your Deſire, and tho' he cannot grant the Queſtion, his Lordſhip is no Enemy to the Thing itſelf: But ſuppoſe, his Lordſhip ſhould take no Meaſures towards obtaining our Deſire, (tho' I will pawn my Honour his Lordſhip will, as he has ſaid it) we ſhall this Time Twelvemonth have an Opportunity of putting the Queſtion. And therefore, Gentlemen, upon the Whole, we may ſafely at this Time drop the Queſtion, nay, we ought, we are in Duty bound to grant his Lordſhip's Requeſt, when no great Inconveniency can, by deferring it to his Lordſhip's Conſideration, accrue therefrom.

And now I will make one Obſervation upon what his Lordſhip has ſaid. His Lordſhip thinks this Motion novel, and ſays it is unprecedented. Suppoſe ſo, I believe it is to his Lordſhip; but becauſe it is novel, does it therefore follow that it is not juſt, or becauſe it is unprecedented, therefore it is unreaſonable or unſeaſonable? No, tho' it may be unprecedented, it is reaſonable; and it is juſt, tho' new to his Lordſhip.

Gentlemen, I beg Leave to give you my Reaſons why I have made this Motion, and thereby juſtify my Conduct herein before his Lordſhip, and you my Fellow Citizens.

The firſt is, That by the Repeal of the Negative Power of the Court of Aldermen on the Proceedings of your Common Council, may be prevented the Ruin and Deſtruction of this City; leſt when it is too late, we may ſtrive in vain, or the old *Engliſh* Proverb be verified in us, *When the Steed is ſtole, we ſhut the Stable Door*.

Another Reaſon is, Becauſe it renders your Common-Council in a Manner uſeleſs. I will give an Inſtance of it: Upon ſigning the Convention, your Common-Council voted a Petition to be preſented to the Parliament, and another to the King, on the State of the Nation: Which, the Court of Aldermen, by Virtue of the Power lodged in them by an Act of Parliament, put their Negative upon; by which Means thoſe Proceedings of your Common Council, which would have been an Honour to the City, and open'd the Eyes of the People, are thereby loſt to the Publick.

My third and laſt Reaſon that has induced me to make this Motion, is, That there may ariſe in this Nation a wicked Miniſtry, who may corrupt, I do not ſay now, but in future Time, by Penſions and Places, Fourteen of the Twenty-ſix Aldermen: I ſay, when this is the Caſe, whatever ſhall be propoſed by your Common Council for the Good of this City, and ſhall happen to be contrary to the Intereſts of ſuch wicked Miniſtry, Fourteen of your Aldermen are impowered to put a Negative upon the Proceeding. So that it may come to paſs, if this Power be not reſtrained, that nothing will be tranſacted in the City, but what muſt be agreeable to the Court.

Theſe are my Reaſons, which I offer to juſtify

justify myself, and which I submit to the Judgment of his Lordship, and all my Fellow-Citizens.

All which was approved of by the repeated Acclamations of the Citizens. And when Silence was obtain'd, the Common Crier, by Order of the Lord Mayor, dismiss'd the Hall.

Craftsman, Sept. 29. Nº. 690.

A Discourse on INVASIONS.

SIR,

IN the Reign of Q. *Anne*, the Beginning of 1708, there was an Invasion from *France*, in Favour of the *Pretender*, and therefore it may not be amiss to look back to that Time, and see what Provision we made to defend ourselves.——We had in *England*, at that Time, no more than the usual Quota for Guards and Garisons in Time of Peace, *viz.* about 7000 Men; nor had we more in *England* during the whole War. *Lockhart* says, that at that Time we had scarcely 5000 Men; and in *Scotland*, he says, we had about 2500 Men; but it appear'd afterwards, that there were but 1500.—And yet, neither the *Ministry*, nor the *Parliament*, seem to have had the least thought of making any *new Levies*. There were 12 *British Battalions* order'd down to *Ostend*, but were not to embark till they heard that the *French Battalions* were embark'd; and accordingly they did then embark, and when landed they would have made our regular Forces of *England* and *Scotland* amount to 18, or perhaps 19,000 *Men* at the most. As to *Ireland*, there were some Regiments in the *South*, which were order'd to march towards the *North*, but were not embark'd and transported, nor order'd to be transported. As to the *Fleet*, we fitted out between 30 and 40 Sail of such Ships as could be got on a sudden, (tho' some make them to have been but 29) and they were put under the Command of Sir *George Byng*, with Orders to watch and pursue the Enemy; but we did not diminish the Convoy, consisting of 12 Men of War, then provided to sail with the *Lisbon Fleet*. In the following Session, the *House of Commons* resolv'd, "that *timely* and *effectual Care* was taken to disappoint the Designs of her Majesty's Enemies, *&c.*"

It is very natural to ask, why do we not think ourselves as secure against any such Attempts now, as we were then? If it be answer'd, that the Nation is more *disaffected*; I say, if by *disaffected* is meant affected to the *Pretender*, I sincerely think it is not; and particularly in Respect to *Scotland*, there is undeniable Reason to think that Part of *Britain* is much less disaffected now, in that Sense, than it was at the Time of that Invasion; for there was then a very great Disposition towards him, and many of the Nobility and Gentry had, by a Paper signed with their Hand-writing, invited him over; and even the *Presbyterians* (says *Lockhart*,) were willing to pass over the Objection of his being a *Papist*, saying, that God may convert him, or he may have *Protestant Children*. Let it be observed, by the way, that this national Discontent, and Disposition to revolt, was owing to the Introduction of *Custom-house*, and *Excise Officers* into that Kingdom, upon the Union. But if by saying the Nation is *disaffected* be meant only that they are more *discontented*, that may be admitted to be true; for if the People should once get a Notion that their *Representative Body* was unduly influenc'd by the Multitude of *Place-men* among them, and if they find the *Frequency of Election* taken away, or impaired, and made *Septennial*, instead of *Triennial*, they may very probably become less contented; for tho' *frequent Elections* cause Heats and Ferments, yet as without Heat and Ferment the *Body politick*, as well as the *Body natural*, would be dead and lifeless, or at Death's Door, such Ferments don't make them wish to have the Right and Usage of *frequent Elections* taken away from them. Farther, if the People observe a very large Body of *standing Forces* kept up in time of full Peace, and very much encreas'd upon slight Alarms, they cannot be so well content as when the more natural Defence of a free People, *viz.* their *Militia*, is more relied on. But if any Disaffection arises from *these Causes*, it is very easy to put a speedy End to it by such Laws as have been at Times recommended in your Papers, and by such Methods as might save the Nation near a *Million per Annum* Expence; at the same Time ease them of all Fear; secure their Trade, and their Honour; and enable them to give Terror to, and receive Submission from their injurious Neighbours, instead of being distressed by them.

But since so much hath of late enter'd into some People's Fancies, concerning *Invasions*, I will add a few Words of Comfort to my Countrymen on this Occasion. I desire them to consider, that in *England* alone, at the lowest Computation, we are a People consisting of *seven Millions of Souls*; and that the Proportion the *fighting Men*, (that is, the *Males* from 18 to 56) bear to the *whole Body* is above a *fourth Part*. Hence in *England* alone, without reckoning *Scotland* and *Ireland*, we are, as I may say, 1,750,000 fighting Men, or Men that could fight, and would on a proper Occasion, if we did but shew them a little how to handle a Musket; so that if all the Forces, which *France* and *Spain* could possibly transport, at one Time, if unmolested, in all the Ships both Kingdoms have, together with their *Fishing-Boats*, were landed, any where in this Kingdom, they would be shot to Death in 48

Hours

Hours from the Time of Landing, by the powerful ſuperior Number of Hands within 30 Miles round the Place, if we would but moderately train the *Militia*, and let every one know his Regiment and his Officer, and where to repair. But if we are reſolv'd not to make uſe of ſuch ready Help, but ſolely depend on our *regular Forces*, it might be ſome Months before a Body equal to the Number of the Enemy could be brought from the diſtant Parts of the Kingdom. In the mean Time, we muſt endure the Enemy's Ravage, and when our Forces were come, ſuppoſing the common Soldiers did not deſert in their March, to ſkulk and lie hid with their Trulls in ſafe Places, we might yet be in Danger of their deſerting to the *Invader* for the Sake of the high Premiums, that would probably be offer'd, and thus encreaſe the *invading Force*, and leave us helpleſs in the moſt critical Minute. Surely our Liberties, Eſtates, and Religion are worth ſecuring by ſuch Methods as are the moſt *ſpeedy* and *infallible*. Is it not a ſtrange Thing, that the moſt populous Nation that is, or ever was on the Earth, of ſo large an Extent, and a People not unwarlike, and environ'd by the Sea, ſhould confeſs either by Words, or by their Conduct, that they are under any the leaſt Dread of an *Invaſion*; and all for Want of a *train'd Militia?* Muſt it not, when that is the Caſe, be Matter of high Laughter for thoſe, who find they can make ſuch Sport with us? But we hope, from the Spirit of a *free Britiſh Parliament*, to convince our Enemies, and the whole World, that *Britain* hath ſtill

——————————— *this prerogative,*
That none can at our happy coaſt arive;
While we deſcend at pleaſure to invade
The bad with vengeance, and the good with aid.
WALLER.

THE *Gazetteer* of *Oct.* 5. in Anſwer to the above Paper, remarks, That from the earlieſt Intelligence we had of the *Invaſion* in Q. *Anne*'s Reign, to the entire Diſappointment thereof, and the Return of the *French* Squadron into the Road of *Dunkirk*, it was not above a Month. Now, in this Time (ſays he) I would be glad to know, how many Thouſand Men could be rais'd? What Troops could be brought from *Ireland?* Or how any large Sum could be ſpent? And yet, he remarks in the ſecond Place, the Parliament, the Queen's Miniſtry, and her Allies, did all that they poſſibly could. And ſuppoſing our Armament both by Land and Sea in 1707-8 (ſays the *Gazetteer* of the 4th) did not exceed Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Account of it, I don't think but every unbiaſs'd Man, who looks into the preſent State of Affairs at home and abroad, will imagine it to equal, at leaſt, that which we now ſee order'd by Authority.

In 1707, moſt of the Powers of *Europe* were confederated and in actual War againſt *France*, which was at that Time reduced to ſo great Extremity by the Succeſs of their United Force, that ſhe had ſcarce any other Game left but drawing off our Attention and Troops from *Flanders*, where ſhe moſt ſenſibly felt the Effects of our Power.

This was the genuine and only View of *France* in that Undertaking. Our Miniſters at that Time were ſenſible of her Drift; they knew her Deſign was to defeat the Schemes of the *Allies*, or at leaſt to delay the Operations of the enſuing Campaign; but yet they took ſuch Precautions, as would render the Deſigns of *France* abortive, even were they really intended againſt theſe Kingdoms directly, as they had Reaſons for believing that they were not.

But will any Man ſay, that Things are now in the like Situation, or that our preſent Preparations ſhould not exceed thoſe in 1707? At that Time we had moſt of the Powers of *Europe* obliged to us by defenſive as well as offenſive Alliances; we had an Army of 20,000 Natives and above 30,000 Foreigners in our Pay within Call; we could have no Dread of the Power of *Spain*, in the Bowels of which we had two different Corps of Troops; and *Charles* XII's Enmity to *Peter* I. and *Auguſtus* I. left us no Room to apprehend any Danger from the North.

But, ſays the painted *Dapp*, "We have 1,750,000 Men in *Great Britain* capable of bearing Arms, and why might not they be rely'd upon to ſecure us againſt all Invaſions?" In anſwer to this ſhrewd Queriſt, I would aſk him, Where were his Millions when this Kingdom was ſeverally invaded by the *Saxons*, the *Danes*, and *Normans*; and before them, by *Julius Cæſar?* What Stand did his favourite Militia make againſt *Mackintoſh* and three or four hundred Highlanders in 1715? What Stand do above 100,000 able-bodied *Corſicans* make againſt a Handful of *French?* Or, what Proweſs did *Peter* I's Millions of *Ruſſians* ſhew againſt a Handful of *Swedes*, before they taught him and his Subjects the Art of War, by a continued Waſte of their Country?

Common Senſe, Oct. 6, N° 140.

MR. *Common Senſe* having, in his laſt, given ſome Account of the Government of *Holland*, from a Writer (as he ſays) of very good Authority, proceeds, in this, to make ſeveral Obſervations upon it; ſome of which are as follows:

"The People (ſays my Author) are wholly excluded from all Share in the Legiſlature by an Edict made about 150 Years ago, when all popular Factions ceaſed, and, with them, the very Shadow of a Commonwealth; ſo that, when a Senator dies, the reſt of the Body fill up the Vacancy."

Thus

Thus it appears, when the People once part with the Power of electing and changing their own Magiſtrates and Law-givers, there is an End of Liberty. Theſe Things, which he calls popular Factions, were only the Contentions betwixt the People of every Town when they came to a new Election of Magiſtrates, little Heats and Animoſities which ſoon ſubſide, Contentions which have been in all the popular Governments which ever were in the World, and which never endanger'd the publick Liberties; and when they ended in *Holland*, my Author obſerves, there was not ſo much as a Shadow of a free Government left.

Sir *William Temple* tells us, that the Populace, or Freeholders, have no Share at all in the Government of *Holland*.

This is certainly for the Reaſon beforenamed, their parting with the Power of electing Magiſtrates. A perpetual Parliament would bring our Free-holders into the ſame Condition, and, indeed, a very long Parliament takes a great deal from them. It is too great a Power to be long confided to the ſame Perſons; they may be apt to forget the Intereſt of their Countrymen, to cloſe with that of a Miniſter.——I ſhould not wonder, in ſuch a Caſe, if they ſhould turn out ſome who were elected the faireſt by the Free-holders, and put in Perſons devoted to the Miniſter:—I ſhould not wonder to ſee a Miniſter dictating to ſuch a Parliament; or, if he ſhould be ſeen to overlook an Aſſembly of which he had not the Honour to be a Member, to awe and controul their Debates by his Preſence; to ſee him ſend a Whiſper to this or that Man, when he did not like what was doing; and to ſee thoſe People change the Shape and Purport of their Diſcourſe at the Word of Command:——I ſhould not be ſurprized at it, for, no Doubt, the whole Buſineſs of Parliament would become a mere Farce, and would, in Effect, be no more than a Method of putting in Execution the Will and Pleaſure of a Miniſter.

" Their Balance of Power (ſays my Author) is the moſt unequal of any in *Europe*, for the little Town of *Permeren* has an equal Vote with *Amſterdam*; ſo has the little Province of *Over-Yſſel*, with that of *Holland*."

Foreigners have made the ſame Objection to our Conſtitution. *Old Sarum*, which does not deſerve the Name even of a Village, conſiſting only of 5 or 6 miſerable Cottages, is of half the Conſequence with the City of *London* in the Legiſlature. The whole County of *Middleſex*, including *London* and *Weſtminſter*, has no more than 8 Voices in the Legiſlature; the County of *Cornwal*, which has not the 20th Part of its Inhabitants, nor the 100th Part of its Wealth, has upwards of forty; which makes Foreigners ſay, that, when we talk that our Legiſlators are the true Repreſentatives of the People, it is an idle Boaſt, for that they are, in Effect, the Repreſentatives of certain Places.

It was the Deſign of our Anceſtors, that Parliaments ſhould be the true Repreſentatives of the People; and when thoſe Places in *Cornwal* were erected into Boroughs, *Cornwal* was vaſtly populous, and *Middleſex* very inconſiderable, in reſpect to what they are To-Day. We ſee by our old Books, that Towns, as they proſper'd and increas'd in Inhabitants, were allow'd to ſend Members to Parliament; and others, as they decay'd, were cut off from that Privilege; or, to ſpeak properly, the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament follow'd the People wherever they moved; and, was the ſame Order obſerv'd To-Day, *Middleſex* would ſend the 44 Members, and *Cornwal* not 8.

" Their Penſioner, an Office of great Authority, ſhould be changed, by the original Compact, every five Years; but this they have ſometimes violated."

Machiavel ſays, that the prolonging of Magiſtracies in Free States is always attended with the Loſs of Liberty. The Office of *Dictator*, in the *Roman* Republick, was a wiſe Inſtitution, and often ſaved the Commonwealth; and the Commonwealth was afterwards deſtroy'd by prolonging this Office to one Man. I will ſay nothing of ſtale, or long Parliaments; we have had the Experience of them, and, I believe, all Men think alike of them; but I am afraid that even the long Continuation of the ſame Miniſtry can be of no great Advantage to the Liberties of *England*.

" When any reſtive City, or Province, ſtands out, it is not unuſual to awe them into a Compliance, by quartering Troops in their Country, which they have an Opportunity of doing, their Situation putting them under a Neceſſity of keeping up a conſtant Standing Army."

Providence hath given us a ſignal Advantage over them in this Reſpect: By encompaſſing us with the Ocean, we have a better Security againſt Foreign Enemies, than an armed Hoſt of mercenary Troops:——So that if ever a Standing Army ſhould be fix'd upon this Nation, thoſe who would perſuade the People that they are intended againſt Foreign Enemies, muſt not expect that any Body will believe them.

As to Mobs, or popular Tumults, which keep the States General a little in Awe, there, indeed, our Miniſters have an Advantage over them, being, by the Riot Act, ſecured againſt any Dangers which may threaten their Perſons from popular Tumults.

The Craftſman *of the 6th has ſome farther Obſervations on the* Spaniſh Manifeſto; *but as ſome other important Affairs have taken up ſo much of*

of our Room this Month, our Readers will be ſatisfy'd with what has been already ſaid on that Subject, from that Paper, in our laſt. p. 456.

Craftſman, Oct. 13. N° 692.

Obſervations on the late Election of a LORD MAYOR; *Ways and Means for ſupporting a* WAR, &c.

THE City of *London* is ſo commodiouſly ſituated for *Trade*, and hath long carried it on to ſo conſiderable an Height, that it hath always been look'd upon, not only as the *Metropolis*, but the very *Heart* of the Kingdom, from whence the *Blood* circulates thro' all Parts of the *Body-politick*; and therefore it would be as ridiculous for the Generality of the Nation not to concur with the City of *London*, in all eſſential Points of *Trade*, as it was for the *Limbs*, in the Fable, to complain of the *Belly*'s receiving all the Food and Nouriſhment;—and as the late Oppoſition in the *City* was not ſtir'd up by any clandeſtine Means, but viſibly aroſe from the general Senſe of the *Merchants*, upon the preſent unhappy State of Affairs, I make no Doubt that I ſhall ſoon have an Opportunity of congratulating them upon ſeeing every trading Town in *England* co-operate with them, and emulate their glorious Spirit.

The provoking, cruel, and inhuman Uſage of our *Merchants* and *Seamen* abroad, as well as their repeated and fruitleſs Applications at home, are too well known, and have been fully expos'd in ſeveral *Pamphlets*. And when the *Merchants* found themſelves in this unhappy Condition, after ſo many Injuries and Diſappointments, what farther Courſe had they to take? Ought they really to diſpoſe of their *Effects*, ſell their *Ships*, part with their *Plantations*, and fly to *ſome other Country* for Protection, (as they declar'd in *Parliament*) if they could not find it here? No; *omnia prius tentanda*, as our *miniſterial Writers* have obſerv'd with much leſs Reaſon, in Favour of the moſt *ignominious Peace*, preferably to a *glorious and honourable War*.

Our *Merchants* therefore had no other Remedy left, without intirely giving up all their Rights and Intereſts, than by trying their *own Strength*, when they found all Hopes of Relief from *other Hands* defeated, and even render'd the Subject of Ridicule.

For this Reaſon, it was very wiſely and honeſtly reſolv'd to fix a laſting Brand of Infamy upon *one Perſon* of their own Body, who, in Defiance of their known and declar'd Senſe of the late *fatal Convention*, gave his Vote for it, and thereby did all in his Power to cram it down the Throats of the Nation; not without very ſtrong Suſpicions (if we may give Crdit to general Report) that he was influenc'd by the moſt *ſcandalous Motives*, from which he hath never yet thought fit to purge himſelf. But altho' this very Imputation recommended him to the Favour of all the *Tools of Power*, he was almoſt unanimouſly rejected by the *worthy Liverymen*, with as much Spirit and Vigour, as the ſtricteſt Regard to *Order* and *Decency* would permit.

This Inſtance of *Patriotiſm* (which amounts to a Demonſtration that there is really ſuch a Thing ſtill left) was immediately followed by another, equally meritorious; for when *this obnoxious Man* was ſet aſide, a Motion was made by an *eminent Merchant*, and ſeconded by loud Acclamations from the *Liverymen*, for returning Thanks to their *four worthy Repreſentatives*, &c. (See Mr. *Glover*'s Speech, and the Paper deliver'd by him, p. 500.)

But this Affair did not drop here; for a *worthy Alderman* made another Motion for inſtructing their *preſent Members* to obtain a Repeal of that Part of an *Act*, commonly call'd the *City-Act*, which gives the *Court of Aldermen* a Negative, and for reſtoring the *Court of Common Council* to their antient Right. This Motion from an *Alderman*, againſt the new Power of the *Court of Aldermen*, is an Inſtance of uncommon Impartiality, and muſt certainly be very acceptable to the *Common-Council* and *honeſt Liverymen* of London. (See the Speeches and Motion, p. 501, 503, 504.)

Theſe Inſtances, which the Citizens of *London* have given, of their Reſentment againſt *one Man*, whoſe Conduct they had juſt Reaſon to diſapprove, a due Regard to their *own Rights*, and a very ſeaſonable Teſtimony of their dutiful Attachment to the true Intereſts of the *preſent Royal Family*, are ſufficient Proofs that the antient Spirit of this great *Metropolis* is not yet loſt, notwithſtanding the indefatigable Endeavours of *ſome Men*, and the baſe Proſtitution of *others*.

I ſhall now make a few general Remarks upon the *Convention*, which was the principal Motive to the *late Seceſſion*, and the preſent Proceedings in the *City*.

Tho' *this Treaty*, or *Piece of a Treaty*, is now diſſolv'd on *both Sides*, and *we* have been put to a vaſt Expence in Preparations for carrying on a *vigorous War*; yet the *Britiſh Fleet* hath been yet employ'd to no other Purpoſe than in playing the little Part of *Privateering*, and the Seaſon of the Year is now ſo far advanc'd, that we cannot well expect any *Action of Conſequence* till the Spring. It may perhaps, be the Deſign of *ſome Perſons*, after all this Parade, to procure *another ſimilar Convention*, or ſomething like it under a different Name, either by their *own wiſe Negotiation*, or the friendly Mediation of the *preſent great Arbiter of* Europe. But we have lately ſeen ſo many glaring Inſtances of the Effects of *French Mediation*, that it will hardly be reliſh'd, however *diſguis'd*, by any *true Engliſhman*

ſiſman; and ſince we are now ſufficiently provided for any Undertaking on our Part, or any Attack againſt us, either by *Sea* or *Land*, it ſeems to be generally expected that ſuch a prodigious Expence ſhould not be intirely thrown away, without endeavouring to do ourſelves Juſtice by *Force of Arms*, againſt our *barbarous* and *inſolent Enemies*.

If we have *no Allies* to aſſiſt us in the preſent Undertaking, (as a *certain Hon. Gentleman* was lately pleas'd to aſſure us) yet it may be ſome Advantage to us, if we exert ourſelves as we ought, that neither have we any *Allies* to check us in the Courſe of a *War*. We may purſue our Deſigns wherever our *Intereſt*, or *juſt Reſentment* ſhall direct us. There is a Part of the World, where *Spain* is particularly vulnerable, and we may be too hard for them, with *all their Allies*.——But it is not the Buſineſs of a *poor Journaliſt* to offer *Schemes*, or *Plans of Operation*, tho' often call'd upon to do it by *thoſe*, who would charge me with the higheſt Degree of Inſolence, if I ſhould accept their Challenges, and preſume to adviſe ſuch conſummate Politicians as *their Patrons*. I do not pretend, as Mr. *Freeman* modeſtly ſuggeſts, to be in the *Secrets of Cabinets*; and ſolemnly declare, *that I never look'd over either* Don *Benjamino*, Don *Horatio*, or Don *Roberto*'s *Shoulders*, whilſt they were concerting their *Schemes*, or drawing up their *Diſpatches*. I will ſum up my Defence againſt this Charge in a few Words: I never was at the renown'd Port of *Lyn* in my Life, and therefore cannot be ſuppos'd to have any Knowledge of the Views and Intereſts of *foreign Courts*. But, I will oblige *theſe importunate Gentlemen* ſo far, as to throw in my poor Mite of Advice towards *Ways and Means*, for ſupporting the *Expences* of a War.

The firſt is ſo obvious to every Body, in our preſent Circumſtances, that it may ſeem almoſt impertinent to mention it; for as the *Country Gentlemen*, *Farmers*, *Traders*, *Manufacturers*, and *poor Labourers*, have been grievouſly loaded with Taxes, during a long Courſe of *Peace*, it cannot be doubted that a large Contribution will be chearfully granted out of the *Civil Liſt*, towards the Expences of a *War*. This was the Caſe of the late K. *William* and Q. *Anne*; the *former* of whom had Part of his *ſettled Revenue* taken away by *Parliament*, when the *Exigences of the Nation* requir'd it; and the *latter* voluntarily gave 100,000*l.* a Year upon the ſame Occaſion, as it is recorded for her immortal Honour, to all ſucceeding Generations, by a * *Perſon of the higheſt Rank*, whoſe Teſtimony cannot be diſputed.

This will naturally pave the Way to *another Reſource*; for *thoſe Perſons*, who have grown rich by *Employments*, whilſt *others* have been exhauſted by *Taxes*, will certainly be aſhamed not to follow the *Royal Example*, of their own Accord, in Eaſe of their *Fellow-Subjects*; or they may be eaſily compell'd to do it. If we may give Credit to ſome *late Liſts*, above 400,000*l.* a Year is viſibly diſtributed amongſt *two Kinds of Place Men* only; beſides *other private Gratuities*. Half of this Money, at leaſt, might be eaſily ſav'd, and ought to be ſav'd, in Times of Diſtreſs. *Some of theſe Gentlemen* have amaſs'd immenſe Eſtates from very *low Beginnings*; and therefore they cannot decently refuſe to ſerve *their Country*, at ſuch a Time, *without any Profit*, or at leaſt a *very moderate one*. There are beſides a Multitude of *unneceſſary Places*, which ought to be entirely aboliſh'd, and the Salaries of *others* conſiderably reduc'd.

Another conſiderable Aid, towards the Support of a *War*, might be rais'd by the long deſir'd Tax upon *Luxury*; for it is a Scandal to any *free Government*, that whilſt the *poorer Sort of the People* are oblig'd to pay heavy Duties for all the *Neceſſaries* and *Conveniences of Life*, the *Rich* ſhould not pay in Proportion for indulging themſelves in *Pride*, *Vanity*, and *Riot*. This would either raiſe a very great Sum, or reduce *that deſtructive Vice*, which would be equally advantageous to the Nation.

But I muſt deſire to have it obſerv'd, that I propoſe *this Tax upon Luxury* to be only *annual*, and not *funded out*, like moſt *other Taxes*, which might deſtroy the very Intent of it, by applying it to *bad Purpoſes*; or, if it ſhould be thought proper to continue it, after the *War*, let it be given in Lieu of *other Taxes*, for the Relief of the *Poor*.

Theſe, in my poor Opinion, will be the moſt effectual Means to ſupport a vigorous War againſt our *Enemies abroad*, and to unite us *at home*, in the common Cauſe of our Country.

The Common Hall of the Liverymen of London *juſtify'd, in the late Inſtructions given to their Repreſentatives, &c. both from Reaſon and Precedents.*

THE Reaſonableneſs of this Proceeding will chiefly appear, when we conſider with how much greater Propriety the Right of inſtructing the Repreſentatives can be made uſe of in the Common-Hall, than in any other City-Aſſembly. For the Common-Hall conſiſts of the Body of Electors, who make the Repreſentatives; whereas the other City-Aſſembly, the Common-Council, are neither choſen by the Livery, nor are obliged to be Liverymen themſelves; and therefore they could not with Decency intermeddle in an Affair of this Nature. If then the Common-Hall has no Right to deliver Inſtructions

* *See the Dutcheſs Dowager of* Marlborough's *Inſcription upon Queen* Anne's *Statue, erected at* Blenheim. (*Of which our Readers may ſee a Copy, in our* Magazine, Vol. VI. p. 343.)

to its Repreſentatives, no other City-Aſſembly can pretend to it. And thus this illuſtrious Metropolis would be degraded from that common Privilege enjoyed by ſo many Thouſands of the meaneſt of his Majeſty's Subjects, and which has been ſo frequently aſſerted by the moſt inconſiderable Corporations in the Kingdom.

And now as to Precedents, of which there are ſeveral; but we ſhall only mention the following.

In the State Tracts, publiſhed (as is aſſerted in the Title-page) to ſhew the Neceſſity, and clear the Legality of the late Revolution, there occurs (p. 131, 132.) the following Narration:

ON the fourth of *February* 1680-1, the City of *London*, aſſembled in Common-Hall, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſand Liverymen, having, by an unanimous Voice, elected their old Repreſentatives, returned them their Thanks in a Paper there publickly read and approved of with a general Conſent.

To the Honoured Sir Robert Clayton, *Knt.* Thomas Pilkington, *Alderman*, *Sir* Thomas Player, *Kt. and* William Love, *Eſq*; *late (and now choſen) Members of Parliament for this honourable City of* London.

WE the Citizens of this City in Common Hall aſſembled, having experienced the great and manifold Services of you our Repreſentatives in the two laſt Parliaments, by your faithful and unwearied Endeavours to ſearch into and diſcover the Depth of the horrid and helliſh Popiſh Plots; to preſerve his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the well-eſtabliſhed Government of this Realm; to ſecure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments; to aſſert our undoubted Rights of Petitioning, and to puniſh ſuch who would have betrayed thoſe Rights; to promote the happy and long-wiſh'd for Union amongſt all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects; to repeal the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the Corporation-Act; and eſpecially for what Progreſs hath been made towards the Excluſion of all Popiſh Succeſſors, and particularly *James* Duke of *York*, whom the Commons of *England*, in the two laſt Parliaments, have declared, and we are greatly ſenſible is the principal Cauſe of all the Ruin and Miſery impending on theſe Kingdoms in general, and this City in particular: For all which, and other your conſtant and faithful Management of our Affairs in Parliament, we offer and return to you our moſt hearty Thanks, being confidently aſſured, that you will not conſent to the granting any Money-Supply, until you have effectually ſecur'd us againſt Popery and arbitrary Power; reſolving, (by Divine Aſſiſtance) in Purſuance of the ſame Ends, to ſtand by you with our Lives and Fortunes.

And likewiſe there was offered another Paper, directed to the Sheriffs, purporting their Thanks to the ſeveral noble Peers for their late Petition and Advice to his Majeſty; which was as follows.

To the Worſhipful Slingſby Bethel, *and* Henry Corniſh, *Eſqrs. Sheriffs of the City of* London *and* Weſtminſter.

WE the Citizens of the ſaid City in Common Hall aſſembled, having read and diligently peruſed the late Petition and Advice of ſeveral noble Peers of this Realm to his Majeſty, whoſe Counſels we humbly conceive are (in this unhappy Juncture) highly ſeaſonable and greatly tending to the Safety of theſe Kingdoms; we do therefore make it our earneſt Requeſt, that you (in the Name of this Common Hall,) will return to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Eſſex*, and (by him) to the reſt of thoſe noble Peers, the grateful Acknowledgment of this Aſſembly.

Which being read and approved of by a general Acclamation, the Sheriffs promiſed to give their Lordſhips the Thanks of the Common Hall, in Purſuance of their Requeſt.

We will only produce one more Precedent, which is, indeed, a deciſive one, and in which it will appear, that the Common Hall have not always confined themſelves to the inſtructing their own Repreſentatives, or addreſſing their own Magiſtrates, but that they have ſometimes interceded with the Legiſlature for the procuring of new Laws of the moſt extenſive and intereſting Nature.

The Fact occurs in the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, in 1689, and is as follows:

The Citizens of *London*, in Common Hall aſſembled, for the Election of Sheriffs, did at the ſame Time, agree to a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, and ordered their Sheriffs and the Common Serjeant to preſent it.

This Petition ſet forth in Subſtance, That the Body Repreſentative of the City of *London*, in the Common Hall aſſembled, could not but, with all Thankfulneſs, acknowledge the infinite Mercies of Almighty God, the heroic Courage and excellent Conduct of their Majeſty, and the Wiſdom and Counſel of their Honours, whereby the Rights and Liberties of the Petitioners, and the very Being of Juſtice and Peace had been ſo wonderfully preſerved; but they expreſſed their Apprehenſions of the Dangers impending over the *Engliſh* Church and State, from the Endeavours of the Papiſts to animate the various Denominations of Proteſtants againſt each other, thereby making them to promote their own Deſtruction. They then pray that the antient Privilege of the City to chuſe its Magiſtrates might be ſecured from all future Doubts, and that for this Purpoſe

the Bill for restoring Corporations to their Rights might be perfected; and as the Conspiracies of the Papists, and the threatned Invasion from *France*, did render the united Force of all the Protestants apparently necessary, they did therefore farther pray, That our most gracious King may be freed from the Restraints of using his Protestant Subjects indifferently in his military or civil Services, according to their several Qualities and Abilities, wherewith God Almighty, Nature, Education, and Experience, had endowed them.

This Petition, pursuant to the Order of the Common Hall, was, next Day, *June* 25, presented to the House by the two Sheriffs, and the Common Serjeant; but as it was not signed by any Person, it was returned to them again; upon which they withdrew and signed it themselves in the following Manner:

WE the Sheriffs of the City of *London*, and County of *Middlesex*, with the Common Serjeant, were Yesterday ordered by the Citizens of *London*, in Common Hall assembled, to present to the honourable House of Commons this Petition, *June* 25, 1689.

Humphry Edwin.
Henry Crisp.
John Fleet.

The Petition thus signed being re-delivered at the Bar of the House, by Mr. Common Serjeant, a Debate arose, whether the Petition should be read as thus signed; and the Question being put, it passed in the Affirmative, Ya's 174, No's 147.

And from hence it appears, not only that the Common Hall, when assembled for the Election of Magistrates, have done other Acts no Ways connected with that Election (contrary to what has lately been so confidently asserted;) but also, that in the Opinion of the House of Commons, they have a Right so to do. It also follows from hence, that the Common Hall, like a Corporation, has a Right of Petitioning, and ordering that Petition to be delivered by proper Officers, on whose Attestation only, without being signed by Particulars, the Petition is to be considered as the Act of the whole Body.

COMMON Sense of the 13th and 20th opposes a Doctrine, which he says has been vigorously press'd of late, *viz.* That Parliaments, once elected, are not accountable to those that chuse them. This Doctrine, he says, is as old as the Rump Parliament, and he shews the Absurdity of it by Extracts from some bold Pamphlets, published in those Times.

The *Craftsman* of the 20th shews how difficult it is for Princes to be rightly inform'd of the true State of their Subjects, *&c.* —— But we are oblig'd, at this Time, to break off the *Essays*, to make Room for what follows, *viz.*

His MAJESTY's *Declaration of War against the King of* Spain.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS many unjust Seizures have been made, and Depredations carried on, for several Years, in the *West-Indies*, by *Spanish Guarda Costa's*, and other Ships, acting under the Commission of the King of *Spain*, or his Governors, contrary to the Treaties subsisting between us and the Crown of *Spain*, and to the Law of Nations, to the great Prejudice of the lawful Trade, and Commerce of our Subjects; and great Cruelties and Barbarities have been exercised on the Persons of divers of our Subjects, whose Vessels have been so seized; and the *British* Colours have been insulted in the most ignominious Manner; and whereas we have caused frequent Complaints to be made to the King of *Spain* of these violent, and unjust Proceedings, but no Satisfaction or Redress has been given for the same, notwithstanding the many Promises made, and Cedula's issued, signed by the said King, or by his Order, for that Purpose; and whereas the Evils above-mentioned have been principally occasioned by an unwarrantable Claim, and Pretension, set up, on the Part of *Spain*, that the *Guarda Costa's*, and other Ships, authorized by the King of *Spain*, may stop, detain, and search the Ships and Vessels of our Subjects navigating in the *American* Seas, contrary to the Liberty of Navigation, to which our Subjects have not only an equal Right with those of the King of *Spain*, by the Law of Nations, but which is moreover expressly acknowledged and declared to belong to them by the most solemn Treaties, and particularly by that concluded in the Year 1670; and whereas the said groundless Claim and Pretension, and the unjust Practice of Stopping, Detaining, and Searching Ships and Vessels, navigating in the Seas of *America*, is not only of the most dangerous and destructive Consequence to the lawful Commerce of our Subjects, but also tends to interrupt and obstruct the free Intercourse, and Correspondence between our Dominions in *Europe*, and our Colonies and Plantations in *America*, and by Means thereof, to deprive us, and our Subjects, of the Benefit of those Colonies and Plantations; a Consideration of the highest Importance to us, and our Kingdoms; and a Practice, which must affect, in its Consequence, all other Princes and States of *Europe*, possessed of Settlements in the *West-Indies*, or whose Subjects carry on any Trade thither; and whereas besides the notorious Grounds of Complaint above-mentioned, many other Infractions have been made on the Part of *Spain*, of the several Treaties and Conventions subsisting between us, and that Crown,

and particularly of that concluded in the Year 1667, as well by the exorbitant Duties and Impositions laid upon the Trade and Commerce of our Subjects, as by the Breach of ancient and established Privileges, stipulated for them by the said Treaties; for the Redress of which Grievances, the strongest Instances have been, from Time to Time, made by our several Ministers residing in *Spain*, without any Effect; and whereas a Convention, for making Reparation to our Subjects for the Losses sustained by them, on account of the unjust Seizures and Depredations committed by the *Spaniards* in *America*, and in order to prevent for the future all the Grievances and Causes of Complaint therein taken notice of, and to remove absolutely, and for ever, every Thing which might give Occasion thereto, was concluded between us, and the King of *Spain*, on the 14th Day of *January* last, N. S. by which Convention it was stipulated, That a certain Sum of Money should be paid at *London*, within a Term therein specified, as a Balance admitted to be due, on the Part of *Spain*, to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, which Term expired on the 25th Day of *May* last, and the Payment of the said Sum was not made, according to the Stipulation for that Purpose; by which Means the Convention above-mentioned was manifestly violated and broken by the King of *Spain*, and our Subjects remained without any Satisfaction or Reparation for the many grievous Losses sustained by them; and the Methods, agreed upon by the said Convention, in order to the Obtaining future Security for the Trade and Navigation of our Subjects, are, contrary to good Faith, frustrated and defeated: In Consequence of which, we found ourselves obliged, for vindicating the Honour of our Crown, and for procuring Reparation and Satisfaction for our injured Subjects, to order, That general Reprizals should be granted against the said King of *Spain*, his Vassals and Subjects, and their Ships, Goods, and Effects: And whereas the Court of *Spain* has been induced to colour the open Violation of the Convention aforesaid, by Reasons and Pretences, which are void of all Foundation: And, at the same Time, has not only publish'd an Order, sign'd by the said King, for seizing the Ships, Goods, and Effects belonging to us and our Subjects, where-ever they shall be met with, but has caused Seizures to be actually made of the Goods and Effects of our Subjects, residing in his Dominions, and has also ordered our said Subjects to depart out of the *Spanish* Dominions, within a short limited Time, contrary to the express Stipulations of the Treaties between the two Crowns, even in Case of a War actually declared: We have taken into our Royal and most serious Consideration these Injuries, which have been offered to us and our Subjects, and the manifest Violation of the several Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns; all which have been, in many Particulars, eluded, or evaded, by the unwarrantable Behaviour of the Court of *Spain*, and their Officers, notwithstanding the repeated Instances we have given of our Desire to cultivate a good Understanding with the King of *Spain*, and the essential Proofs of our Friendship and Regard for him and his Family, which we have demonstrated to all the World: And being fully satisfied, that the Honour of our Crown, the Interest of our Subjects, and that Regard, which ought to be had to the most solemn Treaties, call upon us to make use of the Power, which God has given us, for vindicating our undoubted Rights, and securing to our loving Subjects the Privileges of Navigation and Commerce to which they are justly entitled: We, therefore, relying on the Help of Almighty God, who knows the Uprightness of our Intentions, have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare War against the said King of *Spain*; and we will, in pursuance of such Declaration, vigorously prosecute the said War, being assured of the ready Concurrence and Assistance of all our loving Subjects in so just a Cause, wherein the Honour of our Crown, the Maintenance of our solemn Treaties, and the Trade and Navigation of our Subjects, (which are so essential to the Welfare and Prosperity of this Nation, and which we are determin'd, at all Times, with our utmost Power to preserve and support) are so greatly concerned: And we do hereby will, and require, our Generals and Commanders of our Forces, our Commissioners for executing the Office of High Admiral of *Great Britain*, our Lieutenants of our several Counties, Governors of our Forts and Garisons, and all other Officers, and Soldiers under them, by Sea and Land, to do and execute all Acts of Hostility in the Prosecution of this War against the said King of *Spain*, his Vassals, and Subjects, and to oppose their Attempts: And we do hereby command as well our own Subjects, as advertise all other Persons of what Nation soever, not to transport, or carry any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or other contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the said King of *Spain*; declaring, that whatsoever Ship or Vessel shall be met withal, transporting, or carrying any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or other contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the said King of *Spain*, the same, being taken, shall be condemned as good and lawful Prize. *Given at our Court at* Kensington *the nineteenth Day of* October, 1739, *in the thirteenth Year of our Reign.*

GOD save the KING.

The

The SESSION *of the* GODS, *To* J. H. *Esq;*
On Occasion of his Marriage.

DAME *Venus* one day on the top of *Parnassus*,
Encompass'd around with a bevy of lasses,
Was playing at putt for a mug of brown nectar,
When *Cupid* burst in with this sorrowful lecture:
O dearest mamma! thou goddess of beauty!
Of whom, as I think myself bounden in duty,
I first crave a blessing like other good christians;
I come to desire your help and assistance:
There's a wench upon earth—you have seen her—'tis *Cloe*,
So like you, asunder no mortal can know ye;
The distinction's this only—for I'll tell it, O goddess, t'ye, [modesty;
She has a little more sense, and a little more
This *Cloe* has gain'd over men such a power,
She wounds more in a minute than I in an hour;
My arrows I spend without pleasure or profit,
And my business—ah! nought but a jail can come of it.
Whene'er I attack her she puts by my dart,
And laughs at my trouble, and despises my art,
Or the best of my arrows unable to wound,
Either headless, or blunted, fall all to the ground.
What in heading, and sharpning, and pointing, and mending, [ending,
And feathers, and glue, and so on without
It will cost me, old *Mulciber* knows by his bill,
Above ten times the value I've got by my skill:
So oft I've attempted to hasten her doom,
But still all my projects have vanish'd in fume:
So unless your assistance her power repels,
I must over to *France*, or be laid by the heels.
Say then in a word all her wiles how to parry here, [your farrier;
And I'll wound you a youth that shall cuckold
As stout, and as strait, and as soft as *Adonis*,
Such a spark can't be purchas'd for love or for monies.
Venus 'gan for to chuckle at the little god's offer, [could proffer)
(For it tickled her fancy more than all he
And now stir'd her stumps 'gainst the nymph, and to spite her,
Next session in heaven resolv'd to indite her.
Next session now comes, and miss *Cloe* appears,
And all the immortals were soon by the ears:
Such a hum, such a buz, such a roar, such applause, [cause:
All at first were determin'd to give her the
But her beauty at last, to her great disappointment, [ment.
Prov'd her plainly too guilty of predict indite-
Her defence was but short—that her crime was not heinous;—
That she never intended to hurt madam *Venus*.—
And for *Cupid*, she never had heard that that god,
Had ever debarr'd her from going abroad:
Cou'd her beauty be such as to spoil all his profit!
Strange! she alone should not be sensible of it.
If the men would gaze on her, and chanc'd to be caught, [her fault;
The men were to blame for't, 'twas none of
Or rather the gods were themselves in the plot,
They gave her her beauty, she alter'd it not:
No cosmeticks she us'd, no arts to be lov'd;
From good-nature and virtue if her looks were improv'd,
She hop'd they'd consider her youth, and in short [court.
She threw her cause into the hands of the
Jove licking his lips at the sight of the dame,
Whose beauty already his heart did enflame,
Was resolv'd for a sketch of his deep politicks,
And scratching his head, thus begins his old tricks.
That *Cloe* is guilty no god can deny,
It appears in her voice, it appears in her eye,
Have regard to mankind, she'll destroy the whole race, [face.
For death and destruction threat sure in her
Let her live an old maid, and be sent to the woods,
To languish and pine to the meadows and floods:
Far, far from the world in a poor country cot,
Let her chaunt out her woe to the ravens hoarse note.
Nor ever the generous *Britons* enslave: [brave.
These are the soft tyrants that conquer the
As for me I advise—You advise us, quoth *Juno*,
Without your girl, *Pallas* here, both I and you know,
Your sage admonitions will do no great wonders,
'Tis enough if you manage your lightnings and thunders.
Hear me and leave piddling your hat like a fool,
You advise us!—god help you!—a pitiful tool!
Go advise your own sex in the world there below ye,
And do not stand ogling and staring at *Cloe*,
She die an old maid, and be sent to the woods,
To languish and pine to the meadows and floods?
One would laugh to consider your shallow conceit,—
Prithee, *Jupiter*, never set up for a wit!
In the country you'd quickly begin your old gambols, [rambles.
And I should be plagu'd every day with your
Remember your *Io*, remember your *Leda*,
And think what a tempest those frolicks did breed-a,
Shall *Cupid*, a whistling, pert, impudent rascal,
Be for ever indulg'd in whate'er he can ask all?
Shall heav'n be always for him made a jest?
And shall *Jove* again take on the shape of a beast?
This world must come to a very fine pass,
When its ruler appears like an owl or an ass.
But what will become of poor *Juno Lucina*,
When the ladies shall want no assistance of mine-a?

For

For without *Hymen*'s bleſſing, my favours they doubt,
And ſo ſoftly they ſqueal, ſo demurely cry out,
There's no mortal can gueſs what it is they're about.

Jove drew in his horns, and *Apollo* begun:
Jove's deſigns, madam *Juno!* are clear as the ſun:
One would think the poor devil had ſo often been rated,
That his fooleries would with his years have abated.
But my oracle's true, tho' old he is grown,
Ne'er will out of the fleſh, what was bred in the bone:
For your own ſake miſs *Cloe* muſt not die a maid,
For then you'd loſe part of your midwifry trade.
We too muſt pleaſe *Cupid*, or elſe, by St. *Paul*,
The raſcal will make bulls and bears of us all.
When *Daphne* o'er hills and thro' valleys did fly,
Sure never was god ſo tormented as I. [odds,
Let's endeavour to compromiſe matters, 'tis
But we marry her ſo as to pleaſe all the gods.
Some tawdry *French* coxcomb that can take ſnuff and prate,
Or a fool born in *Britain* to a handſome eſtate;
Some title, his worſhip, his lordſhip, his grace,
Some pedant, or officer ſhining in lace.—
Mars frown'd—ſtar'd him full in the face—cock'd his hat— [that.
I'll remember you, good maſter *Phœbus!* for
Is not beauty with courage moſt nobly rewarded,
And virtue by generous valour beſt guarded?
But for marriage, ne'er fancy that men of true bravery
Will ever ſubmit to a petticoat ſlavery. [ye,
I am ſorry, ſays *Phœbus*, my words ſhould alarm
By my faith I meant not to diſparage the army!
A militia captain I honour—the nation
Owes daily to them its whole preſervation:
'Tis well, anſwers *Mars*, purſue your oration.
Apollo proceeds with a look full of mirth:
Some 'ſquire whoſe virtues lie hid in his birth,
Whoſe anceſtors whilom were fam'd for their worth;
Whoſe happineſs lies in good wine and good cheer, [of his beer—
And the ſtrength of his parts, in the ſtrength
Hold, hold, ſir! quoth *Bacchus*, good maſter *Apollo!*
This is ſuch an affront I can't eaſily ſwallow;
If thus you go on in your ſcandalous ſtrains,
Your wit, ſir! may prove no defence to your brains. [the end on't,
You've broach'd a freſh caſk, if you mark but
You ruin the plaintiff to reward the defendant.
'Tis good drink makes the men and the maidens ſo pliant,
To defame it's the ſure way to ruin your client.
Her buſineſs without it will go on but ſlowly,
All bachelors live and die *ſine prole*.
Beſides, ſir! you rail at your only ſupport,
For without ale and burgundy, porter and port,
What wags in the city! what wits in the court!
Unhappily you and your *Muſes* can ſip ye,
The poor rotgut ſtream of the fam'd *Aganippe*,
And pleas'd with the draught that bewilders your ſenſes,
Deſpiſe the pure fountain that wiſdom diſpenſes?
The parent of mirth, and reſtorer of youth,
The foe to all care, and the friend to all truth.
Shou'd you couple the laſs to a drunken young 'ſquire,
She'll enjoy all the pleaſure mankind can deſire;
And as meat, drink and cloth are all found in good beer, [to fear.
She'll have nothing to hope for, and nothing
If you ſcorn my advice, and reſtrain her from nappy, [happy.
Let her have who ſhe will, ſhe can never be
Alas, ſirs! quoth *Cupid*, you run on in the dark,
And ev'ry ſhot arrow flies wide of the mark:
Without or with title all ſops ſhe deſpiſes,
Of every degree, and of all ſorts and ſizes;
Pallas dwells in her breaſt, o'er her paſſions preſides, [ence guides;
Every thought, word, and deed, by her inſpi-
My endeavours this termagant goddeſs perplexes, [ſex is.
Without her ſhe's as weak as the reſt of her
I always, quoth *Hermes*, ſubmit to my betters,
But *Pallas* wou'd preſently ſettle theſe matters:
Let *Mars* then and *Phœbus* be plac'd as a barrier,
Leſt *Cupid* begin his attack while ſhe carry here.
As for that, ſirs! quoth *Cupid*, I only ſhall fly,
When ſhe's here I am glad to be out of the way:
We're like water and lime, or like fire and ſtubble; [the trouble.
So I'll leave you, and ſave both your godſhips
Only promiſe me firſt thro' the whole of this action,
All things ſhall be manag'd to my ſatisfaction.
Jove nodded, *Love* took up his wings and away;
And *Minerva* appear'd to ſettle the fray.
Ye gods and ye goddeſſes, why do you meet
To diſturb my retirement in ſo pleaſing a ſeat?
Long, long have I ſought to inhabit a mind,
To virtue, content, and good-nature inclin'd;
Long hated the ſtrife that diſturbs every god,
And reſolv'd to find out a more quiet abode;
Diſcontented from men and from women I parted,
Till to my dear *Cloe* I wander'd at laſt;
Found both outſide and in of my houſe ſo adorn'd [I ſcorn'd
And well-furniſh'd, from that time all others
Here at length will I reſt me, ſaid I, free from care:
From a temper ſo ſweet, and a heart ſo ſincere,
From paſſions ſo gentle, and deſires ſo pure,
From thoughts ſo unſpotted, and virtue ſo ſure,
So pleaſant a look, and ſo chearful a heart,
No power ſhall ever perſuade me to part. [again
While *Jove* bears the ſcepter, while I bear the
While *Neptune* the trident, and *Juno* the breeches,
Shall *Cloe* be happy, and happy in love,
And *Cupid* himſelf ſhall my project approve.
If you bind her once faſt in the bondage of *Hymen*,
That god who to women is wont for to tie men,
I'll anſwer for her, ſhe ſhall never deſire
To ſet any more of love's votaries on fire.

There'

There's *Strephon*, a youth whom *Apollo* well knows,
He's a piece of a poet, as poetry goes;
Yet what's ſtrange h'as ſome ſenſe and a ſmattring of wiſdom, [for his doom:
He'll have reaſon to thank all your godſhips
Your ſtatues he'll crown with pinks, roſes, and daiſies,
And the world ſhall reſound with poetical praiſes.
Maſter *Cupid* ſhall wound me this youngſter's gay heart, [part.
Or, without him, herſelf may as well do that
Then let me alone with miſs *Cloe* to tamper,
And in fetters of wedlock we her ſoon ſhall hamper.
This matter how clever you ſee I contrive all,
You'll be pleas'd, and *Love* freed from his conquering rival;
Venus dancing with *Bacchus* rejoice at the *Rummer*, [drummer;
And *Mars* the next morning ſhall ſend his own
Jove's altar ſhall ſmoke, and due honours be paid
To *Juno Lucina*, when call'd to her aid.
Mean time let's ſend *Mercury* ſwift to the *Fates*,
Bid *Clotho* and *Atropos* lengthen their dates;
Tell *Lacheſis* ſpin their threads thick as a ſtrong cord; [concord!
May they live long and happy in pleaſure and
And now by my wiſdom I've ſettled this match,
I return to my *Cloe* with the utmoſt diſpatch,
And with them ſhall continue, and leave ſuch a crew
Of quarrelſome, ſhallow-brain'd puppies—adieu.

Said to have been written by the Rev. Mr. N— *of* Y—t—ly, *on a Book, entitled,* An Enquiry into the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Revelation: *Publiſhed by* Sam. Parviſh, *Bookſeller in* Guildford.

St. Luke. Judas, *betrayeſt thou the Son of Man with a Kiſs?*
Solomon. *Excellent Speech becometh not a Fool.*

THY book, O *Parviſh*, is all o'er coarſly patch'd [cull'd,
With borrowed ſcraps, from ſundry authors
That really ſpeak variety of wretchedneſs.
Thou vile apoſtate, what haſt thou done more
Than *Collins*, *Woolſton*, *Tindal* ſaid before?
Thy ill-connected ſtuff proclaims at once
Thee greater blockhead, infidel and dunce.
Thy weak ſolutions ſpeak the deiſt plain,
Thy *Japoneſe* a frenzy of thy brain.
Thy medley volume barely but affords
A barren ſuperfluity of words.
In thee the emblem of the mole is found,
Who pokes and ſcrapes and throws the dirt around,
But blunders on almoſt devoid of ſight,
And both deteſt, as painful, the pure light.

To Mr. BRIDGES, *Author of the Hymn to the* SUPREME BEING.

WHILE bardlings, a fantaſtick train,
In many a fond and light eſſay,
To ſubjects, tranſient as their ſtrain,
Adapt the ſonnet of a day;
You the firm tablets of each line
From adamantine quarries frame;
And on the rock of ſtrength divine,
Erect your future houſe of fame.
Nor from *Aonia*'s fount below,
But from the ſame eternal ſpring,
With thine *Iſaiah*'s numbers flow;
With thee the ſeraph learns to ſing.
For to thy genius mild and ſage,
His mirror the Almighty holds,
And to inform thy ſacred page,
The poem of the world unfolds.
Nor yet to heav'n's exterior plan,
(Tho' fair, all wondrous fair) confin'd;
Beyond new op'ning ſcenes you ſcan,
And pierce into the world of mind.
So may thy verſe, when death and fame,
And time, and form, and matter's paſt,
New manſions with its author claim,
And equal with duration laſt.

On the Fleet under Admiral HADDOCK.

Raro antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo. HOR.

HARK! the *Britiſh* lion roars,
Haddock ſounds the dread prelude;
Terror flies thro' diſtant ſhoars,
Shoars in blood and guilt imbru'd.
See! what mangled ghoſts appear,
Of brave tars untimely ſlain!
How they ſmile at vengeance near!
Vengeance due to cruel *Spain*.
Vain ſhall hoſtile pow'rs unite,
Vain ſhall rocks and tempeſts ſtay;
Thorough danger, ſtorm, and night,
Truth and virtue win their way. SYLVIUS.

A SONG.

WHAT avails the power of beauty,
Tho' unnumber'd hearts it gain;
If the paſſions, ſcorning duty,
Riſe, rebel, ſubdue, and reign?
Thais, tho' by ſlaves ſurrounded,
Feels her ev'ry ſhaft reſtor'd;
Daily wounding, daily wounded,
Lives tormented, while ador'd.
How much nobler, how much wiſer,
Fair and virtuous *Lælia*'s end;
Heedleſs who for beauty prize her,
All her cares her mind attend.
She o'er others hearts victorious,
Aims not there to fix her throne;
But, a triumph far more glorious,
To ſubdue and rule her own.

We have receiv'd the Dialogue, *Verſes on* Corby, *thoſe ſign'd* Apollo, Female Heroiſm, Bath Waters, Health and Content, a Dream, a martial Ode, Fable of the Lion, &c. &c. *But Matters of immediate Importance having crowded in upon us, we are oblig'd to defer them to our next.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

THE latter End of laſt Month, Mr. *Keene* and Mr. *Caſtres*, the two late *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries at *Madrid*, arriv'd in *England*; and ſoon after Mr. *Keene* waited on the Lord *Harrington*, and the ſame Day was carried by the Duke of *Newcaſtle* to *Kenſington*, and preſented to his Majeſty, to give his Majeſty an Account of his Negotiations, *&c.* at the Court of *Madrid*. Mr. *Caſtres* was alſo preſented to his Majeſty the ſame Day.

A Proclamation was iſſued for the further Encouragement of Sailors to enter into his Majeſty's Service; able Seamen, not under 20 Years of Age, nor upwards of 52, to have two Guineas Advance over and above all other Rewards, and ſix Months Pay certain; but to be ſeverely puniſhed if they enter into ſeveral Ships for the Sake of the ſaid Advance-Money.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, arriv'd in that Kingdom.

TUESDAY, *Oct.* 2.

The Lords of the Admiralty were pleas'd to give Notice to the Merchats, that they had ordered a grand Convoy, to ſee the Ships ſafe into *Oporto*, *Liſbon*, and the ſeveral Ports up the *Straits*; that a 20 Gun Ship ſhould be order'd to cruize continually off *Oporto Bar*; and alſo one of 50 Guns to cruize between the ſaid Port and *Liſbon*; which would, in all Probability, ſecure the Trade to that Kingdom.

WEDNESDAY, 3.

Orders were iſſued from the War-Office, for augmenting the Regiments in *Minorca* and *Gibraltar* from 50 to 70 private Men in each Company; and the ſame Augmentation in all the marching Regiments throughout *Great Britain*.

TUESDAY, 9.

Horace Walpole, Eſq; his Majeſty's late Embaſſador to the States General, with his Lady and Family, arriv'd from *Holland* at his Houſe at *Whitehall*.

FRIDAY, 12.

Several *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Merchants of this City waited on his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle* with a Petition for his Majeſty, praying that his Majeſty will be pleaſed to give Orders to the Lords of the Admiralty, that Ships may be ſtationed off the neutral Ports in *Italy*, the Navigation there being at preſent very hazardous, by reaſon of the many Privateers which infeſt thoſe Parts; and met with a kind Reception.

Letters of Marque had been already taken out of the High Court of Admiralty for 23 Ships, and the Merchants were ſoliciting more. Letters of Marque were alſo given out in our Colonies and Plantations in *America*. Several *Spaniſh* Ships were taken, but they took more of ours.

FRIDAY, 19.

At the Seſſions at the *Old Bailey*, *Thomas Hennings*, a *Holland's* Trader, received Sentence of Death on the Act of the 9th of his preſent Majeſty, made for preventing the hiring or retaining his Majeſty's Subjects as Soldiers in foreign Service, without his Majeſty's Licence. One was burnt in the Hand, 4 ordered to be whipp'd, and 28 to be tranſported.

The following Order was ſent to the Heralds at Arms.

GEORGE R.

OUR Will and Pleaſure is, that you attend the Proclamation of our Declaration of War againſt *Spain* that is to be made on *Tueſday* the 23d Inſtant, in the uſual Places, and with the Solemnities cuſtomary on the like Occaſion: And for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at *Kenſington* the 19th Day of *October*, 1739, in the 13th Year of our Reign.

By his Majeſty's Command,
Holles Newcaſtle.

To our truſty and well-beloved Servants, the King's Heralds and Purſuivants at Arms.

SUNDAY, 21.

Mr. *John Goodwin*, Maſter Attendant of the *Dock-Yard* at *Deptford*, by Order of the Admiralty, ſeiz'd upon 2 *Spaniſh* Ships in the *Pool*, and carried the Captains, and 16 *Spaniſh* Sailors, with the Aſſiſtance of the Deputy Marſhal, to the *Marſhalſea* Priſon.

TUESDAY, 23.

The Officers of Arms, with the Serjeants at Arms and Trumpeters, mounted their Horſes in the Stable-Yard, St. *James's*, and proceeding thence to the Palace Gate, Garter Principal King of Arms read his Majeſty's Declaration of War, and Norroy King of Arms, proclaim'd it aloud; which being done, a Proceſſion was made to *Charing-Croſs*, as follows. A Party of Horſe Guards or Grenadiers to clear the Way. Beadles of *Weſtminſter* bareheaded, with Staves, two and two. Conſtables of *Weſtminſter* in like Manner. High Conſtable of *Weſtminſter* with his Staff. The Of-

Officers of the High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter* on Horſeback, with white Wands, Clerk of the High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*. High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, and on his Right Hand the Deputy Steward. Knight Marſhal's Men. Knight Marſhal. Drums. Drum-major. Trumpets. Serjeant Trumpeter in his Collar, bearing his Mace. Purſuivants, Blue-mantle, Rougedragon, Portcullis. Richmond Herald. Windſor Herald. York Herald, between two Serjeants at Arms. Somerſet Herald, between two Serjeants at Arms. Norroy King of Arms, between two Serjeants at Arms. Garter King of Arms, between two Serjeants at Arms. A Party or Troop of Horſe Guards commanded by Colonel *Burton*. At *Charing-Croſs* Norroy King of Arms read the Declaration, and Somerſet Herald proclaimed it aloud. In this Method the Proceſſion was made to *Temple-Bar*, where the Officers of the City of *Weſtminſter* retired, and within the Gate the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Deputy-Recorder, and Sheriffs in Scarlet attended; and Bluemantle Purſuivant having preſented to his Lordſhip the Earl Marſhal's Warrant, the City Proceſſion followed the Troops commanded by Colonel *Burton*. At the End of *Chancery-Lane* Somerſet Herald read the Declaration, and York Herald proclaimed it aloud. At the End of *Wood-ſtreet*, where the Croſs formerly ſtood, York Herald read the Declaration, and Windſor Herald proclaimed it aloud. And laſtly, at the *Royal Exchange* Windſor Herald read the Declaration, and Richmond Herald proclaimed it aloud. The Spectators, almoſt innumerable, expreſſed their great Satisfaction by loud Acclamations of Joy at each Place. (See the Form of the Declaration, p. 511.)

THURSDAY, 25.

The Chief Corner-Stone of the Manſion-Houſe for the Lord Mayors of this City, was laid by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor. The Inſcription ſhall be in our next.

MONDAY, 29.

The Right Hon. Sir *John Salter*, Knt. the new Lord Mayor of *London*, was with the uſual Solemnity ſworn into that honourable Office at *Weſtminſter*, for the Year enſuing. (See the Account of his Election, p. 499, &c.)

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

LEWIS *Auguſtus Blondeau*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Crowle*.—Sir *John Freke*, Bart. in *Ireland*, to Miſs *Broderick*.—Mr. *Tho. le Blanc*, an eminent *Italian* Merchant, to Miſs *Tully*, in *Charterhouſe-Square*.—*John Liddiard*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Sarah Serjeant*.—Mr. *William Sumner*, jun. to Miſs *Elizabeth Tanner* of *Hackney*.—Mr. *Eldin Howard*, an eminent Apothecary in the *Strand*, to Miſs *Temple*.—Mr. *Roſue*, of *Barnaby ſtreet*, *Southwark*, to Miſs *Baker*.—*Wm. Whitaker*, Eſq; a *Virginia* Merchant, to Miſs *Lee* of *Greenwich*.—Mr. *John Burridge*, to Miſs *Phillips*.—Mr. *Channing* of *Cheapſide*, to Miſs *Cock* of *Cambridge*.—*William Bury*, Eſq; to Miſs *Crawford*.—Her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* brought to Bed of a Son and Heir, ſtiled Marquiſs of *Taviſtock*.—The Lady of the Earl of *Ancram*, eldeſt Son to the Marquiſs of *Lothian*, deliver'd of a Daughter.—Lady *Percival*, of a Son.—Counteſs of *Dyſart*, alſo of a Son.

DEATHS.

MR. *John Liſter*, Brother of *Thomas Liſter*, Eſq; Memb. for *Clitheroe*.—*John Hanbury*, Eſq; Brother to *Charles Hanbury Williams*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Monmouth*.—Capt. *Wm. Hutchinſon*, an *Eaſt India* Captain.—*George Hotham*, Eſq; Major of a Reg. of Foot, commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Kirk*.—Mr. *Mackee*, a famous Mathematician, Surveyor of *Chelſea* Water-Works, and Projector of the ſame.—*Francis Fowler*, Eſq; formerly High Sheriff of *Suſſex*.—Mr. *Edward Umfreville*, one of the Clerks in the Exchequer.—Sir *Philip Sydenham*, of *Brimpton* in *Somerſetſhire*, Bart.—Rev. Dr. *Archer*, Archdeacon of *Wells*, and Canon-Reſidentiary of that Church.—Rev. Mr. *Edborough*, Vicar of *Walderſhare* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*.—At *Thorp* near *Kettering* in *Northamptonſhire*, the Lady *Humble*, Mother to Sir *William Humble*, Bart.—*Thomas Coſter*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Briſtol*.—Hon. Col. *Lumley*, Brother to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Scarborough*.—Mrs. *Prudentia Trevor*, Daughter of the late Sir *John Trevor*, Knt. Maſter of the Rolls.—Sir *John Aſtew*, of *Lyddiard Millicent*, *Wilts*, Knt.—At *Edinburgh*, Col. *Charles Kenneday*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Caſſles*.—Mr. *Moſes Mendez de Coſta*, reputed one of the richeſt *Jew* Merchants in this Kingdom.—Rev. Mr. *Inglis*, Rector of *Lewiſham*, *Kent*.—*William Gore*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Cricklade*, *Wilts*.—His Grace the Duke of *Manchester*, Knight of the *Bath*, Capt. of the Yeomen of his Majeſty's Guards, &c. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his Brother, the Lord *Robert Montague*, Memb. of Parl. for *Huntingdonſhire*, now Duke of *Manchester*.—Rev. Dr. *Thomas*, Rector of *Grimby* and *Hallow*, *Worceſterſhire*.—Sir *Richard Muſgrave*, of *Kayton-Caſtle*, *Cumberland*, Bart.—In the *Iſle of Man*, Sir *John Erſkine*, of *Alva*, Bart.—*Francis Shepherd*, Eſq; Brother to *Samuel Shepherd*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Cambridgeſhire*.—Rev. Mr. *Green*, Rector of *Cliff* near *Gravesend*, which Living he had enjoy'd ever ſince the Revolution.—At *Oxford*, *Francis Heywood*, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for that County.—Sir *John Lawſon*, of *Brough* in *Yorkſhire*, Bart.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Bute*, to the Rector of *Chilling ford* in *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Kenerick*, to the Vica-

rage of *Gulvale* in *Cornwal*.—Dr. *Chriſtopher Lloyd*, made Dean of *Elphin* in *Ireland*.—Mr. *Pawlett St. John*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College, *Cambridge*, preſented to the Living of St. *Sepulchre*'s in that Town.—Mr. *Cornwallis*, to the Rectory of *Chelmondeſton* in *Suffolk*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

ST. *George Caulfield*, Eſq; made Sollicitor General in *Ireland*, in the Room of *John Bowes*, Eſq; made Attorney General.—Lord *Duncannon*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, created Earl of *Beſborough*.—*Lewis Auguſtus Blondeau*, Eſq; made one of the Gentlemen Uſhers to his Majeſty.—*William Wrightſon*, Eſq; made Firſt Secondary in the Pipe-Office, a Place of 800*l. per Annum*.—The Worſhipful *John Audley*, Eſq; Doctor of the Civil Law, appointed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, Hereditary Earl Marſhal of *England*, to be Advocate General of the Court of Chivalry, in the Room of the late Dr. *Henchman*.—Dr. *Leigh*, Maſter of *Baliol* College, *Oxford*, ſworn in Vice-Chancellor for the Year enſuing.—Earl of *Pomfret* made Governour of *Guernſey*.—Hon. ——— *Stanhope*, Eſq; Son to Lord *Harrington*, made Aid-de-Camp to General *Wade*.—Capt. *John Mandeville*, promoted to the Command of a Troop in the Royal Reg. of Dragoons.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Boultby*, of St. *Paul Covent-Garden*, China-Man.—*Ambroſe Wafforne*, of *Thorp Lubenham*, in *Northamptonſh.* Dealer.—*Tho. Coton*, late of St. *Giles* in the *Fields*, Innholder and Dealer in Horſes.—*Joſeph Altridg*, of *Great Chelſea*, Brewer.—*Lazarus Brandis*, of *Petticoat-Lane*, Chapman.—*George Rider*, of *Newbiggin, Yorkſhire*, Chapman.—*Joſeph Stone*, of *Worceſter*, Ginger-bread-maker and Confectioner.—*William Batcheler*, of *Old Artillery-Lane*, Weaver.—*Roger Watts*, of *Briſtol*, Joiner and Cabinet-Maker.—*Thomas Crompton*, of *Bridgnorth*, Grocer and Chandler.—*George Barnard*, of *Newbury*, Drugget-maker.—*Tho. Maling*, late of *Colcheſter*, Mercer.—*Will. Hunt*, of *Twickenham*, Tanner.—*Will. Wells*, of *Southwark*, Corn Lighterman.—*Will. Innes*, of St. *Dunſtan's Hill*, Grocer.—*St. Jackſon* of the *Strand*, Vintner.—*Geo. Clay*, of *King's-Lynn*, Merchant.—*Will. Candell* the Younger, of *Norwich*, Wool-Comber.—*Daniel Stiles*, of St. *Botolph, Aldgate*, Linen-Draper.—*Tho. Cartwright*, of *Eaſt-Greenwich, Kent*, Brewer.—*David Salomon*, of *Houndſditch*, Merchant.—*John Prieſtnall*, late of *Manchester*, Linen-Draper.—*Joſeph Wickſteed*, of *Little Moorfields*, Brewer.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 92 a 92 ½		*Afric.* 13 ½	
—*Bonds* 15*s.*		*Royal Aſſ.* 88 ¾	
—*Annu.* 106 ⅛ a ¼		*Lon. ditto* 11 ¼	
Bank 134 ¾ a 5 ¼ a 5		3 *per C. An.* 97	
—*Circ.* 1*l.* 5*s.*		*Salt Tallies* ½ a 1*l.*	
Mil. Bank 112		*Emp. Loan* 108	
India nothing done		*Equiv.* 112 ⅛	
—*Bonds* 2*l.* 8*s.* a 9*s.*		*Lot. Tick.* 5 5 6 a 6*s.*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 8	*Bilboa* 39 ⅛ a ¼	
D. Sight	35 5 ½ a 6	*Legborn* 49 ¼	
Rotter.	35 9 2 a 10 2 ¼	*Genoa* 52 a ⅛	
Hamb.	34 5 2½ a 2	*Venice* 50	
P. Sight	31 5/16	*Lisb.* 5*s.* 4*d.* ½ a ⅝	
Bourdx.	31 ⅛	*Oport.* 5*s.* 4*d.* ⅛	
Cadiz	39 ½ a ⅝	*Antw.* 36 6	
Madrid	39 ⅝ a ¾	*Dublin* 8 ⅝ a ¾	

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 35	*Oats*	10 14
Rye	12 19	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 18	*Peaſe*	28 32
H. Beans	19 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 18
P. Malt	19 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Sept.* 25. to *Oct.* 23.

Chriſtned	Males 655	Females 653	1308
Buried	Males 935	Females 1022	1957
Died under 2 Years old			780
Between 2 and 5			177
5 10			64
10 20			64
20 30			150
30 40			166
40 50			187
50 60			123
60 70			104
70 80			105
80 90			37
90 and upwards			1
			1957

Hay 38 to 44*s.* a Load.

Pri-

Preliminary Articles of Peace concluded in the Ottoman *Camp, Aug. 21, O. S. between the Emperor and the Grand Signior.*

THE Fortreſs of *Belgrade*, which the Imperial Arms took in 1717, ſhall be reſtored to the *Ottoman* Empire with its antient Incloſure, the Reparations made thereto, and the Works inſeparably attached to it: The Powder Magazines, Arſenals, Caſerns, and all the publick and private Edifices extant in the City, ſhall be left to the *Ottoman* Empire. The reſt of the new Fortifications, Walls, little Forts, as well of the Caſtle as the Town, as far as the *Covert-way* and *Glacis*, both incluſive, as likewiſe the oppoſite to them on the other Side of the *Danube* and the *Saave*, ſhall be demoliſh'd, upon Condition that no Damage be done to what is ceded.

II. The Fortreſs of *Sabacz* ſhall likewiſe be reſtor'd to the *Ottoman* Empire in its former State, and upon the Conditions ſtipulated in Regard to *Belgrade*. All the Artillery actually in *Belgrade* and *Sabacz*, together with the warlike Stores, Proviſions, and ſuch like Things that may be removed, including the Men of War and other Veſſels in the two Rivers belonging to his Imperial Majeſty, ſhall remain in his Poſſeſſion; and, in Exchange, all that is ſtipulated above concerning the ſaid Places of *Belgrade* and *Sabacz*, ſhall be left to the Port.

III. His Imperial Majeſty cedes the Province of *Servia*, wherein *Belgrade* lies: The *Danube* and the *Saave* ſhall be the Bounds of the Provinces belonging to the two Empires; and as to the Limits of *Boſnia*, they ſhall be the ſame as were ſettled by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*.

IV. His Imperial Majeſty cedes to the Port all the *Auſtrian Walachia*, including the mountainous Part: He likewiſe gives up the Fort *Periſchan* which he built there; but the Port ſhall demoliſh it and never fortify it again.

V. The Iſland and Fortreſs of *Orſova*, with Fort St. *Elizabeth*, ſhall remain in the Hands of the Grand Signior in their preſent Condition. The *Bannat* of *Temeſwar* ſhall likewiſe remain entire in his Imperial Majeſty's Poſſeſſion, as far as the Confines of the *Auſtrian Walachia*, except the little Plain over-againſt the Iſland of *Orſova*, which is ſhut in by the Rivulet of *Zerna*, which runs from *Meadia*, by the *Danube*, by another Rivulet which ſerves as a Limit to the *Auſtrian Walachia*, and laſtly, by the firſt Hills of the ſaid *Bannat*, &c. which ſaid Plain is to remain to the Port; nevertheleſs it is agreed, that if the *Turks* can turn aſide the Courſe of the whole River of *Zerna*, ſo that it may run upon the Back of *Old Orſova*, in this Caſe, the Town of *Old Orſova*, not including its Territory, becoming contiguous to the ſaid little Plain, ſhall belong to the Port, but ſhe ſhall never fortify that Place; and for the Purpoſe aforeſaid, the Port ſhall have a Year granted to her for turning aſide the Channel of the ſaid River of *Zerna*, which, if not perform'd within the ſaid Term, ſhe loſes her Right to the ſaid Town of *Old Orſova*, which ſhall then remain in the Emperor's Hands. The Fortifications of *Meadia*, which his Imperial Majeſty is to keep, ſhall forthwith be deſtroy'd by the Port, and never be reſtor'd by his Imperial Majeſty, who alſo engages not to re-eſtabliſh thoſe that are to be demoliſh'd on the *Saave* and the *Danube*.

As the Emperor ſeems greatly diſpleaſed with this Peace, he diſpatched Orders on the 13th and 15th of laſt Month to Veldt Marſhal Count *Wallis* and to Count *Neuperg*, by which, the firſt was charged forthwith to give up the Command of the Army to Veldt Marſhal General *Seber*, and to repair to *Ziget*, there to remain under Arreſt till his Imperial Majeſty's further Pleaſure ſhould be known: And the other was ordered to repair immediately to *Orſch* near *Raab*, there to be confined till further Orders.

We hear from *Liſbon*, that the Lord *Tyrawley*, Envoy Extraordinary from this Court to his *Portugueze* Majeſty, having made Inſtances that his Majeſty would permit the *Britiſh* Squadron commanded by Admiral *Haddock*, to winter in that Port, his Majeſty has excuſed himſelf, under Pretence of being reſolved to obſerve an exact Neutrality, with regard to the War between *Great Britain* and *Spain*; and that, as a farther Mark of his Reſolution in this Reſpect, he had forbidden all his Subjects from buying any of the Prizes the *Engliſh* might take from the *Spaniards*; which Reſtraint he had ordered to be communicated to the *Engliſh* in that Port. One might have expected, that for Decency's Sake, as well as out of Gratitude to this Court, his Majeſty would, at the ſame Time, have forbidden his Subjects from buying any of the Prizes the *Spaniards* might take from the *Engliſh*.

The Populace of *Vienna* being as much diſpleaſed as the Emperor with the late Peace, there has been great Mobbing there on that Account; when they very much inſulted the *French* Miniſter, and the Houſes of ſome of the Generals of the Army, particularly General *Schmettau*, whoſe Houſe they inſulted to ſuch a Degree, that his Lady, who was then lying in, died of the Fright. In ſhort, a general Inſurrection would probably have enſued, if the Court had not been ſo prudent as to give Orders to all Tradeſmen to keep their Workmen at home, to forbid all publick Houſes to retail any ſtrong Liquors after Ten at Night, to double the City Guards, to encreaſe the Patrol, and to take other neceſſary Precautions for preſerving the publick Tranquillity.

The

MISCELLANEOUS.

* 1. THE Works of Mr. *John Locke*. In 3 Vols. Folio. A new Edition. Printed for *E. Parker*, *E. Symon*, *C. Hitch*, and *J. Pemberton*, price 3*l.* 3*s.*

2. A Collection of Pieces of Mr. *John Locke*, now firſt printed in Folio. Sold by *T. Oſborne*, price 6*s.* in Sheets.

3. An Examination of a Book diſtributed by the Quakers in relation to their Proſecutions. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 3*d.*

4. Miſcellaneous Works of the late *Mat. Prior*, Eſq; In 2 Vols. 8vo. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 12*s.*

5. An Eſſay on the Uſefulneſs of Oriental Learning. Printed for *C. Rivington*, price 1*s.*

6. A Reply to Mr. *Robins*'s Remarks on the Eſſay upon diſtinct Viſion. By *J. Jurin*, M. D. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

7. One Phyſician is e'en as good as t'other. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

8. The Life of *J. Fiſher*, Bp. of *Rocheſter*. By *T. Bailey*, D. D. Printed for *P. Meighan*, 12mo, price 3*s.*

9. The Remembrancer; being an hiſtorical Regiſter. The 2d Edit. continued to the preſent Time. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 6*d.*

10. A Treatiſe of ancient Painting. By *G. Turnbull*, L. L. D. Sold by *A. Millar*, Folio.

11. An Eſſay on Regimen, with five Diſcourſes. By *G. Cheyne*, M. D. Printed for *C. Rivington*, 8vo, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

12. An Account of the Expedition of the *Britiſh* Fleet in 1718, 1719, and 1720, under Sir *G. Byng*, Bart. Printed for Meſſ. *Tonſon*, price 1*s.*

13. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XII. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s.*

POETICAL.

14. Poems on various Occaſions. By Mr. *Browne*. Printed for *E. Cave*, price 6*s.*

15. The Art of Life. By Mr. *Miller*. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

16. The Dramatick Works of *R. Boyle*, Earl of *Orrery*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, pr. 10*s.*

17. The Bravo turn'd Bully. Printed for *J. Purſer*, price 1*s.*

18. Advice to young Ladies to keep ſingle. Printed for *T. Read*, price 1*s.*

19. The amorous Humours of one *Wh*—. Sold by *M. Watſon*, price 6*d.*

20. Miſcellanies in Proſe and Verſe. By the Lady *M. Pennyman*. Printed for *E. Curll*, price 3*s.*

POLITICAL.

21. A Political Eſſay upon Commerce; tranſlated from the *French*, with ſome Annotations and Remarks. By *D. Bindon*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Woodward* and *T. Cox*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

22. The Caſe of the Oath of Allegiance, &c. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 4*d.*

23. An Apology for the Miniſter. Printed for *J. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

24. The Life and heroick Actions of the 8th Champion. Price 6*d.*

25. The *Champion*'s Defeat. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 3*d.*

26. An Addreſs to the Livery of *London* on the Election of a Lord Mayor. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

27. A Letter to the Livery of *London*. Printed for *R. Weſt*, price 4*d.*

28. Serious Conſiderations on the Election of a Lord Mayor. Price 6*d.*

29. A Narrative of what paſs'd at the Election of a Lord Mayor. Price 6*d.*

30. The Reaſons for and againſt the Seclu-ſion of Sir *G. C.* from being Lord Mayor. Price 1*s.* Theſe 3 laſt printed for *T. Cooper*.

31. The Proceedings of the Court of Huſtings, &c. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

32. A Letter to Sir *G. C.* Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 6*d.*

SERMONS.

33. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, againſt the new Set of Enthuſiaſts. By the Rev. Mr. *Wheatley*. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, price 6*d.*

34. A Sermon preach'd at *Iſlington*. By Mr. *Stonehouſe*. Sold by *J. Lewis*, price 6*d.*

35. A Sermon preach'd to the Society for Reformation of Manners. By *T. Jolliffe*. Price 6*d.* And,

36. A Sermon preach'd at *Andover*. By *J. Cumming*, M. A. Price 4*d.* Both printed for *J. Oſwald*.

THEOLOGICAL.

37. A Second Letter to the Biſhop of *Oxford*. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 6*d.*

* 38. A Commentary on the larger and leſſer Prophets. By *W. Lowth*, B. D. The 4th Edition, Folio, price 1*l.*

* 39. Hymns, &c. By *J.* and *C. Weſley*. The 3d Edit. Sold by *J. Hutton*, pr. 2*s.* 6*d.*

* 40. The Lord's Supper not a Sacrifice. By *T. Wingfield*, M. A. The 2d Edition. Printed for *E. Comyns*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

* 41. *Nelſon*'s Feſtivals and Faſts. The 17th Edition, price 6*s.*

42. The Analogy of Reaſon. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

43. The Grounds and Reaſons of Chriſtian Regeneration. By *W. Law*, M. A. Printed for *W. Innys*, price 1*s.*

44. A Letter from an *Engliſh* Brother to the *Moravian* Perſuaſion to the Methodiſts. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 3*d.*

45. A ſhort Preſervative againſt the Doctrines reviv'd by Mr. *Whitefield*, &c. Printed for *H. Whitridge*, price 6*d.*

46. Methodiſm diſplayed. By *J. Barnard*, M. A. Printed for *J. Carter*, price 6*d.*

47. A Letter to *R. Seagrave*, M. A. by *T. Scaub*, M. A. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE,

For OCTOBER, 1739.

CONTAINING,

The * JOURNAL of a Learned and Political CLUB, &c. continued: Particularly, the Speeches of *C. Helvius, Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Icilius, Pomponius Atticus, C. Calpurnius Piso, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, L. Hortensius, Julius Florus, Mecænas, T. Manlius Torquatus, P. Villius Tappulus,* and *M. Furius Camillus,* upon the Question, Whether an Address of Thanks should be presented to his Majesty, for the late Convention with *Spain*.

N. B. As all the Speeches made in the above-mentioned Club, are not inserted in their Journal Book, we are desired by their Secretary to advertise, That any Gentleman of the Club may send a Copy or Extract of what he said upon any important Debate, to the Publisher of this *Magazine*, and it shall be inserted in its proper Place.

MULTUM IN PARVO.

LONDON:

Printed for T. ASTLEY, at the *Rose* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard.*

Of whom may be had, Sets for 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 37, and 1738, or any single Month from the Beginning, for Gentlemen to compleat their Sets.

CONTENTS.

CONTINUATION of the first Day's Debate in the Learned and Political CLUB, on the Question, Whether an Address of Thanks should be presented to his Majesty for the late Convention with *Spain* 521

SPEECH of *C. Helvius*, in favour of the Question ibid

Of the Advice of Parliament last Session ibid B, 558, 559

Of the several Squadrons sent out 522

What we could expect to gain, and what we might lose, by a War with *Spain* 523, 524, 525

The Circumstances of *Europe* and of *Spain* very different from what they were in *Q. Elizabeth*'s and *O. Cromwell*'s Times 526

Of *Spain*'s Demands upon us 527

Of the mutual Claims of *Spain* and the *South-Sea* Company 528

Of the Satisfaction for past Losses, and future Security, by the Convention 529

Of the Distinction between a Right, and the Enjoyment of that Right 530, 543

Of the Article for settling Limits 531, 544

The Measures of the Administration justified 532, 533

SPEECH of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, against the Question 534

Of our extraordinary naval Preparations, and a sham War ending in a sham Peace 534, 535

The common Notion, that a trading Nation ought to be cautious of engaging in War, exploded; since they ought to be the most cautious of submitting to an infamous Peace 536

That we have more to hope than to fear, from a War with *Spain* 537

We are not to judge of what may be done against *Spain* in the *West Indies*, from our Management of the last War 537, 538

How we may have nothing to fear from an Union of *France* and *Spain* 538, 540

Q. Elizabeth's wise Management 538, C, 539

Cromwell's good Policy 539, B

A War become necessary 540, 548

The Convention fully considered 540, &c.

The Treaty of 1670, then thought disadvantageous to the Nation 541, 543

A supposed Dialogue between the K. of *Spain* and *M. de la Quadra* 545 C

O. Cromwell's wise Management, in the Treaty between him and the *Dutch* 546, 547, 548

SPEECH of *L. Icilius*, in favour of the Question 549

Searching Ships practis'd by all Nations 550

Necessary for us, to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, and Smuggling 550, 551

Of the *Spaniards* prohibiting the Exportation of their Gold and Silver 551

Of the Dominion of the Seas 552

The Difficulty of determining what may be called Sea-Coasts and what the Open Seas 552 G

Of our Dominion over the *British* Seas, and what only ought to be reckon'd the Sea-Coast of any Country 553

The *American* Seas ought to be look'd on as a large Common 554

An Article in the *Assiento* Treaty ibid B

An Observation of a celebrated Clergyman 556 A

The second Day's Debate in the CLUB, upon the late Convention 557

SPEECH of *Pomponius Atticus*, in favour of it ibid

The Dangers and Inconveniences of War 561

The present Condition and Disposition of *France*, made use of as an Argument against a War ibid

The present Condition, Inclination and Views of the rest of *Europe* 562

A Declaration, that we have no Ally to assist us ibid

Our Domestick Circumstances ibid C

SPEECH of *C. Calpurnius Piso*, seconding the Motion for an Address of Thanks for the Convention 563

SPEECH of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, against the Motion 564

The true Design and Use of Parliaments ibid

His Opinion of the Convention 565, 566

How Application should be made by one Nation to another, in Case of Differences between them 565 E

To negotiate about undoubted Rights, is to betray them 566

No future Security by the Convention 542, 544, 567

The Reparation stipulated by it, only a sham Reparation 545, 568

Of Sir *George Byng*'s destroying the *Spanish* Fleet in 1718 569, 571

Consequences of approving the Convention 569, 570

SPEECH of *L. Hortensius*, in favour of the Motion 571

SPEECH of *Julius Florius*, against it 572

Objection to the complicated Nature of the Question ibid E

Of the King of *Spain*'s Protest 575, 578

SPEECH of *Mecænas*, against the Motion 575

The Consequence of using the Pretender's Name in Debates ibid F

No Search should have been insisted on, previous to our treating at all with *Spain* 576

What Things only allow of a Discussion ibid F

Different Politicks of *Great Britain* and *Spain* 577

Temporary Expedients, and what has been lost by deferring the War ibid G

What Peace only is valuable 578

Case of the *S. S.* Company ibid

SPEECH of *T. Manlius Torquatus*, in favour of the Motion 579

SPEECH of *P. Villius Tappulus*, by way of Answer ibid

Whether our Trade be in Danger ibid

A moving SPEECH of *M. Furius Camillus* against approving of the Convention 580

His concluding Prayer ibid D

APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE,

For OCTOBER, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 499.

The Speech of C. Helvius, *in the Debate upon the Convention, began in our laſt, was to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

THE noble Lords who have ſpoke before me, have ſaid ſo much, and have expreſſed their Sentiments ſo clearly, in favour of the Convention, that I cannot propoſe to ſay any Thing new, or to ſay any Thing better, upon the Subject. I ſhall, therefore, only take notice of ſome Facts, which, I think, have been miſtaken, or miſrepreſented, by thoſe who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion; and this I ſhall do without attempting any Turns of Wit, or any Thing of what may be call'd Flowers of Rhetorick. If I were capable of making the beſt Uſe of ſuch a Way of Speaking, if I were as great a Wit, and as great an Orator, as ever appeared in the Aſſemblies of the antient *Greeks* or *Romans*, the Reſpect I have for your Lordſhips, would prevent my making uſe of it in this Houſe; becauſe ſuch a Method of Speaking I take to be fit only for Aſſemblies that are led by their Paſſions, and not governed by their Reaſon.

Laſt Seſſion of Parliament, my Lords, we ſtrengthened, 'tis true, the Hands of the Crown, and I hope the preſent and every future Seſſion will do the ſame, when there is the like Occaſion; but we muſt remember, that though we ſtrengthened the Hands of the Crown, yet at the ſame Time we recommended peaceable Meaſures; and therefore the Power we then gave to the Crown, was not to be made uſe of in any hoſtile Manner, as long as there were Hopes of obtaining Satisfaction by amicable Means. This was the Intention, this was the Advice of Parliament; and according to this

Advice his Majeſty apply'd to the Court of *Spain*, to ſee what could be done by Way of Negotiation. At the ſame Time he made ſo far Uſe of the Powers granted him by Parliament, as to fit out ſeveral Squadrons, and ſend them to their proper Stations, in order to convince the Court of *Spain*, that we were ready to revenge, in caſe they ſhould refuſe or unreaſonably delay giving us Satisfaction; but it would have been contrary to the Advice of Parliament, to have ſent any of thoſe Fleets out, with Inſtructions to begin Hoſtilities. Such Inſtructions might have been eaſily and ſpeedily ſent, as ſoon as his Majeſty had found that nothing elſe would prevail; but to have given them ſuch Inſtructions, before he had made the leaſt Application for procuring Juſtice and Satisfaction in a peaceable Way, would have been directly contrary to what was recommended to him by both Houſes, laſt Seſſion of Parliament.

The Fleet that was ſent to the *Mediterranean*, my Lords, was properly and ſufficiently provided for anſwering all the Ends that were intended by it, even tho' a War had broke out between the two Nations; for even in that Caſe, it would have been ridiculous in us to have expended our Strength, and put ourſelves to a great Charge, in attacking any of the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Europe*, where we could do them but little Prejudice, and could reap no great Advantage to ourſelves. That Fleet, therefore, could only be deſigned for protecting our own Poſſeſſions and Trade in that Part of the World, for intercepting any *Spaniſh* Ships that ſhould happen to eſcape our Fleet in the *Weſt-Indies*, and for preventing any Supplies being ſent from *Old Spain* to any of their Colonies, or Plantations in *America*; and for anſwering all theſe Purpoſes, the Fleet that was ſent to the Coaſts of *Spain*, was ſufficiently provided with every Thing that was neceſſary,

The *Weſt-Indies*, my Lords, is the Part of the World, where, in caſe of a War, we could do the moſt Harm to *Spain*, and the moſt Good to ourſelves; and there, if we can but prevent any Supplies being ſent from *Old Spain*, we ſhall ſtand in need of no Land Forces being ſent from hence. Our own Colonies, upon the Continent and in the Iſlands of *America*, would ſoon furniſh us with Land Forces ſufficient for attacking *Spain* by Land in that Quarter, if we ſend a Squadron of Men of War ſufficient to protect them at Sea. But ſuppoſe it ſhould be neceſſary for us to ſend Land Forces from hence; it would not be proper, becauſe of the Climate, to ſend them thither, till we were juſt ready to enter upon Action, which could not be our Caſe the Beginning of laſt Summer; becauſe his Majeſty was to try what could be done by peaceable Means, before commencing Hoſtilities, either in the *Weſt-Indies* or in *Europe*. For this Reaſon, it was neceſſary to ſend a Squadron to the *Weſt-Indies* for protecting our Trade in the mean Time, and in order to take Land Forces on board, as ſoon as any could be raiſed in our Colonies, in caſe a War had become neceſſary; but it would have been contrary to the Plan that was preſcribed by Parliament, to have immediately begun Hoſtilities; and therefore it was wrong to ſeize the *Spaniſh* Regiſter Ship, which the noble Lord was pleaſed to mention, and it was right in our Commodore to order her being reſtored.

My Lords, as the Court of *Spain* could not be ignorant of the Advice that was given to his Majeſty by his Parliament laſt Seſſion, and as his Majeſty, to our Happineſs and his own Honour, has always made the

Advice

Advice of his Parliament the Rule of his Actions, they could not but ſuppoſe, that the Squadrons we ſent out were inſtructed not to begin Hoſtilities, till farther Orders; but ſuch Orders, they knew, might ſoon be ſent, ſuch Orders, they knew, would be ſent immediately, upon their refuſing to give ear to a friendly Accommodation of thoſe Diſputes, that ſubſiſted between the two Nations. This they were ſenſible of, and therefore, they not only appeared willing to do us Juſtice, but have granted all that we could expect by a ſucceſsful War; for even in caſe of a ſucceſsful War, we muſt at laſt have agreed to Preliminaries, before Peace could be reſtored, and by thoſe Preliminaries we could expect no more than a full Satisfaction for our Loſſes, and an Agreement to have all other Diſputes adjuſted by a definitive Treaty.

But, my Lords, before I enter into the Conſideration of what we have got by Peace, I muſt examine a little into what we could expect, or might have loſt, by War; for tho' I have as great a Confidence in the Strength and Courage of my Country, as any Man ought to have, yet I am not ſo ſanguine, as to think, that we have Victory chained to our Chariot-Wheel, or that we muſt be ſucceſsful in every War we engage in; and, therefore, in all Queſtions relating to War or Peace, I think we ought to conſider what we may loſe, as well as what we may get, by a War. By a War with *Spain*, my Lords, we could not expect to make much by Privateering, or by taking and making Prize of their Ships at Sea. In caſe of a War with this Nation, they would ſend no Ships to Sea, but ſmall, light Frigates by Way of Privateers, for intercepting ſuch of our Merchant Ships, as they found without, or ſtraggling too far from a Convoy; and tho' by taking ſuch, we might prevent a Loſs and Interruption in our Trade, yet we could not expect to reap any great Benefit. Some People may, perhaps, imagine, that great Advantages might be made by our intercepting their Plate Fleets, or the Ships that are employed in their Trade with their Settlements in *America*, becauſe none but *Spaniſh* Ships can be employed in that Trade; but even this would be precarious, and might, in ſeveral Shapes, be entirely prevented; for if they ſhould open that Trade to the *French* and *Dutch*, it is what thoſe two Nations would be glad to accept of, and we could not pretend to make Prize of a *French* or *Dutch* Ship, on account of her being bound to or from the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, no more than we could make Prize of her on account of her being bound to or from any Port in *Spain*: We could not ſo much as pretend to ſeize any Treaſure or Goods (except contraband) ſhe had on board, unleſs we could prove, that thoſe Goods, or that Treaſure, actually belonged to the King or Subjects of *Spain*, which it would be impoſſible to do. By this Method, the *Spaniards* might render it impoſſible for us to ſeize any of their Treaſure or Effects, in its Paſſage between *New* and *Old Spain*; and even without opening a Trade to their Settlements, they might almoſt as effectually do the ſame, by Means of the *Dutch* Iſland of *Curaſſa*, and the *French* Settlements in *Hiſpaniola*, or their Iſland of *Martinique*; for theſe Places lie ſo near the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, that it would be eaſy for the *Spaniards* to carry their Treaſure and Effects, in their own Ships, to one or other of theſe Places, and to take from thence, what Goods or Merchandize they had Occaſion for, without running any great Riſk of being intercepted by

our Men of War, or Privateers; and from theſe Places the *Spaniſh* Treaſure and Effects might be ſafely brought to *Spain*, in *French* or *Dutch* Bottoms, and in the Name of *French* or *Dutch* Merchants.

Thus it appears, my Lords, that in caſe of a War with *Spain*, we could not expect any great Advantage by Privateering, or by any Prizes we could take at Sea; and at Land we could make no Conqueſts. No Man will pretend that, if it were in our Power, it would be our Intereſt to conquer any of the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Europe*; at leaſt, I am ſure, it would not be our Intereſt to keep them, nor would it be our Intereſt to give them to any other Power in *Europe*. And as to their Dominions in *America*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, we have expreſsly promiſed, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that they ſhall be preſerved whole and entire to the preſent King of *Spain*, and his Succeſſors; ſo that by endeavouring to conquer any of them, we ſhould not only commit a Breach of that Treaty, but likewiſe we ſhould probably raiſe up a Confederacy in *Europe* againſt us; for none of the Powers of *Europe* would chuſe to ſee us Maſters of the Whole, or any Part of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*.

Therefore, my Lords, the only Method by which we could propoſe to get any Advantage, by a War with *Spain*, would be by making Inroads upon, and plundering their Settlements in *America*; and this we ſhould find much more difficult, than it was formerly. Their Sea-Ports, and Inland Towns in that Part of the World, are now better fortified, and better provided with every Thing neceſſary for making a ſtout Defence, than ever they were heretofore; and yet, during the laſt War, I believe it cannot be ſaid, that the Nation got much by any Inroads that were made upon them. The Truth is, we never attempted to make any conſiderable Inroads, or any Conqueſts, in that Part of the World, becauſe of the Difficulty and Expence of tranſporting a Land Army thither, and becauſe we knew the Climate to be very unwholſome for any Land Army we could ſend thither.

Having thus ſhewn, my Lords, that we cannot expect any great Advantage from a War with *Spain*, let us next conſider the Dangers we would be expoſed to. I ſhall be far from ſaying, upon this Occaſion, or upon any Occaſion, that we muſt not vindicate our Rights, or our Honour, againſt *France* or *Spain*, for fear of their joining together againſt us; but this I may venture to ſay, that when there is a Probability of their joining together againſt us, at a Time when the Affairs of *Europe* are in ſuch a Situation, that we can form no Confederacy againſt them, at a Time when, if we engage in War, we muſt ſtand ſingle and alone againſt theſe two powerful Nations, I ſay, my Lords, at ſuch a Time it would be prudent in us to ſuſpend our Vengeance, if poſſible, till a more proper Opportunity ſhould offer; and this, I am afraid, is our Caſe at preſent. If *France* ſhould join with *Spain* againſt us, we would be expoſed to many Dangers, and it would be difficult to guard againſt them all. We are, it is true, at preſent, ſuperior to both at Sea; but as *France* has great Numbers of Seamen, they would ſoon get Ships of War, if they were to be at no Expence in defending themſelves at Land; ſo that they might ſoon rig out a powerful Squadron. On the other hand, as we are liable to be attack'd in ſeveral Parts of World, we muſt divide our Naval Force: We muſt ſend Squadrons to different Points of the Compaſs, and every one of theſe Squadrons muſt be ſuperior to any

any that *France* and *Spain* can jointly fit out againſt us. As we have the Misfortune to have a Party amongſt ourſelves diſaffected to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, a Party much more conſiderable than ſome People ſeem willing to believe, we must keep a very powerful Squadron at home, for preventing its being in the Power of our Enemies to invade us. As we have a great Trade and valuable Poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*, we muſt keep a powerful Squadron in that Sea, for protecting our Trade and our Poſſeſſions in that Part of the World. And as our Plantations, eſpecially our Sugar Iſlands, are of great Conſequence to our Trade, and lie much expoſed to be invaded, and perhaps deſtroyed, we muſt keep a powerful Squadron in the *American* Seas for their Protection. To which I muſt add, that conſidering the Alliance lately formed between *France* and *Sweden*, we might, perhaps, find ourſelves under a Neceſſity of ſending a powerful Squadron into the *Baltick*, for the Defence of our Allies, or for preventing an Invaſion from that Quarter. And notwithſtanding the great Opinion we juſtly have of our Naval Force, and of the Bravery of our Seamen, I hope, I ſhall be excuſed if I even expreſs ſome Diffidence of our being able to ſend a Squadron to each of theſe Places, ſufficient for encountering the united Force of *France* and *Spain*, perhaps the united Force of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sweden*.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, that *France* ſhould remain quiet, and no Way interfere openly in the War between *Spain* and us: Suppoſe, no Power in *Europe* ſhould aſſiſt *Spain* in the War againſt us, yet we could not immediately reduce *Spain* to a Neceſſity of complying with our juſt Demands. The War between us might laſt for ſeveral Years; and while it laſted, the *French* would have a great Advantage over us in every Branch of Trade we are, or can be, concerned in. Though the *Spaniards* have not many Seamen of their own, yet, in caſe of a War with this Nation, they would be in no Want of Seamen for fitting out a great Number of Privateers againſt us: *French*, *Dutch*, and perhaps, ſome of our own Seamen, would engage in their Service for that Purpoſe; ſo that the *Mediterranean*, the *American*, the *Britiſh*, and, in ſhort, all the Seas where we have any Trade, would be full of Privateers under *Spaniſh* Colours. This would raiſe the Price of Inſurance upon *Britiſh* Ships higher than upon the Ships of any other Nation in *Europe*; and our Merchant Ships would be often put to a great Expence and Delay, by being obliged to wait for a Convoy; which would conſiderably enhance the Charge upon all Manufactures, or Merchandize, ſent by our own Shipping to foreign Markets. Let us conſider, my Lords, that the *French* already underſel us in moſt of the Manufactures we deal in, and that the Freight of *Hamburgh* Ships, and ſome others, is now cheaper than that of *Britiſh*: If we conſider this, we ſhall eaſily ſee the Conſequence, if we ſhould add a new Charge to the Price of our Manufactures at foreign Markets, and make it more unſafe, or more expenſive, to employ *Britiſh* Ships, than thoſe of any other Nation, by engaging in War, when all the other trading Nations of *Europe* are at Peace: We ſhould export no Manufactures, no Merchandize, at leaſt we ſhould export none in our own Shipping; And what would then become of our Trade and Navigation?

This, my Lords, would be the Conſequence of a long War between the two Nations, with reſpect to ourſelves; and with reſpect to *Spain*, it

it would probably be entirely ruined. We might, perhaps, at laſt, force them to do us all the Juſtice in their Power; but they would be ſo exhauſted, with the Loſſes and Expences of the War, that it would not be in their Power to make any Satisfaction for the Damage they have already done us, or might do, during the War, and much leſs for the Expences we have been, or might be, put to. Now, my Lords, tho' we have, at preſent, good Reaſon to be offended with *Spain*, tho' we have good Reaſon to inſiſt upon Satisfaction and Security, yet it is not our Intereſt to weaken the Power of that Nation; we ought rather to ſupport it, as a Balance againſt the Power of *France*; for tho' the Court of *Spain* may, perhaps, be at preſent too much ſwayed by *French* Counſels, it will not always, it cannot long be ſo. The Intereſts of *France* and *Spain* are as incompatible, as the Intereſts of *France* and this Kingdom; and therefore, as ſoon as the Court of *Spain* begins to be ſwayed by true *Spaniſh* Counſels, which ſome Accidents may ſoon bring about, we may reaſonably expect to have that Nation for one of our beſt and firmeſt Allies; and whenever that happens, they will gladly give us all the Satisfaction and Security we can deſire, in order to gain our Friendſhip, and to reſtore a mutual Confidence between the two Nations.

Both the Circumſtances of *Europe*, and the Circumſtances of *Spain*, are now, my Lords, very different from what they were either in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, or in the Time of *Oliver Cromwell*. In Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, *Spain* was the only formidable Power in *Europe*, and we had as much Reaſon, as any other of her Neighbours, to endeavour to reduce her Power. For this Purpoſe, Q. *Elizabeth* took the wiſeſt Courſe that could be taken, by encouraging and ſupporting the Civil War in the *Netherlands*, by which Means, ſhe at laſt enabled the *ſeven United Provinces* to throw off the Yoak of *Spain*; and the whole Power of *Spain* being applied towards ſupporting their Dominion over the *Netherlands*, they could neither ſpare Money for fortifying their Settlements in *America*, nor could they ſend any regular Troops thither for defending them; ſo that even our private Adventurers had great Succeſs, and often got rich Booties by Privateering, and by Incurſions upon thoſe Settlements; for as there was no good Correſpondence between *France* and *Spain*, and an open War between *Spain* and *Holland*, the *Spaniards* could not make uſe either of *Dutch* or *French* Veſſels for carrying on their Trade with their Settlements in *America*; and beſide, as the *French* were then involved in Civil Wars, they durſt not venture to diſoblige *England*, by aſſiſting *Spain*, either openly or by underhand Dealings.

In *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time, my Lords, we know that the *Spaniards* were engaged in a heavy War with *France*, which rendered them unable to provide for the Security of their Trade and Poſſeſſions in *America*; and tho', by our taking Part with *France* in that War, we got the Iſland of *Jamaica*, which was a valuable Acquiſition, yet I muſt think, it would have been lucky for this Nation, if *Oliver* had joined with *Spain* againſt *France*, inſtead of joining with *France* againſt *Spain*; for it was his fatal Union with *France*, that laid the Foundation of the exceſſive Power of that Kingdom, which has ſince coſt this Nation ſo much Blood, and ſo many Millions. And now, my Lords, with regard to both theſe Wars, I muſt obſerve, that notwithſtanding our great Succeſſes againſt *Spain* in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, notwithſtanding our great Succeſſes againſt *Spain* in *Oliver*'s Time,

Time, yet that Nation was not eaſily or ſoon reduced to comply with ſuch Terms as we thought reaſonable; for both Q. *Elizabeth* and *Oliver Cromwell* left the War to be put an End to by their Succeſſors.

Conſidering, therefore, my Lords, the little Advantage we can reap, and the great Dangers we may be expoſed to, by a War with *Spain*, I muſt think it would be not only unchriſtian, but impolitick in us to do them any real Injuries, or to inſiſt upon unreaſonable Terms for accommodating thoſe Differences, that muſt unavoidably, ſome Times, ariſe between the two Nations. I ſhall not ſay, that either the Precepts of Chriſtianity, or the Maxims of ſound Politicks, oblige us to heap Coals of Fire upon their Heads, by returning Good for Evil; but this I will ſay, that we ought at all Times, and eſpecially the preſent, to be more ready to forgive *Spain* than any other Nation in *Europe*, and conſequently, we ought to inſiſt leſs upon the Point of Honour, and accept of a leſs ample Satisfaction, with regard to any Injuries that may be done us by the *Spaniards*, than with regard to the Injuries we may receive from any other Nation in the World. Even in private Life, a Man would ſooner and more eaſily pardon an Injury done him by a Relation, or old Friend, than an Injury done him by an utter Stranger, or by one with whom he never had, nor ever expected to have, any cordial Friendſhip.

This, my Lords, leads me of courſe to conſider, what we have got by the Convention now under our Conſideration; and here, my Lords, I muſt ſay, I am ſurprized to hear it affirmed, that we have got no more by this Convention, than what the King of *Spain* had before allowed to be due. To ſupport this Aſſertion we have been told, that the *Spaniards* had not one Shilling to demand of us; and that the 95,000*l.* was not to be paid by them, unleſs our *South-Sea* Company firſt paid them, or made them a Preſent, as it was called, of 68,000*l.* but both theſe Facts muſt appear to have been very much miſrepreſented. The *Spaniards* certainly made a very great Demand upon us: A Demand that far exceeded 60,000*l.* They demanded full Reparation for all the Damage we did them in the Year 1718, which, according to their Way of Reckoning, would have amounted to more than ten Times 60,000*l.* for they ſaid that, tho' his Catholick Majeſty had agreed, by the Treaty in 1721, to accept of Reſtitution of the Ships we had actually taken from him, yet he had not by that, or any other Treaty, given up his Claim for the other Damages we had done him; and that, if he had, he was not obliged to ſtand to it, becauſe we had not complied with the Reſtitution ſtipulated by that Treaty. Whether this Demand was juſt or not, is what I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but it was certainly made, and ſtrongly inſiſted on by *Spain*; and if we got them to agree to reduce it to 60,000*l.* I muſt think it was prudent in us to allow them, by way of a friendly Accommodation, to deduct that Sum out of what was due to our Merchants, on account of the Depredations commited by their Subjects in the *American* Seas. 'Tis true, we do not receive this Sum in ready Money, but, I think, it is more beneficial to us than if we did; becauſe, by allowing it to be deducted, we get free of a Demand which amounted to a great deal more, and which would have been a perpetual Bone of Contention between us and a People with whom we ought, if poſſible, to cultivate a good Correſpondence.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the 68,000*l.* claimed by *Spain* from

our *South-Sea* Company, I cannot comprehend how any one can imagine, that the Court of *Spain* is resolved not to pay the 95,000*l.* ſtipulated by this Convention, unleſs this 68,000*l.* be firſt paid to them by our Company. I am ſure there is no ſuch Condition in the Convention. Our *South-Sea* Company have nothing to do with the Convention, all Accounts and Differences between them and the Crown of *Spain* being expreſsly excepted, in that very Article by which the 95,000*l.* is ſtipulated, and the Company not ſo much as once mentioned in any other Part of the Treaty. Even his Catholick Majeſty's Declaration, or Proteſtation, does not ſubject the Payment of the 95,000*l.* to any ſuch Condition; for all that was meant by that Proteſtation was, to preſerve to his Catholick Majeſty his Right to ſuſpend the *Aſſiento* Contract, in caſe the Company ſhould fail in performing their Part of that Contract; which Right was eſtabliſhed in his Catholick Majeſty and his Succeſſors, not only by the very Nature of the Contract itſelf, but by the expreſs Words of the Concluſion or Ratification of that Contract, his Catholick Majeſty's Words being, "And I promiſe and aſſure, upon my Faith and Royal Word, that, *provided the Company of* England *perform this Contract on their Part, ſo far as concerns them, and as they are obliged*, I will perform it on my Part."

Thus it appears, my Lords, that the Payment of the 95,000*l.* is not by this Convention, nor even by the King of *Spain*'s Proteſtation, to be delayed, much leſs denied, on account of our *South-Sea* Company's not paying the 68,000*l.* claimed from them by *Spain*. Therefore it is not our Buſineſs, upon the preſent Occaſion, to enquire whether that Claim be juſt or no. The Company may have greater Claims upon the Crown of *Spain*, and yet *Spain* may think themſelves juſtified in not admitting of Compenſation; for as the Claim the Company has upon the Crown of *Spain*, proceeds from the Seizure of their Effects in the Years 1718 and 1727, which have not yet, according to Treaties, been fully reſtored; and as the Court of *Spain*'s Claim upon the Company proceeds entirely from the *Aſſiento* Trade, there may, from the very Nature of Compenſation, be ſome Reaſon not to admit of it in this Caſe; becauſe the King of *Spain* may alledge, that by reſtoring the very Effects that were ſeized he may ſtill free himſelf from the Payment of any Money, or he may ſay that what is due by him on that Account, is not yet fully ſettled and aſcertained, and that, therefore, he cannot allow it in Compenſation of a nett Sum which, he ſays, the Company has confeſſed to be due to him. My Lords, I do not ſay, that any of theſe Arguments are juſt, I only mention them to ſhew, that none of our Diſputes with *Spain* are ſo clear, or ſo eaſily adjuſted, as ſome have been pleaſed to repreſent.

I hope it will now appear to your Lordſhips, that we are, by this Convention, to receive the full Sum of 95,000*l.* from *Spain*; and that to this Sum we ought to add the 60,000*l.* we have allowed, for which *Spain* has given up a Demand ſhe had upon us of a much larger Extent; therefore we muſt allow, that the Reparation granted us by this Convention for our Loſſes before *Dec.* 10, 1737, amounts to the full Sum of 155,000*l.* which is more than 15*s.* in the Pound of what we really loſt; and before I heard of this Treaty, I ſhould have thought him a very unreaſonable Merchant, and a very bad Countryman, that had told me, he would not willingly accept of 15*s.* in the Pound in full of what he had loſt, rather

rather than ſee his Country involved in a War againſt *Spain*, and at ſuch a Juncture, I ſay, my Lords, that 155,000*l.* the Sum we are to receive by Way of Reparation, amounts to more than 15*s.* in the Pound upon our real Loſs; becauſe our own Commiſſaries did not value it at more than 200,000*l.* and I have heard no good Reaſon given, why we ſhould diſcredit their Report, nor do I believe, from the Character I have heard of the Gentlemen, that they would have received, much leſs obeyed, any Inſtructions, by which they were enjoined not to admit of thoſe Demands, which appeared to them to be reaſonable and juſt: The *Spaniards*, we know, make heavy Complaints againſt them, for having admitted of the moſt extravagant Claims, and for refuſing no Claim that was laid before them; ſo that, like good Arbitrators, they are blamed by both Sides, which is ſeldom a Sign of Injuſtice. As for the five Ships mentioned in the 4th Article of this Convention, they were included in the 200,000*l.* at which our Loſſes were valued by our Commiſſaries; and therefore, if any Part of any of them has been reſtored, the Value ought in Juſtice to be deducted out of the 95,000*l.* to be paid to us by *Spain* for our Loſſes in general.

We are ſo far, my Lords, from having obtained no Reparation, that, I think, I may now venture to ſay, we have obtained, by this Convention, a more ample Reparation than was ever obtained by this Nation in any former preliminary Treaty. Even in *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time, by the Treaty of Peace, after the War we then had with the *Dutch*, he accepted, by Way of Preliminary, of an immediate Payment of 10,000*l.* in Part of Satisfaction for a great Number of *Britiſh* Ships that had been ſeized and detained in the Dominions of the King of *Denmark*. This, my Lords, was all he inſiſted on by the Treaty, tho' it was not near equal to the Loſs we had ſuſtained, the reſt being referred to be ſettled by Commiſſaries reſpectively appointed by the two Republicks; and yet it muſt be allowed, that no Man ever inſiſted more ſtrenuouſly upon the Rights and Privileges of his Country, and that he had the good Fortune to live at a Time, when none of our Neighbours were in any tolerable Condition to engage in War, or to form a Confederacy againſt us.

Having now ſhewn, my Lords, that we have got, by this Convention, as ample a Satisfaction for paſt Loſſes as any reaſonable Man could expect, I ſhall beg Leave to conſider, as briefly as I can, what is ſtipulated, with regard to our future Security; and upon this Head I ſhall firſt obſerve, that from the Nature of the Diſpute between *Spain* and us, we could not expect that it was poſſible to provide, properly or fully, for our future Security by preliminary Articles. The *Spaniards* do not pretend to deny our Right to a free Navigation upon the open Seas of *America*; but the Diſpute between us is, what ſhall be reckoned the open Seas of *America*. They ſay, that their Coaſts cannot be called open Sea; and that therefore, if any one of our Ships come upon their Coaſts without Neceſſity, they have a Right to ſearch her, in order to ſee whether ſhe has been concerned in any illicit Trade with their Settlements: They ſay farther, that their Coaſts in *America*, as well as their Coaſts in *Europe*, are within their own Dominions; that they have a Power to make what Regulations they pleaſe within their own Dominions; and that therefore, they have a Power to regulate what ſhall be deemed Teſtimonies of a Ship's having been

concerned in an illicit Trade, if such Ship be found upon their Coasts. Now, my Lords, that every Nation has a Sort of a Right to, and a Dominion over, what may properly be called their own Coasts, is what, I believe, no Man that understands any Thing of the Law of Nations will deny; but the Question is, how far out at Sea these Coasts shall extend; and as this is a Question that has not yet been determined by any Treaty between *Spain* and us, it must be very particularly enquired into, before any Settlement can be made by a new Treaty. There may be Reasons for confining the Coast within much narrower Bounds in some Seas than in others. In those Seas where the common Course of Navigation lies very near the Shoar, the Coast of the neighbouring Country must be very much confined; and in those Seas, where the common Course of Navigation never approaches near the Shore, the neighbouring Country, or State, may be allowed to extend their Coasts to a greater Distance at Sea.

These Considerations, my Lords, shew how difficult it will be to regulate what the *Spaniards* may be allowed to call their Coasts in the *American* Seas, what may be called a Necessity for a Ship's approaching their Coasts, and what may be called proper Testimonies, or Proofs, of a Ship's having been concerned in an illicit Trade; and no Man who considered these Difficulties could expect, that they could be removed in a short Time, or by a preliminary Treaty. The Negotiators on both Sides will certainly be obliged to send to the *West-Indies*, in order to have proper Information from those, who are perfectly acquainted with the Navigation in those Seas; and both may, perhaps, be obliged to send a second Time, in order to have those Difficulties answered, or removed, that may be started upon the first Conferences. It is not our Right to a free Navigation in the open Seas of *America*: It is not our Right to carry in our Ships what Goods we please from one Part of his Majesty's Dominions to the other: It is the Right the *Spaniards* have to take Methods, and to prescribe Rules, within their own Dominions, that is to say, upon their own Coasts, for preventing an illicit Trade with their Settlements in *America*, that is to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries respectively named by this Convention; and in this, our Plenipotentiaries, if they were inclined, can do us no Injury; becaufe the Regulations they agree to can be of no Force, till they are ratified by his Majesty.

Whatever some Lords may think of the Distinction between a Right and the Enjoyment of that Right, however incomprehensible they may think it, I must look on it as a just and a proper Distinction; for a Man may have a Right to an Estate, and yet his Enjoyment of that Right may be regulated, or even restrained, by some Right or Privilege granted to another. We have a Right to a free Navigation in the Seas of *America*; but we have, by the Treaty in 1670, granted the *Spaniards* an exclusive Right to the Trade with their own Settlements in that Part of the World; and therefore we have, according to an established Maxim in Law, granted them every Thing that is necessary for the Enjoyment of that exclusive Right. For this Purpose they say that they must search such foreign Ships as approach their Coasts without any Necessity, and must make them liable to Confiscation, if any Thing should be found on board that is the proper Produce of their Settlements; because, without this it would be impossible for them to exclude Foreigners from carrying on

a Trade with their Settlements; and if this Privilege ſhould be allowed them, as a Conſequence of the excluſive Right we have agreed to by the Treaty in 1670, it would be a Sort of Reſtraint upon our Enjoyment of the Right we have to a free Navigation in the Seas of *America*. I am far from granting, my Lords, that there is any Foundation for this Pretence. I do not think, that ſuch a Privilege is abſolutely neceſſary for enabling them to enjoy their excluſive Right; but if it were, they would have ſome Reaſon for inſiſting upon it; and whether it be ſo or not, is a Queſtion that could not be enquired into in a ſhort Time, and conſequently, could not be determined by a preliminary Article.

Theſe are the Diſputes, my Lords, upon which our future Security depends; and as theſe Diſputes are of ſuch a Nature that they could not be ſettled in a ſhort Time, therefore we could not expect, that our future Security could be provided for any other Way than it is by this preliminary Convention; nor could we in this Caſe ſtipulate any Suſpenſion: We could not ſtipulate, that they ſhould ſuſpend ſearching our Ships upon the high Seas; becauſe it is what they never pretended to: Such a Stipulation would really have been a Sort of Acknowledgment, that our Right to a free Navigation on the open Seas of *America* was a diſputable Point; and if we had deſired them to ſuſpend taking thoſe Meaſures, which they think abſolutely neceſſary for preventing an illicit Trade, they would have look'd on it as the Demand of a Privilege to carry on ſuch a Trade, till the definitive Treaty ſhould be concluded, which is a Demand we could not expect they would grant. Beſides, we had no Occaſion to demand any Suſpenſion in this Caſe; becauſe, during the eight Months in which this Affair is to be finally determined, we ſhall have a Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*, that will be ſufficient to protect our Trade, againſt any Injuſtice that can be committed by their *Guarda Coſta's*.

As for the Article that relates to ſettling Limits between *Florida* and *Carolina*, I am ſurprized, my Lords, to hear it found fault with. We have got more by that Article, than we could ever before get by any Treaty between us and *Spain*; for by that Article, we have got them to acknowledge by Name, our Right to *Carolina*; and tho' we now give the Name of *Georgia* to the ſouthern Parts of *Carolina*, yet as *Georgia* was formerly a Part of that Country to which in general we gave the Name of *Carolina*, I think this Article implies an Acknowledgment of our Right to *Georgia*, and ſhews that the *Spaniards* do not diſpute with us our Right to that Province, but only the Limits between what we now call *Georgia*, and what they and we call *Florida*. They may, perhaps, pretend, that we have extended our Settlements in *Georgia* too much towards the ſouthward, and by that Means have incroached upon their Territories in *Florida*; but from this Article it cannot ſo much as be preſumed, that they intend to diſpute our having a Right to any Part of *Georgia*; and if they ſhould, our Plenipotentiaries may refuſe to treat with them upon ſuch Terms, for by this Article they are laid under no Obligation to do ſo. Here, indeed, the very Nature of the Diſpute made a Suſpenſion neceſſary; but I muſt obſerve, that this Suſpenſion is mutual; for the *Spaniards* are obliged to ſuſpend increaſing their Fortifications, or taking any new Poſts, in *Florida*, as much as we are in *Carolina*; and as Limits between frontier Provinces are generally referred to be ſettled by Commiſſaries after a definitive Treaty is concluded, I

am ſure no fault can be found with referring the Limits between theſe two Provinces to be ſettled by Plenipotentiaries, named and appointed by a Preliminary.

I have now ſhewn, I hope, my Lords, that by this Convention we have got all we could reaſonably expect by a Preliminary; from whence it muſt be preſumed, I think, that we are in a fair way of getting all we can reaſonably demand by the ſolemn Treaty that is to be concluded in purſuance of this Preliminary, within the Space of eight Months, which is the ſhorteſt Time that could be given for ſettling thoſe Diſputes which ſtill ſubſiſt between us and *Spain*. Therefore, if the Affairs of *Europe* were in as favourable a Situation as we could wiſh, if our own Circumſtances were as happy as we could deſire, it would have been imprudent in us to have begun Hoſtilities, when we found the Court of *Spain* ſo well inclined to give us all reaſonable Satisfaction: His Majeſty would have acted contrary to the Advice given him laſt Seſſion by his Parliament, if he had refuſed to accept of ſuch a preliminary Convention. By commencing Hoſtilities we might, perhaps, have added to our Glory, and might have given more Satisfaction to thoſe, who delight in Strife and Contention, as well as to Men of deſperate Fortunes, who want to fiſh in troubled Waters; but theſe Sorts of Men are ſuch as no wiſe Government will endeavour to ſatisfy, and every one knows, that the Happineſs of a Country is diſtinct from, and often inconſiſtent with its Glory. The late King of *Sweden*, by ſeeking his own Glory in War, raiſed it to a very high Pitch, but he ruined, he diſpeopled his Country; and if we follow the Example of Cardinal *Fleuri*, (for I think I may name him) which the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt has been pleaſed to recommend to us, we ſhall never go to War without an abſolute Neceſſity; for he has procured more Happineſs for his Country, and acquired more Glory to himſelf, than the late *French* Monarch did by all his Wars, and by all the Tapeſtry or hiſtorical Looms he ſet to work, aſſiſted by an infinite Number of Poems, Panegyricks, and Pieces of Painting, which he procured at a vaſt publick Expence, for celebrating the heroick Actions he performed by his Generals and his Armies; for whatever Share he might claim in the Glory, I think he took care never to have any Share in the Danger.

I ſay, my Lords, if the Affairs of *Europe*, as well as our domeſtick Affairs, had been in the beſt Situation, it would have been imprudent in us to have engaged in War, eſpecially againſt *Spain*, when we found ourſelves in ſo fair a Way of obtaining all we could deſire by peaceable Means; but as neither our own Affairs, nor the Affairs of *Europe*, can be ſaid to be at preſent in a very favourable Situation, it was certainly our Buſineſs to avoid engaging in War, at this Juncture, if poſſible. What this Situation may be owing to, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but with reſpect to our domeſtick Affairs, I am ſure, the Situation they are in is not owing to any late Miſmanagement here at home. The Debts and the Taxes we are at preſent loaded with, are known to be the unhappy Relicks of the laſt heavy War we were engaged in againſt *France* and *Spain*. We have never ſince engaged in any War, we have been put to no Expence, but what has been authorized or approved by Parliament, as being abſolutely neceſſary for the current Service; therefore, if we have paid off but a ſmall Part of the Debt we incurred

curred during that War, it can proceed from no Miſmanagement, but from a tender Regard to the People, which prevented our loading them with more Taxes than were abſolutely neceſſary for paying the Intereſt growing due to the Creditors of the Publick, and for defraying that Expence which the Parliament, from Year to Year, thought neceſſary for the publick Service.

And with regard to the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, it may, for what I know, my Lords, be owing to the Ambition of one Court, and the Pride and Obſtinacy of another, but I am ſure it can be no Way juſtly imputed to the bad Conduct of any of thoſe who are now, or have lately been, employed in the Adminiſtration of our publick Affairs. Our Miniſters are neither the Maſters nor the Directors of the Counſels of foreign Princes or States; and therefore, cannot be juſtly made to account for their Actions or Behaviour. They may be made to account for their own; but with regard even to their own Behaviour, we ought not to judge of their Meaſures by the Event, we ought to conſider them in the Light they appeared in when taken: It is eaſy to find fault with paſt Meaſures, when croſs Accidents happen that could not be then foreſeen, or when Time clears up Facts that could not be then diſcovered; but whatever our late Meaſures may have been with regard to foreign Affairs, thoſe who adviſed them have had the good Fortune to have every Step of their Conduct approved of by Parliament. Even the late Treaty of *Hanover*, which ſome People now pretend to find fault with, was approved by Parliament; and I ſtill think it deſerved the Approbation it met with; for by the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain* in 1725; they had certainly both formed Projects againſt the Trade or the Poſſeſſions of this Nation: The *Emperor* had formed a Project of eſtabliſhing the Trade of *Flanders* upon the Ruins of the Trade of this Kingdom; and the Court of *Spain* had formed a Project for wreſting from us the important Fortreſſes of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*. Againſt theſe Projects, the beſt, indeed the only Meaſure we could take, was the defenſive Alliance we entered into with *France* by the Treaty of *Hanover*; and this accordingly put an End to the ambitious Projects both of the *Emperor* and *Spain*; or at leaſt the Meaſures we took in purſuance of that Treaty, prevented their being able to carry any of them into Execution. The Meaſures we took upon the breaking out of the late War between *France* and the *Emperor*, had likewiſe the good Fortune to be authorized or approved by Parliament, and, I think, with great Reaſon. We had then no Demands either upon *France* or *Spain*, at leaſt none that either of them had expreſsly refuſed to comply with; therefore, from our own Intereſt, we had no Call to engage in that War, unleſs it had been puſhed ſo far as to endanger the Balance of Power in *Europe*; and ſurely we are not obliged to ſupport the Court of *Vienna* in all the ambitious Projects they may form, nor were we obliged to aſſiſt them in a War they had brought upon themſelves, by endeavouring to preſcribe Rules to an independent Kingdom in the Election of its Sovereign.

Thus, my Lords, I have ſtated in a proper Light, thoſe Facts which, I think, have been very much miſtaken by ſome Lords who have ſpoke in this Debate; and I have endeavoured to do it with that Plainneſs and Simplicity which becometh the Dignity of this Houſe. If Wit and Eloquence could have any Weight with your Lordſhips, thoſe who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion could not have failed

of

of perſuading; but, I think, it is a bad Compliment to your Lordſhips Judgment, to attempt to perſuade by ſuch Means: I know your Lordſhips Caution and Penetration, and therefore, if I could, I ſhould not attempt to impoſe upon your Judgment by Wit or Eloquence, eſpecially in the preſent Queſtion; becauſe the Side on which I ſpeak, ſtands in need of none of the Arts of Perſuaſion: If it be viewed in its true and natural Light, like Truth, it muſt be irreſiſtible.

Q. Fabius Maximus *ſtood up next, and ſpoke to the Effect as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

IN what I have to offer to your Lordſhips upon the Subject now under our Conſideration, I ſhall not ſo much as attempt any Sort of rhetorical Stile: I have, indeed, I think, much leſs Occaſion for it than the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt; for Facts ſpeak themſelves, and all the Facts that relate to the preſent Queſtion, are ſo plainly againſt that Side which his Lordſhip ſeemed to favour, that he muſt pardon me, if I think, he could have ſaid but very little, if he had made no uſe of any of the Arts of Eloquence. If it were poſſible to imagine that Wit or Eloquence could have any Influence upon this Houſe, I ſhould have but little Encouragement to think myſelf capable of either; for in all the important Queſtions that have happened, almoſt ever ſince I had a Seat here, the Majority has generally been againſt that Side of the Queſtion, on which I had the Misfortune to ſpeak; yet I always thought I had Reaſon on my Side; but as I now think, I have a great deal more Reaſon than ever I had upon any former Occaſion, I hope to meet with a different Fate. That there are Aſſemblies which are led by their Paſſions, and that in ſuch Aſſemblies only the Arts of Eloquence can be of Service, I ſhall readily grant; but I muſt obſerve, that as ſome Paſſions are to be led by the Senſe of Hearing, there are others which are to be led by the Senſe of Feeling alone; and if I were not fully convinced that the Members of this Aſſembly are governed by Reaſon, and by nothing elſe, I ſhould never attempt to ſpeak, becauſe I know myſelf as little capable of touching thoſe Paſſions, that are to be led by Feeling, as I am of touching thoſe that are to be led by Hearing.

My Lords, when we granted thoſe extraordinary Powers that were given laſt Seſſion to the Crown, I believe none of your Lordſhips meant, I am ſure I did not imagine, that in Conſequence of that Grant, the Nation was to be put to any extraordinary Expence, as long as there were the leaſt Hopes left of an Accommodation. Theſe Hopes, I knew, might have been determined by the Return of one Courier: They ought to have been ſo, conſidering how far the Seaſon of the Year was advanced, and the Danger our Navigation and Commerce lay expoſed to in the mean Time. It was only ſending Orders by a Courier to our Miniſter at the Court of *Spain*, to have put two or three plain Queſtions to that Court, by Way of *Ultimatum*, and to have inſiſted on a ſpeedy and categorical Anſwer. This, I knew, might have been done in three or four Weeks; and, therefore, when I heard of our great naval Preparations, I expected nothing but War: I expected that ſome of my honeſt Neighbours in the Country would be relieved from the Burden of quartering Soldiers; becauſe I made no Doubt but that a large Body of our Troops would be embarked on board our Fleet, and ſent where they might be of

ſome

ſome Service to their Country. I little thought that this Seſſion of Parliament would have opened with a Sort of Treaty or Convention, that gives us neither War nor Peace, nor any Thing, in my Opinion, but Shame and Confuſion.

Indeed, when I heard our Squadrons were ſailed, and found, by the Complaints of my Neighbours, that our Troops remained, I cannot ſay quiet, in their Quarters, I began to ſuſpect ſome new *Carthagena* Expedition. I began to fear that our ſham War would end in a ſham Peace; and now I find my Fears were not without Foundation. But, my Lords, if we had obtained as honourable a Treaty as ever was concluded by this or any Nation, I would nevertheleſs have ventured to have ſaid, that the Expence we put ourſelves to, the Squadrons we fitted out, had no Share in obtaining it; for ſurely thoſe Fleets, thoſe warlike Preparations, that can do no conſiderable Harm to an Enemy in Caſe of a War, can have no Influence in obtaining a Peace. Our Squadron ſent to the *Mediterranean* was, it ſeems, deſigned to be a harmleſs Squadron; and that which was ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, 'tis allowed, muſt have been ſo, till they got ſome Land-Forces on board, for which no Preparations were made, either at home or in our Plantations. But we are told, that Land-Forces might ſoon have been raiſed in our Plantations, which is a Fact I very much doubt of: We have, as yet, but few ſpare Hands in any of our Plantations, and to have taken Men from that valuable Labour, in which our Planters and their Servants are always employed, would have been a great Loſs to our Trade. It would have been much better to have ſent 8 or 10,000 of the idle Fellows we have at home, to ſome of our moſt healthful Plantations, in order to have been there ready at a Call; for the Difference of the Climate is ſo far from being an Argument againſt, that it is a ſtrong Argument for ſending them thither ſome Months before we have Uſe for them, that they may have Time to be ſeaſoned to the Climate, and to recover from the Fatigues of a long Voyage, before they are ſent upon any Expedition againſt an Enemy.

This, my Lords, would have had a greater Influence upon the Court of *Spain*, than all the Men of War we fitted out; for I muſt think it was a very extraordinary Sort of Management, to fit out above 100 Sail of Men of War, againſt a Nation that cannot ſend 30 capital Ships to Sea. Therefore, if the Court of *Spain* was to be frightned or threatened into Terms, we ought to have ſent out Regiments of Foot, inſtead of moſt of the Men of War that were fitted out; and if that Court was not to be threatened, there was no Occaſion for putting ourſelves to any Expence till a War was actually reſolved on. As they have but few Ships at Sea, and thoſe they have, hard to be met with in ſuch a wide Ocean as that between *Spain* and *America*, our Squadrons, without a Land-Force along with them, can do them little or no Prejudice; and ſuppoſe we could have raiſed a ſufficient Land-Force in our Plantations, it will, I hope, be allowed, that after we had ſent Orders for raiſing that Land-Force, we might have fitted out a Squadron here at home, and ſent it thither, time enough for taking thoſe Land-Forces on abroad, before they could have been ready to embark. Therefore we had as little Occaſion for putting ourſelves to the Expence of naval Preparations, as we had for putting ourſelves to the Expence of raiſing Land-Forces, till we had got a final Anſwer from *Spain*; and without threatening to invade ſome of their

their Territories, in *Europe* or *America*, with a Land-Army, our numerous Squadrons could now as little perſuade them to agree to our Terms, as *Hoſier*'s Squadron could formerly perſuade them to deliver the Effects of their *Galleons* into his Hands.

I am convinced, my Lords, that the Squadrons we ſent out laſt Summer, like ſome others we have upon former Occaſions fitted out, gave all *Europe* an Occaſion of Mirth, inſtead of giving the *Spaniards* an Occaſion of Fear. The Court of *Spain* muſt miſtake our Power, or deſpiſe our Management, otherwiſe they would not have dared to have offered ſuch a Preliminary Treaty, as we have ſtoop'd to accept of. Preliminaries are ſometimes agreed on by Nations engaged in War, before they can conclude a ſolemn and definitive Treaty of Peace; but by ſuch Preliminaries the moſt material Points are always ſettled, and ſome Pledges are generally given for Performance of Articles. By theſe Preliminaries no one material Point is ſettled; the only one that is ſettled is, that relating to the Damages we have ſuſtained, and that is ſettled by our agreeing to give a general Releaſe, without receiving one Shilling Conſideration. Can this be called a Treaty? To me it ſeems as if our Miniſter had preſented *M. de la Quadra* with a *Carte Blanche*, a Sheet of clean Paper, and deſired he would write what he pleaſed, becauſe it was neceſſary for us to have a Treaty of ſome kind or other.

My Lords, I ſhall grant that, before we reſolve on a War, we ought to conſider what we may loſe, as well as what we may get; but, I hope, 'twill be allowed, that before we conclude a Peace, or any Treaty for preventing a War, we ought to conſider the Dangers we may be expoſed to by ſubmitting to an infamous Peace, as well as the Dangers we may be expoſed to by engaging in a juſt and honourable War. It ſeems now to become a faſhionable Doctrine amongſt us, that a trading Nation ought to be cautious of engaging in War. My Lords, it is directly the Contrary: No Nation ought to go to War without Provocation; but of all Nations in the World, a Nation engaged in foreign Trade ought to be the moſt jealous of its Honour and Privileges, and therefore the moſt cautious of ſubmitting to any Thing that may look like an infamous Peace. The Nature of its Trade obliges many of its People to travel, and ſome of them to live in foreign Countries: They muſt there meet with Juſtice and Reſpect, otherwiſe they neither will travel nor live, nor can they carry on any Trade. But can they expect to meet with Juſtice, or even with common Civility, if the Nation to which they belong be generally deſpiſed and contemned, which it muſt be, if it ſubmits to an infamous Peace? This will be our Caſe, if we ſhould be ſo fond of Peace as to avoid going to War, when we have a juſt Occaſion. If we do not vindicate our Honour, and aſſert the Rights and Privileges of our People, in all Parts of the World where they may have Occaſion to go, we muſt give up our foreign Trade; for no *Britiſh* Subject will go abroad to take care of it, if he finds himſelf inſulted and abuſed in every Country he comes to. Our own Colonies will deſert us: If we will not protect them, they muſt ſeek for Protection ſomewhere elſe. Therefore if we have a Mind to preſerve our Trade or our Navigation, we muſt take care not to be inſulted: We muſt reaſſume one of our antient Motto's: *Nemo me impune laceſſet* muſt be the Word in every Mouth and the Reſolution of every Aſſembly

ſembly, within the *Britiſh* Dominions.

I ſhall not pretend, my Lords, that we have Victory chained to our Chariot Wheel, yet I may ſay what from all our Hiſtories will appear, that in the Wars we have been engaged in, we have always come off with Honour, when our Affairs were under a wiſe Adminiſtration. In a War with *Spain*, if we judge from Experience, we have more to hope than to fear. We may do them great Damage, and gain conſiderable Advantages to ourſelves, even by privateering or ſeizing their Ships at Sea. They cannot ſubſiſt, they cannot defray the Expences of their civil Government, much leſs ſupport the Charge of a heavy War, without having their Treaſure brought home from *America*. If they bring it home in *Galloons* or *Flotas*, we may intercept it by our Squadrons: If they bring it home in ſingle Ships, we ſhall intercept many of them by our Privateers or ſmall Cruiſers. They cannot bring it home either in *French* or *Dutch* Ships; becauſe by the 6th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* between *France* and us, the King of *France* is expreſsly obliged, not to accept of any other Uſage of Navigation to *Spain*, and the *Spaniſh Indies*, than what was practiſed there in the Reign of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*, or than what ſhall likewiſe be fully given and granted at the ſame Time, to other Nations and People concerned in Trade. Therefore the *Spaniards* could not lay the Trade to their Settlements in *America* open to the *French*, at leaſt the *French* could not accept of it; and if the *Dutch* ſhould, they would be oppoſed by *France* as well as us, which is an Oppoſition they would not, I believe, chuſe to ſtruggle with. And as for the *Spaniards* carrying on a Correſpondence with the *Dutch* at *Curaſſoa*, or the *French* at *Hiſpaniola* or *Martinique*, the Courſe of Navigation between their Settlements upon the Continent and theſe Iſlands, is ſo much confined, that we might intercept every one of their Ships, either by our Men of War or Privateers. Beſides, my Lords, theſe Expedients, or any Expedient that could be contrived, would lay the whole *Spaniſh* Nation under ſuch Diſtreſſes and Difficulties, that they would be glad to accept of Peace upon reaſonable Terms.

Thus, my Lords, we might not only reap Advantage by diſtreſſing them at Sea, but we might reap ſtill greater Advantages, and reduce them to greater Difficulties, by attacking them at Land. It would not, 'tis true, be our Intereſt to attempt making any Conqueſts upon the Continent of *Old Spain*; but by having a Squadron with 5 or 6,000 Land-Forces on board, continually roving round their Coaſts, and making Inroads upon the Country, as often as they found an Opportunity, we might do infinite Miſchief to our Enemies, and often get rich Booties for our Soldiers and Seamen. Then with regard to their Settlements in *America*, as we could prevent any Supplies of Troops or Ammunition being ſent thither from any Part of the World, we might plunder them from one End to the other; or if we thought it more for our Purpoſe, we might enable them to throw off the Yoak of *Spain*, which moſt, even of the *Spaniards* that are born there, would gladly do, if they had any Support on which they could depend, becauſe of the Oppreſſion they meet with from their Governors and other Officers, who are all Natives of *Old Spain*. We are not to judge of what may be done againſt *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies* from our Management of the laſt War againſt *France* and *Spain*. It was not the Difficulty of the Undertaking that prevented an Attempt

being made in that Part of the World; but we had taken ſo great a Share of the War in *Europe* upon ourſelves, and were at ſo great an Expence, that we could not ſpare either Money or Troops for ſuch an Undertaking; and as none of our Allies would join with us in it, if we had gone upon it by ourſelves alone, it might have created a Jealouſy in ſome of them, which would have been of dangerous Conſequence to the grand Deſign; but if the whole Confederacy had agreed to have made a vigorous Puſh that Way, immediately after the Battle of *Hochſtat*, I believe it would have ſucceeded, and would have been a Means of putting an End to the War much ſooner than we did; for the *French*, as ſome of their Miniſters have ſince declared, would not have been ſo long able to ſupport the Expence of the War, if it had not been for the great Remittances they had from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the Dangers we may be expoſed to, even ſuppoſe *France* ſhould join openly with *Spain* againſt us, if we were united amongſt ourſelves, and under a popular, that is, a wiſe Adminiſtration, we have nothing to fear from an Union of theſe two great Powers. We may frighten ourſelves with Bugbears of Invaſions, and God knows what, but till they have a naval Force ſuperior to any we can ſend againſt them, we have nothing to fear; and it would be our Fault if we allowed them to increaſe their naval Force during a War. We may, 'tis true, be obliged to divide our naval Force; but the naval Force of *France* and *Spain* could not all join in one Port; we might render it almoſt impoſſible for them to do ſo; and if they ſhould, we might join our Squadrons together as well as they, in which Caſe we would be more than Match for them. The Sea, my Lords, is our Element, and it will be our Defence, as long as we preſerve our Trade, which we muſt loſe if we allow our Merchants and Seamen to be inſulted and plundered. A War with *Spain* is, therefore, become unavoidable, if they refuſe to give us Satisfaction, as well as Reparation and Security; and if they ſhould be joined by *France*, let the Dangers from ſuch an Union be what they will, we muſt face them; for I hope no Man will ſay, we are to look tamely on, and ſee *France* and *Spain* plundering our Merchants, abuſing our Seamen, and deſtroying our Trade, with Impunity.

The preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, my Lords, I ſhall allow to be very different from what they were in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Days; but if ſhe had managed her foreign Negotiations, as we ſeem to have managed ours for theſe 20 Years paſt, ſhe would have been in much worſe Circumſtances than we are at preſent. She was in Danger of having *Spain*, *France*, and *Scotland*, joined with a powerful Party in her own Dominions, againſt her. Towards the Beginning of the Year 1585, the Duke of *Guiſe* had got almoſt the abſolute Government of the King and Kingdom of *France*, and *Philip* II. of *Spain* had juſt conquered *Portugal*, and had almoſt entirely reduced the Malcontents in *Holland* and *Flanders*. Theſe two were in a private League againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and had very near prevailed on *James* VI. of *Scotland*, afterwards *James* I. of *England*, to join with them. In theſe Circumſtances, if Q. *Elizabeth* had ſent weak or ridiculous Ambaſſadors to foreign Courts, or if ſhe had thought only of putting off the evil Day by temporary, annual Expedients, both ſhe and the Proteſtant Religion would have been undone; but ſhe foreſaw her Danger, and reſolved, there-

therefore, to begin the Attack, before the Project of her Enemies was ripe for Execution. She ſent one of the ableſt and moſt expert Miniſters then in the World, to *Scotland*, by whoſe Addreſs and Intrigues ſhe at laſt ſecured that King in her Intereſt. She attack'd the King of *Spain* in his own Dominions, both in the *Netherlands* and the *Weſt-Indies*; and ſhe gave ſuch Aid to the *Huguenots* in *France* as entirely diſappointed the Projects of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and greatly contributed towards raiſing *Henry* IV. to the Throne of that Kingdom. If we had had ſuch Foreſight and Wiſdom for theſe 20 Years paſt, or had employed ſuch Miniſters in our foreign Negotiations, we ſhould not now have been frightning ourſelves with the Conjunction of *France* and *Spain* againſt us, nor ſhould we have been lamenting, that we have not a Friend in *Europe*, on whom we can depend for Aſſiſtance.

Tho' our War with *Spain* in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time continued for many Years, we are not, my Lords, from thence to conclude, that the War muſt now continue as long, before we can bring them to a Compliance. This Nation is now more powerful, and *Spain* much weaker, than at that Time. Q. *Elizabeth* was Queen of *England* and *Ireland* only: Our Plantations were in their Infancy, *Ireland* often in a State of Rebellion, and *Scotland* kept in Friendſhip with us by her Wiſdom alone. On the other hand, the King of *Spain* was then Maſter both of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and as powerful, perhaps more powerful than at preſent, in the *Weſt-Indies*: Beſides which, he was then Maſter of the 17 Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and of the two *Sicilies* and *Milan* in *Italy*. To this I muſt add, that in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time, it was not the Intereſt of this Nation to be at Peace with *Spain*; her Subjects made a great deal more by the War, than they could have done by an open Trade with that Kingdom; therefore ſhe would never hear of reſtoring the Peace, tho' the *Spaniards* would have gladly ſued for it to her, if they had hoped for Succeſs, as they did to her Succeſſor, before he was well ſeated on the Throne. In *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time, the War he engaged in againſt *Spain*, was certainly a Piece of political Wiſdom: He found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh his Government, by making ſome Conqueſt, or gaining ſome Advantage for the Nation abroad; and *Spain* was the only Nation from whom he could take any Thing that would be of real Advantage to this. He joined with *France*, 'tis true; but the Power of *France* was not then formidable; and by his getting Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, he opened a Door for our aſſiſting *France* againſt *Spain*, or *Spain* againſt *France*, according as we ſhould afterwards find proper; and if he had lived, as he underſtood the Intereſt of his Country, he would probably have ſoon clapt up a Peace with *Spain*, and perhaps have joined with them againſt *France*, which would probably have prevented the *Pyrenæan* Treaty of Peace, the Source of all the Evils *Europe* has ſince been expoſed to; but he died within 3 Months after he got Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, and but a little more than 3 Years after he had begun the War with *Spain*; ſo that the Continuance of that War is not to be imputed to any Inability we were in of forcing *Spain* to accept of a Peace upon reaſonable Terms, but to the Confuſions and Diſtractions this Nation was in, from *Cromwell*'s Death to the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. when Peace between the two Nations was reſtored, tho' the ſolemn Treaties for that Purpoſe were not concluded till the Years 1667 and 1670.

Therefore, my Lords, if we judge

from Experience, we muſt conclude, that if *Spain* is not ſupported by *France*, the War between the two Nations cannot be of any long Continuance; and while it continues, if right Meaſures are taken, our Trade cannot ſuffer ſo much by their Privateers, as it has done for almoſt 20 Years by their *Guarda Coſta's*. But ſuppoſe they ſhould be ſupported by *France*, yet if Care be taken to remove the Diſcontents of our own People, and vigorous Meaſures purſued, I think *France* and *Spain*, even when united againſt us, have more to fear from us, than we have from them, tho' we ſhould be ſo deſtitute of Friends as not to meet with Aſſiſtance from any one Power in *Europe*. Indeed, if we ſhould ever have the Misfortune to be involved in a War againſt *France* and *Spain*, while we are under an Adminiſtration, in which neither our People at home, nor our Friends abroad, can put any Confidence, an Adminiſtration who had ſhewn themſelves incapable of governing in Time of Peace, and who, of courſe, we muſt ſuppoſe much more incapable of governing in Time of War, in that Caſe I do not know what might be the Conſequence. Such an Adminiſtration would think of nothing but protecting themſelves at home, againſt the Reſentments of an injured and diſcontented People, and would, therefore, neither think of, nor be able to take, proper Meaſures for diſtreſſing our Enemies abroad, or for protecting our Trade at Sea, or our Poſſeſſions at Land, in any diſtant Part of the World. Our only Safeguard, our only Relief, would be in our Parliament; and the only Meaſure our Parliament could take, for the Salvation of their Country, would be, to force a Change in the Adminiſtration, and to recover the Affections of our own People, and the Confidence of our natural Allies, by puniſhing thoſe, who, by their Conduct, had forfeited both.

Thus, my Lords, I believe it will appear, that, if we were now at Liberty to conſider the Dangers we may be expoſed to, and the Advantages we may reap, by engaging in a War with *Spain*, we ſhould, upon the Compariſon, find, that we have more to hope than to fear; but we have met with ſo many Inſults, and ſuch diſdainful Treatment from that Nation, for many Years paſt, that if they refuſe or delay to give us Satisfaction, Reparation, and Security, we have no ſuch Liberty left, we muſt go to War let the Conſequence be what it will; and in ſuch a Caſe, I can look upon no Man as a Friend to his Country, who endeavours to terrify the People with the Dangers they are to encounter. This, my Lords, leads me of courſe to conſider, whether we have got, by the Convention now under our Conſideration, any Satisfaction, Security, or Reparation; and for this Purpoſe I ſhall go thro' the ſeveral Articles; but I muſt firſt obſerve, that with regard to Satisfaction, there is not one Article that relates to it: It is not ſo much as referred to the Plenipotentiaries to regulate what Satisfaction the *Spaniſh* Nation ſhall make us, for the many heinous Indignities they have put upon us: Nay we ſeem, by the very Preamble, to have given up all Title to it, by acknowledging, that the Grievances have been mutual. My Lords, I defy the moſt eloquent Advocate for *Spain*, to ſhew any one Grievance we have ſubjected them to, or any one Injury we have done them, ever ſince the Treaty of *Seville*. By that Treaty we did them a moſt ſingular Favour, at the Expence of our antient Ally the *Emperor*; and we have been heaping Favours upon Favours ever ſince: Therefore I muſt think it was a Sacrificing of the Truth, as well as the Honour of this Nation, to allow it to be ſaid in the Preamble, that

Grievances

Grievances were alledged *on each Side*, as well in the *Weſt-Indies*, as elſewhere.

Then, my Lords, with regard to our future Security, I muſt obſerve, that it is of two Kinds: It relates either to the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce, or to the free Enjoyment of our Poſſeſſions and Privileges in that Part of the World. As to the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce, the only Article that relates to it, is the firſt, and by that we have almoſt in expreſs Terms given it up; for as a noble Lord has obſerved before me, if it be regulated, it muſt be reſtrained, and that which is reſtrained, can no longer be ſaid to be free. I was ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that the *Spaniards* pretend to a Right of ſearching our Ships, only upon their own Coaſts. Do not we know that they ſearch them wherever they can meet with them in the *American* Seas? Do not ſeveral of the Petitions and other Papers we have before us ſhew, that they not only ſearch them many Leagues out at Sea, but pretend to make Prize of them, upon the ridiculous Pretence of their having contraband Goods on board? What the *Spaniards* may mean, or what the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt may mean, by their own Coaſts, I do not know: It is a Word that has no determined Signification; but whatever may be meant by the Word, it is certain that no Right or Dominion can be acquired to any Part of the Sea, no more than to any Part of the Land, but by Occupancy and Poſſeſſion, which muſt be declared by overt Acts; for a Nation's being in Poſſeſſion of the Land, gives them no Right to any Part of the neighbouring Sea; and I do not know that we have ever yet allowed the *Spaniards* to take Poſſeſſion, or to claim any Right to any Part of the Seas of *America*, without the Limits of their Ports or Havens. By the Treaty in 1670, we promiſed, 'tis true, that the Subjects of this Kingdom ſhould not ſail to and traffick in the Ports and Havens, that have Fortifications or Magazines, nor in any other Place poſſeſſed by the King of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*; but we did not promiſe, that our Ships ſhould not ſail along their Coaſts, nor did we give them a Right to ſearch ſuch Ships, or to preſcribe what Sort of Goods or Effects they ſhould have on board: Nay, we did not ſo much as give them a Right to ſearch any of our Ships, that ſhould be forced into any of their Ports in *America*, by Streſs of Weather, or any ſuch Accident: On the contrary, we expreſsly ſtipulated, that ſuch Ships ſhould be allowed to depart whenever they had a Mind, without any Lett or Moleſtation. Yet that Treaty, which now ſeems to be the utmoſt we aſpire to, was in thoſe Days thought ſo diſadvantageous for this Kingdom, that the Gentleman who negotiated and concluded it, durſt never return to *England*, tho' he was of a good Family, and had ſeveral conſiderable Relations, who might have procured him a *Quietus* for any Slip he had been guilty of in his Negotiations, if our Parliaments had then been as ready to overlook ſuch Slips, as ſome have been ſince that Time.

By the Treaty in 1670, my Lords, the *Spaniards* have no Right to ſearch any *Britiſh* Ship, even in their Ports in the *Weſt-Indies*, when ſuch Ship happens to be forced in there by any Sea Diſtreſs; and much leſs have they a Right to confiſcate Ship and Cargo, on account of her having *Spaniſh* Money, or *Spaniſh* Goods on board, unleſs they could prove that ſuch Money, or ſuch Goods, had by that Ship been taken on board from ſome of their Settlements. Nay, in *Old Spain*, where a free Trade is allowed, they are not to ſearch a *Britiſh* Ship, even in their Ports, till ſhe be

be unladed: They are only to put Cuſtom-houſe Officers, not exceeding three, on board, to ſee that while ſhe is unlading, no Goods ſhall be landed without paying the Duties; as appears from the 10th Article of the Treaty 1667. But now, it ſeems, we are reduced ſo low, that we muſt grant them a Right to ſearch our Ships within what they ſhall pleaſe to call their Sea Coaſts, that is to ſay, within Sight of any Land they ſhall pleaſe to call theirs in *America*; for that will be the Conſequence: If you fix it at one League, or two Leagues from the Shoar, their *Guarda Coſta's* will ſay, every *Britiſh* Ship that is within Sight of Land, is within one or two Leagues of the Shoar: Nay farther, we muſt grant them a Right, it ſeems, not only to ſearch, but to confiſcate Ship and Cargo, if upon ſuch Search, they find, or can ſteal, on board, two or three Pieces of *Spaniſh* Money, or any other Goods which they call the Produce of their Settlements in *America*. At this rate, my Lords, we muſt give up *Jamaica*, and all our Sugar Iſlands; for no Ship can ſail either to or from *Jamaica*, without coming upon what the *Spaniards* may call their Coaſts; and no Ship can return from *Barbadoes*, or any of our other Sugar Iſlands, without coming upon the Coaſts of ſome of thoſe Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, which the *Spaniards* call theirs; becauſe no Ship can return from thence, without coaſting along thoſe Iſlands, in order to get to the *Northward* of the Trade-winds, before they can bear away for any Part of *Europe*.

Therefore, my Lords, the allowing them a Right or Privilege to ſearch our Ships upon any Part of the Seas of *America*, or the allowing them a Right to confiſcate a *Britiſh* Ship, on account of her having any Effects on board, which they may call the Produce of their Settlements, even tho' ſuch Ship ſhould by Diſtreſs be drove into any of their Ports or Havens in that Part of the World, is what we can never grant. It is what we ought not to have negotiated about, and much leſs ought we to have referred it to Plenipotentiaries to be regulated; for if it be regulated, it muſt be eſtabliſhed; and we may judge from their late Behaviour, how well they will obſerve any Regulations it can be laid under.

From whence, my Lords, it appears, I think, moſt evidently, that inſtead of ſtipulating any Thing for the future Security of our Trade and Navigation in the *American* Seas, we have by this Convention almoſt expreſsly given up the Freedom both of our Trade and Navigation in thoſe Seas. But ſuppoſe their Right of ſearching and confiſcating *Britiſh* Ships, that may be found ſailing along their Coaſts in *America*, were to be eſtabliſhed, and put under certain Regulations, by the definitive Treaty that is to be concluded in purſuance of this Convention; ſurely, my Lords, conſidering the bad Uſe they have lately made of this pretended Right, we ought to have ſtipulated a Suſpenſion of the Exerciſe of this Right, till thoſe Regulations ſhould be ſettled and agreed on by a ſolemn Treaty. We might have ſtipulated, that in the mean Time they ſhould abſtain from ſearching *Britiſh* Ships on any Part of the Seas of *America*, and from confiſcating them, unleſs upon a full Proof of their having been concerned in an illicit Trade with their Settlements. But we are told, the *Spaniards* would have look'd upon this as a Stipulation for carrying on in the Interim a Sort of free Trade with their Settlements in that Part of the World; and farther we are told, that we could have no Occaſion for ſuch a Suſpenſion, becauſe we ſhall have a Squadron of Men of War

War there, that will be ſufficient to protect our Trade in the mean Time. This is really ſomething extraordinary; we muſt not ſtipulate a Suſpenſion, becauſe the *Spaniards* would look upon it as a Stipulation for a free Trade with their Settlements; but we may compel it, by Means of a ſuperior Squadron. My Lords, if they could have look'd upon a Stipulation for a Suſpenſion in ſuch a Light, will not they look upon our making uſe of a Squadron for ſuch a Purpoſe, as a compelling them to allow us a Sort of free Trade with their Settlements? And will not they look upon this as a Breach of this very Convention? Let us confeſs the Truth, my Lords, without any Subterfuge; they would grant us nothing that might in the leaſt derogate from any Right or Privilege they had a Mind to make uſe of; therefore they refuſed granting us a Suſpenſion in this Caſe; but they granted us a Suſpenſion with regard to their Fortifications and Improvements in *Florida*, becauſe it was a Right they had no Mind to make uſe of.

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that a Man may have a Right to an Eſtate, and yet his Enjoyment of that Eſtate may be reſtrained by ſome Right or Servitude (which is a more proper Word than Privilege) granted to another; but can that Man's Right to his Eſtate be full and abſolute? Can that which is under a Servitude be ſaid to be free? My Lords, every Thing that limits or reſtrains the Enjoyment of a Right, muſt in ſo far diminiſh or deſtroy the Right itſelf. We have a Right to a Navigation and Commerce in the *American* Seas: We have a Right to a Commerce with the Continent and Iſlands of *America*. The firſt is abſolute and free. Upon thoſe Seas no Nation in the World can ſay to us, What doſt thou? But with regard to our Commerce with the Continent and Iſlands of *America*, it is reſtrained. By the Treaty in 1670, we obliged ourſelves not to carry on any Commerce with thoſe Places in *America*, which are poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*; and this was the Reaſon we at that Time found ſo much Fault with that Treaty. Therefore we ought carefully to diſtinguiſh between thoſe two Rights. As to our Right of Navigation and Commerce in the *American* Seas, the *Spaniards* have no Right to limit or reſtrain it: I hope we ſhall never allow them, nor any Nation, to do ſo; tho' I am told the *French* have lately begun to uſurp ſuch a Right. As to our Commerce with the Continent and Iſlands of *America*, the *Spaniards* may reſtrain it: They may prevent our carrying on any Commerce in thoſe Places which they are in Poſſeſſion of; but they can reſtrain it no farther: They have no Buſineſs, nor any Right, to enquire what we do in any Part of *America*, which they are not in actual Poſſeſſion of. But if we approve of this Convention, and ſuch a definitive Treaty be concluded as may be expected, and dreaded, from ſuch a Preliminary, I do not know what Rights they may acquire. They may acquire the Right they pretend to; which is a Right to preſcribe to the Ships of *Great Britain*, what Courſe they ſhall ſteer, and what Goods they ſhall carry, from one Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions to another.

My Lords, it was a Conceſſion in us to allow them to exclude the Subjects of this Kingdom from carrying on any Commerce in their *American* Dominions: It was thought too great a Conceſſion when it was firſt granted. But, I hope, no *Britiſh* Subject will ſay, that we ought, or can allow them to make any Regulations at Sea for preventing ſuch a Commerce; and therefore, I was ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that we had

had not Time to ſettle ſuch Regulations, or to convince them of the Injuſtice of the Regulations they have made; for if they inſiſted upon making ſuch Regulations, or upon the Juſtice of thoſe they had made, the only proper Anſwer was, a Declaration of War; and this, I am convinced, is what it muſt at laſt come to. But ſuppoſe there had been ſome Difficulty in the Caſe at firſt; have we not had Time enough to underſtand one another? Have we not been negotiating about the very Points now in Diſpute between us, for ten or a dozen of Years, without Intermiſſion? Could not we know in all that Time what *Spain* would do, or how far they would diſclaim the Rights they have lately uſurp'd upon us? My Lords, I am convinced ſome of our Negotiators do know: I am convinced they know, that *Spain* will grant us no Security, nor diſclaim any Right they have lately ſet up, unleſs they are forced to it by a vigorous War; and therefore, I muſt look upon this Convention as a mere Contrivance for putting off the evil Day: An Expedient for this Seſſion; and the Prolongation of the Term hereby ſtipulated, will, I ſuppoſe, be an Expedient for the next, perhaps for two or three enſuing; during which the *Spaniards* will continue to plunder our Merchants, and interrupt our Trade as uſual.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the free Enjoyment of our Poſſeſſions and Privileges in *America*, the only Article that relates to it, is the 2d, and that relates only to *Georgia*; but how does it relate to it? By what, I am ſure, the *Spaniards* will call giving it up. If the *Spaniards* pretended to diſpute Limits with us, it was a moſt ridiculous Thing in us to allow that Diſpute to be carried ſo far as to the *Southern*, perhaps near the moſt *Northern* Bounds of *North-Carolina*. It was the ſame as if we had ſat down to Hazard, and had ſtaked *North-Carolina*, *South-Carolina*, and *Georgia*, againſt the inſignificant *Spaniſh* Fort called *Fort-Auguſtine*; for that is the only Fort or Settlement the *Spaniards* have in *Florida*. I ſhall grant the Suſpenſion ſtipulated in this Article is mutual, but, my Lords, it is far from being equal. We ſuſpend fortifying or improving three large Countries or Provinces already planted, already greatly improved, already inhabited by Numbers of our own People, and which we were reſolved to fortify and improve as faſt as poſſible. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* are to ſuſpend fortifying and improving one ſingle Province, not ſo large as any one of our three, and that, a Country entirely waſte, or inhabited only by ſuch as are their Enemies, except one little Fort, and a Country which they had no Intention either to plant, improve, or fortify. But is *Georgia* the only Poſſeſſion or Privilege we have in *America*, which the *Spaniards* now pretend to diſpute with us? Why is there no Mention made of our antient Settlement in *Campechey*? Of our Right to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Honduras*? Or of our Right to gather Salt in the Iſland of *Tortugas*? Are theſe Poſſeſſions and Rights which are not worth contending for? Or are they to be given up, or relinquiſhed, for the ſake of an infamous Peace? It would ſeem ſo by this preliminary Convention; and therefore I muſt conclude, that inſtead of ſtipulating any future Security for the free Enjoyment of our Poſſeſſions and Privileges in *America*, we have, tacitly at leaſt, given up by this Convention, every Poſſeſſion, every Right, every Privilege, which the *Spaniards* now pretend to diſpute with us in any Part of *America*.

In lieu of theſe moſt extraordinary Conceſſions, one might expect, my Lords, that we had got the moſt ample, the moſt compleat Repara-

tion

tion for all the Damages we have ſuſtained, and all the extraordinary Expence we were put to; but we were too modeſt, it ſeems, to aſk any Reimburſement of Coſts; and if the Payment ſtipulated by the 3d Article, which has been ſo much boaſted of, be cloſely examined, and ſtript of that artful Diſguiſe in which it is dreſſed up, we ſhall find that we have given a free Diſcharge for all paſt Damages, without obtaining one Shilling of Reparation, except as to what relates to four or five Ships, which the King of *Spain* had ordered to be reſtored, before this Convention was thought of. But this has been put in ſo clear a Light by the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt but one, that I need not enlarge upon it; and therefore, I ſhall only take Notice of ſome Things, that fell from the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt. He was pleaſed to tell us, that the *Spaniards* made a Demand of 5 or 600,000*l.* upon us, and ſeemed highly to commend our Dexterity at Negotiation, in prevailing upon them to accept of 60,000*l.* in full of ſuch a high Demand. My Lords, if there was not the leaſt Pretence for ſetting up any Demand againſt us, we ought to have looked upon their ſetting up ſuch a Demand, as a freſh Inſult; and therefore, inſtead of allowing any Part of it, we ought to have rejected it with Contempt. The 95,000*l.* ſtipulated in this Article, is therefore the only Sum we are to receive by Way of Reparation; and of this Sum our own *South-Sea* Company is to pay 68,000*l.* for whatever the noble Lord may think of the King of *Spain*'s Proteſtation, as he declares, that under the Validity and Force of that Proteſt he ſigned this Convention, I am convinced he looks upon the Payment of that Money by our *South-Sea* Company, as the Condition upon which alone he ſtands obliged to pay the 95,000*l.* ſtipulated by this Article; and I will engage, that not one Shilling of the 95,000*l.* ſhall be paid to us by the King of *Spain*, unleſs the 68,000*l.* be firſt paid to him by our Company. Therefore all the Reparation the King of *Spain* is to make, is the 27,000*l.* which is the Difference between 95 and 68,000*l.* And for this 27,000*l.* his Catholick Majeſty, or his Subjects, are to retain Poſſeſſion of, and convert to their own Uſe, the five *Britiſh* Ships which he had before ordered to be reſtored; for by the fourth Article of this Treaty, if any Part of any of theſe Ships has been, or ſhall be reſtored, it is to be deducted out of the 95,000*l.*

This, my Lords, is really ſuch a Juggle, ſuch a farcial Sort of Reparation, that I cannot but imagine, that when *M. de la Quadra* found our Negotiators willing to accept of it, he went ſmiling to his Maſter, and told him, he had got the *Engliſh* to accept of ſuch a ſham Reparation, as no *Indian* Nation in *America* would have been amuſed with. Well, ſays his Catholick Majeſty, what have you done with the Poltroons? Their Merchants are to have 155,000*l.* in full for all the Depredations your Subjects have committed upon them for almoſt twenty Years paſt, anſwers the Miniſter. What, replies the Sovereign, 155,000*l.* how can you pay it? for I will not give them one ſingle Farthing. No, no, ſays the Miniſter, 60,000*l.* one Part of it, they are to raiſe by a Tax upon themſelves; 68,000*l.* another Part of it, their *South-Sea* Company is to give me, and I am to return it to ſuch Commiſſaries as they ſhall appoint, for diſtributing it among their Merchants; and for the remaining 27,000*l.* they are to allow your Majeſty to keep the five Ships and their Cargoes, which you had given Orders to reſtore: Now as theſe Ships were certainly moſt unjuſtly taken, and more unjuſtly con-

fiſcated, the Captors muſt now account to your Majeſty, inſtead of accounting to the *Engliſh*, for the full Value, which I reckon will amount to at leaſt 35,000*l.* ſo that inſtead of your paying them any Thing for Reparation, they have, in Effect, paid you at leaſt 8000*l.* for giving them the Pretence of a Reparation. My Lords, *M. de la Quadra* may have ſome private Reaſons for not looking upon our Negotiators as downright Fools; but if we approve of ſuch a Reparation, I am ſure the *Spaniſh* Nation will have Reaſon to look with greater Contempt upon this, than upon any Nation of native *Indians* in *America*.

After having thus ſhewn, that we have got no Reparation by this Convention, we need not, I think, my Lords, much trouble our Heads about the Value put upon our Loſſes by our Commiſſaries; but, I think it ſufficient for diſcrediting their Report, that one of them who was examined at our Bar, could give no diſtinct Reaſon for reducing the Claim of our Merchants from above 400,000*l.* to 200,000*l.* If they had vouchſafed to have given us any Reaſons for ſuch an extraordinary Reduction, I am convinced it would have been eaſy to have ſhewn, that their Reaſons were frivolous; and till they do aſſign their Reaſons, every Man muſt ſuppoſe they had no Reaſon; for the Characters of our Merchants who gave in their Claims, many of them, if not all, upon Oath, are as good as the Characters of our Commiſſaries. But ſuppoſe the Reduction made by our Commiſſaries had been juſt, the Value of the five Ships mentioned in the 4th Article of this Convention, or at leaſt of the four laſt, could be no Part of the 200,000*l.* at which they computed our real Loſſes; becauſe the four Ships laſt mentioned, were taken ſince our Commiſſaries returned from *Spain*; and the firſt mentioned, I mean the *Woolhall*, was taken long after the Treaty of *Seville*, and could therefore be no Part of any of thoſe Pretenſions, that were referred to Commiſſaries by that Treaty. For this Reaſon, if the 95,000*l.* to be paid by the King of *Spain* and our *South-Sea* Company, had been look'd on, as a Reparation for that 200,000*l.* only, we ought to have ſtipulated the entire Reſtitution of theſe five Ships, without allowing any Deduction from the 95,000*l.* on Account of that Reſtitution; but in this Caſe, the King of *Spain* muſt have paid us out of his own Pocket 27,000*l.* by Way of Reparation for 200,000*l.* which was, it ſeems, what he was reſolved not to do; and therefore, by this Article, we have allowed him to keep theſe five Ships, which he had before agreed to reſtore.

This, my Lords, was, I ſhall allow, extremely complaiſant, and ſince we ſhew'd ſo much Complaiſance to him in the Point of Reparation, he ſhould, I think, in good Manners, have ſhewed ſome Complaiſance to us in the Point of future Security; but his Catholick Majeſty, it ſeems, in every Point, acted the Part of a ſtubborn, haughty *Spaniard*, and we, I do not know what. In former Days, my Lords, we uſed to be as ſtubborn as any of our Neighbours; and to ſhew that we were ſo, as the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt was pleaſed to mention the Treaty between *Oliver Cromwell* and the *Dutch*, I ſhall beg Leave to examine that Treaty, becauſe the Circumſtances of the then Diſputes between us and the *Dutch*, were ſomething parallel to the Diſputes now ſubſiſting between us and *Spain*. The *Dutch*, 'tis true, had not for many Years before done us any Injury, nor had they any Way interrupted our Trade; but in a former Reign, in which the only Maxim of Government was, That Peace was better than War, as it ſeems to be at preſent, the *Dutch* had

had done us a very heinous Injury, which had never been properly reſented; and they had begun to diſpute with us the Honour of the Flag. Therefore, our Demands upon the *Dutch* were, That they ſhould give us Satisfaction for the Inſult they had many Years before put upon us, Reparation for the Damage they had done, and Security for our future unmoleſted Enjoyment of that Right, called the Honour of the Flag.

How did *Oliver Cromwell*, my Lords, provide for theſe ſeveral Demands, by the Treaty he made with the *Dutch*? By the 27th Article it was expreſsly provided, That the United Provinces ſhould take Care, that Juſtice be done upon thoſe who were Partakers or Accomplices in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, provided any of them be living. I muſt obſerve, my Lords, that this Proviſo was neceſſary; becauſe this Maſſacre was perpetrated in the peaceable Reign of *James* I. above 30 Years before this Treaty. Then with regard to Reparation, *Oliver*'s Negotiators did not lump it, as our preſent Negotiators have done by this Convention; no, my Lords, the Quantum of that Reparation was, by the 30th Article of the ſame Treaty, to be adjuſted by Commiſſaries, reſpectively appointed, who were to meet, not in *Holland*, but at *London*, and to determine it in 3 Months, or upon their Failure, it was referred to the Proteſtant *Swiſs* Cantons, who were to give Judgment within 6 Months; and we know that the *Dutch* actually paid a very large Sum of Money upon this Account. Laſtly, with regard to our future Security: Tho' it related to nothing but a Point of Honour, *Oliver* knew well the great Conſequence of a trading Nation's being jealous of its Honour; and therefore he took Care not to refer ſuch a Point to Commiſſaries; for by the 13th Article of that Treaty, it was expreſsly provided, That the Ships and Veſſels of the ſaid United Provinces, *as well thoſe of War as others*, which ſhould meet any of the Men of War of the Republick of *England* in the *Britiſh* Seas, ſhould ſtrike the Flag to them, in the ſame Manner as was ever obſerved at any Time before, under any former Government.

As to the 10,000*l.* mentioned by the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, it was not paid on Account of any Damage done to this Nation before the War commenced. It was paid, my Lords, on Account of ſome *Engliſh* Ships, that had been ſeized and detained in the Dominions of the King of *Denmark*, after the Commencement of the War; and as they were ſeized at the Inſtances of the *Dutch*, *Oliver* inſiſted, that the *Dutch* ſhould make good the Loſs; and accordingly, by the 28th Article of the ſame Treaty, a Stipulation was made for this Purpoſe, which deſerves our particular Notice upon this Occaſion. By this Stipulation, the States General obliged themſelves, that thoſe Ships and Goods, which were remaining in Specie, together with the true Value of thoſe that had been ſold, embezzeled, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, ſhould be reſtored, within a Fortnight after the Arrival of thoſe who were to go to reclaim them; and alſo, that the Loſſes which had accrued to the *Engliſh*, by their being detained, ſhould be made good, according to an Appraiſement to be made by Commiſſaries therein named; which Commiſſaries were to meet on the 27th of *June*, a little more than 2 Months after the Ratification of the Treaty, at *London*; and after the firſt Day of *Auguſt* then next enſuing, unleſs they agreed beforehand, they were to be ſhut up in a Room ſeparate from all other Perſons, *without Fire, Candle, Meat, Drink, or other Support*, till they had agreed of the Matters to

them referred. The States likewiſe obliged themſelves to pay 5000*l.* within two Days after the Exchange of the Ratifications, to the Merchants, for the Expence of their Voyage to *Denmark*, to reclaim their Ships; and 5000*l.* more, within ſix Days after their Arrival there, for refitting and repairing their Ships for their Return. And for the Performance of theſe Conditions, they farther obliged themſelves, that Bond ſhould be given by ſufficient Men, *living here at London*, for 140,000*l.* The 10,000*l.* mentioned by his Lordſhip was therefore only a Part of the Reparation that was to be made for this particular Damage; for we know, that the Commiſſaries, by their Award, dated the 31th of *July* that Year, the Day before they were to have been incloſed, declared, that the whole Damage amounted to 97,973*l.* which was accordingly paid at *London*, and diſtributed among thoſe concerned.

I wiſh, my Lords, our late Negotiators had read this Treaty: They might from thence have ſeen what was meant by Satisfaction, Reparation and Security; for, I think, I have now clearly ſhewn, that, by this Convention, we have obtained no Satisfaction, no Security, no Reparation, nor ſo much as a Promiſe for any one of them. On the contrary, we have, by this Preliminary, either expreſsly or tacitly, given every one of them up; and ſhall a *Britiſh* Parliament approve of ſuch a Treaty? Shall the *Britiſh* Nation hug itſelf in the precarious Enjoyment of ſuch an infamous Tranquillity? Where can a *Britiſh* Merchant go to carry on any foreign Trade? What foreign Port can a *Britiſh* Ship put into? They muſt expect to be inſulted, abuſed, and plundered, by every Nation they deal with; and under ſuch a Misfortune, can we expect to improve the Circumſtances of our Affairs either at home or abroad? My Lords, by our late Conduct we have brought ourſelves into a Neceſſity of going to War, let the Conſequence be never ſo fatal. A Man who ſubmits tamely to a ſmall Affront, is ſure to meet with a heinous one; and then he muſt fight; whereas if he had reſented the firſt with Spirit, he might have obtained Satisfaction without Danger, and would have prevented his meeting with a ſecond. If we had properly reſented the firſt Injury we met with from *Spain*, if upon the firſt Inſult or Incroachment, we had peremptorily demanded Satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable Means; but now it is become too weighty for Negotiation: We can find it only at the Point of our Sword; and there, I truſt in God, we ſhall ſtill be able to find both Satisfaction and Security.

After what I have ſaid, my Lords, I think, I have no Occaſion to conſider our Circumſtances, either at home or abroad; becauſe I have, I believe, made it appear, that a War is become unavoidable, unleſs we have a Mind to continue under ſuch an infamous Peace, as muſt render our Circumſtances every Day worſe and worſe. Nor do I think, that, upon the preſent Queſtion, I have any Occaſion to enquire into the Cauſe of the preſent unhappy Situation of the Affairs of this Nation, or of *Europe*; but if it were neceſſary, I believe, I could ſhew that it is entirely owing to the Meaſures we have followed for almoſt theſe twenty Years. I could ſhew that the ſame Conduct, which has now at laſt made a War unavoidable, has rendered us almoſt incapable of carrying it on with Vigour or Succeſs; but, thank God, we are not yet altogether ſo: This Nation has many and great Reſources; and if they are put under a right Conduct, we may ſtill be able to recover our Friends, and revenge ourſelves

of our Enemies; therefore, I hope, no Man will ſo far deſpair, as to approve of any Preliminary, that may lead us into an infamous Treaty of Peace.

The laſt that ſpoke in this Day's Debate, was L. Icilius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

WHATEVER Influence Wit or Eloquence may have upon this Aſſembly, however improper it may be to make uſe of either in this Houſe, it muſt be acknowledged, that a great deal of both has been made uſe of upon this Occaſion; and I muſt ſay, that in this Debate, a Sort of Eloquence has been made uſe of, which may be frequent at a certain Place at t'other End of the Town, but cannot, I am ſure, be ſaid to be either proper or decent in this Aſſembly; for a great many very harſh Epithets have been given to the Convention now before us, which, conſidering the Place where we are, I think, 'twould have been better to have let alone, even tho' the Convention had been as bad as it has been repreſented; but 'twill be found, I believe, upon a ſerious Examination, that they are ſuch as it no Way deſerves. By endeavouring to ſhew this, I do not know, but that, in the Humour ſome Lords ſeem to be in at preſent, I may be called an Advocate for *Spain*, as well as ſome other Lords who have ſpoke before me upon the ſame Side of the Queſtion; but whatever I may be called, either within Doors or without, I am reſolved, while I ſit here, to ſpeak my Sentiments freely, and to declare openly, what, I think, will conduce moſt to the Service of my King, and the Good of my Country. This is my Duty, this is the Duty of every Member of this Houſe, and therefore, I think it as wrong to affect Popularity upon any Occaſion, by chiming in with thoſe Prejudices which may have been accidentally taken up, or artfully raiſed, among the People, as it is to ſhew a blind or a ſlaviſh Complaiſance to the Miniſters of the Crown.

Whether we have got a proper Satisfaction, or a full Reparation, for the Injuries that have been done to us, are Queſtions that have been ſo fully ſpoke to by the noble Lords who have already ſpoke in Favour of this Convention: By them it has been ſo clearly demonſtrated, that we could not expect, nor ought to have inſiſted upon greater Satisfaction or Reparation, from a Nation whoſe Friendſhip we ought to court, that it would be vain, if not arrogant in me, to attempt to ſet that Matter in a clearer Light. Beſides, my Lords, theſe are Articles which in all Negotiations admit of a little yielding or ſoftning, and particularly in our Negotiations with *Spain*, we ought never to allow them to be of any extraordinary Weight. If we can get the other Diſputes, which now ſubſiſt between *Spain* and us, adjuſted to our Satisfaction: If we can obtain a reaſonable Security for the future unmoleſted Enjoyment of our Navigation and Commerce in the *American* Seas, I think it would be prudent in us to yield a little upon the Head of Satisfaction and Reparation: At leaſt, I muſt think it would be very imprudent in us to engage in a War with *Spain*, and at this Juncture too, for the ſake of having a *Spaniſh* Governor, or Captain of *Guarda Coſta*, hanged, as many of them certainly deſerve for their Behaviour towards us; or for the ſake of obtaining 50, or even a 100,000*l.* more, for making good the Damages our Merchants have ſuſtained.

The Article of Search or no Search, is therefore that which we ought principally to regard in our preſent Conteſt with *Spain*; and this,

this, my Lords, I must observe, is a mutual Claim. We pretend to a Right of searching the Ships, even of Foreigners, upon our own Coasts, as well as the *Spaniards* do upon theirs, especially when there are Grounds to suspect, that any such Ship has been employed, or is going to be employed, in carrying on an unlawful Trade with our Subjects, or in our Dominions. It is a Sort of Liberty we take, it is a Sort of Liberty every Nation takes, *Hanc petimus damusque vicissim*; and neither the *Spaniards* nor we have given it up, by referring it to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries. Nay, even in the open Seas, in the Middle of the wide Ocean, if one of our Men of War should, upon visiting a Ship they meet with, find Cause to suspect, that her Passports or Sea-Letters were forged, or should find Cause to suspect from what they saw on board, that the Ship had been concerned in any piratical Practices, I believe they would take the Liberty to break thro' the Rules prescribed by Treaties for visiting Ships at Sea, and would search such a Ship, in order to discover whether their Suspicions were well or ill grounded. This is a Liberty which the armed Ships of every Country take, even upon the high Seas; it is a Liberty which every Country must indulge to another, for the sake of discovering and apprehending Pirates; therefore, it is a Liberty that no Nation can complain of, unless when it is turned to a bad Use, and then it is not the Right or Liberty, but the Use made of it, that affords a just Cause of Complaint.

The Liberty of searching the Ships of Foreigners upon the high Seas, on Suspicion of Piracy, is a Liberty that is established and regulated by the Law of Nations alone; but the Liberty which every Nation enjoys, of searching, on Suspicion of unlawful Trade, the Ships of Foreigners that approach near to their Coasts without any Necessity, is a Liberty that is not only established by the Law of Nations, but is generally regulated by the particular Laws or Customs of each respective Society. In this Country it is established and regulated not only by immemorial Custom, but by several Acts of Parliament; and it is impossible for us, by any Precautions we can take at Land, to prevent the Exportation of our Wool, the Importation of prohibited Goods, or the clandestine Running of Goods in upon us without paying the Duties, unless we take the Liberty of searching such Ships, upon our own Coasts, as give just Cause to suspect their being concerned in, or designed for, some such unlawful Trade. This, my Lords, has been found by Experience to be true; and therefore by an Act of the 10th and 11th of the late King *William*, it was provided, That our Admiralty should appoint two fifth Rate, and two sixth Rate Ships, and eight armed Sloops, to cruize on the Coasts of *England* and *Ireland*, to seize all Ships and Vessels, exporting Wool to foreign Parts. Now, my Lords, if any of the Men of War, or armed Sloops thus employed, should see a *French* Ship hovering, or lying at Anchor, within a few Leagues of our Shoar, and Boats passing and repassing between her and the Land, are we to suppose that they are only to visit such Ship, according to the Rules prescribed by Treaty, and to give entire Credit to her Passports, or Sea-Letters? If they did, they would always find her bound from some Port of *France*, to some Port in *Norway* or the *Baltick*; or from some Port in *Norway* or the *Baltick*, to some Port of *France*; yet, nevertheless, she might be half loaded with our Wool, and waiting at that Place for the rest of her Cargo; therefore, in such Cases it is absolutely necessary

ſary to make ſome Sort of Search, and we have always done ſo, without any Nation's having complained of our making, by ſuch a Practice, any Incroachment upon the Freedom of their Navigation or Commerce.

The Caſe, my Lords, is the ſame with regard to Smuggling: It was found by Experience, that all the Precautions we could take at Land, could not prevent that pernicious Trade, and therefore we have, by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, enforced and regulated the Right we have by the Law of Nations, of ſearching, as well as viſiting, ſuch foreign Ships as approach our Coaſts, and give juſt Cauſe for ſuſpecting their being concerned in, or deſigned for carrying on any contraband Trade. For this Reaſon, we ought to be cautious of denying this Liberty or Privilege to any Nation; for if we do, every Nation in *Europe* will ſay to us, *With what Meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again:* As you will not allow us to ſearch your Ships upon our Coaſts, we will not allow you to ſearch our Ships upon your Coaſts; and if by this Means we ſhould be debarred ſearching any foreign Ship upon our own Coaſts, it would be impoſſible for us to prevent Smuggling, or the Exportation of our Wool. Not only the *Dutch* and *French*, but all Nations that had any Uſe for it, would ſoon fall upon Ways and Means to ſteal away from us as much of our Wool as they could have Occaſion for, to the great Prejudice, if not the utter Ruin, of our Woollen Manufacture.

This, my Lords, would be a much greater Loſs to us, than the Exporting of Gold or Silver from *Spain*, or from the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, can be to that Nation. For in their preſent Circumſtances, it is ridiculous in them to prohibit the Exportation of that Commodity. If they could make their Prohibition effectual: If they could abſolutely prevent the Exportation of Gold or Silver from any Part of their Dominions, they would in their preſent Circumſtances ſoon come to be like *Midas* in the Fable: Many of them would have nothing to eat, drink, or cloath themſelves with, but Gold or Silver; and then they would be glad to give every Nation a Licence to export both the one and the other, in order to have thoſe Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life they ſtand in need of, and cannot have in their own Dominions. This we know to be often the Caſe of ſome of their Settlements in *America*; and when it is, their Governors always ſend Licences to ſome of our Plantations, not only to come and trade in the *Spaniſh* Settlements, but to export Gold and Silver, and whatever elſe they pleaſe to take, in return for the Proviſions or Neceſſaries they carry thither.

But with regard to our Wool, my Lords, the Caſe is very different. It is a Commodity much more valuable than Gold or Silver; becauſe it is a Commodity abſolutely neceſſary, or at leaſt extremely convenient, for all Nations that live at any Diſtance from the Torrid-Zone; and as it muſt be manufactured, before it can be fit for Uſe, a great many induſtrious and faithful Subjects are always imployed in that Manufacture. Now as we do not prohibit the Exportation of it when manufactured, but on the contrary, encourage it as much as we can, the Exportation of it, when fully manufactured, will, I hope, be always ſufficient for furniſhing us with every Thing we ſtand in Need of, for Luxury, as well as Neceſſity and Conveniency, from any Country in the World; therefore we can never be under any Neceſſity to export it unmanufactured; and as none of our Neighbours can carry on Woollen Manu-

Manufactures, eſpecially thoſe of the middling Sort, without having ſome of our Wool to mix up with their own, as the Manufacturing for our Neighbours, as well as ourſelves, muſt employ a great many more Hands, and bring a greater Advantage to the Nation, than if we were to manufacture for ourſelves alone, we ought to take all poſſible Methods for preventing the Exportation of this Commodity, till it has been fully manufactured by our own People.

This, my Lords, ſhews the Wiſdom of thoſe Regulations we have made both by Land and Sea, for preventing the Exportation of our Wool; and at the ſame Time it muſt ſhew how unwiſe it would be in us, to introduce among the Nations of *Europe*, any political Maxim, which, if we were obliged to obſerve it ourſelves, might render it extremely difficult, if not altogether impoſſible, for us, to prevent our Wool's being ſtolen away from us; and that this would be the Conſequence, if we were to abſtain from ſearching any foreign Ship upon our own Coaſts, Experience itſelf muſt convince us. But this, my Lords, is not the only Inconvenience we ſhould be liable to at preſent, if we ſhould be obliged to give up, or paſs from this Right of ſearching Ships upon our own Coaſts; for while our preſent high Duties continue upon all foreign Goods imported, it would be impoſſible for us to prevent Smuggling, without the Exerciſe of this Right; and if we take ſuch a Liberty with the Ships of neighbouring Nations upon our Coaſts, we muſt allow them to take ſome ſuch Liberty with our Ships upon their Coaſts; otherwiſe we may run the Riſk of uniting all the Powers of *Europe* in an Aſſociation againſt us.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, the Queſtion, Whether we ought to allow the *Spaniards* a Right or Privilege to ſearch, upon juſt Grounds of Suſpicion, any of our Ships that ſhall approach their Coaſts without Neceſſity, ſeems to be a Queſtion that may admit of ſome Sort of Difficulty. They may inſiſt upon it, as a Right derived to them from the Law of Nations, and confirmed by our own Practice in ſimilar Caſes; and it is a Privilege which we may allow them, without acknowledging that they have any Thing like an *Imperium Maris*, with regard to the Seas of *America*. As for this *Imperium Maris*, or Dominion of the Seas, there may be ſome ſuch Thing, for what I know: I believe we have a juſt Pretence to ſuch a Dominion, with regard to the *Britiſh* Seas; but I muſt obſerve, that a very great Author has ſaid, that it is rather to be imagined than explained. It is a Subject that has employed the Pens of many learned and ingenious Men; but they differ ſo much from one another, and ſometimes from themſelves, that there is no Poſſibility of forming a certain and diſtinct Notion of it from what they have wrote upon the Subject. They have divided and ſubdivided it a great many different ways; which it would be needleſs, as well as tedious, to give an Acconnt of; but the moſt material Diviſion I have taken notice of is that by which it has been divided into *Imperium Proximum* and *Imperium Remotum*; the former being that *Imperium* which a Nation may acquire and every Nation pretends to, upon what they call their own Coaſts; and the latter, that which a Nation may acquire upon what we call the open Seas, either by Treaty, or by the tacit Conceſſion and long Sufferance of its Neighbours.

But here again, my Lords, a new Difficulty occurs; for, what may be called the Coaſts, or what may be called the open Seas, is a Queſtion

that is not determined by the Authors that have wrote upon the Subject, nor has it lately been determined by Treaty, so far as I know, between any two Nations in *Europe*. The greatest Authority I can think of, that can any Way be made use of for determining this Point, is that famous Decree or Resolution of the Senate of *Rome*, by which they gave to the Great *Pompey* the Command or Government of the Sea, for suppressing those Pirates that then infested the *Mediterranean*; for, as by that Decree, they extended his Command or *Imperium* as far as 400 *Stadia*, which is about 13 or 14 Leagues, over the whole Continent or Land adjoining to the Sea, it may be supposed, they reckoned that the Sea Coast, which always includes Land as well as Sea, extended 14 Leagues up the Country, and consequently 14 Leagues out at Sea. But no modern Nation will, I believe, admit that what we now call Sea Coast can be either Way so far extended.

Having thus shewn what the *Spaniards* may say in Favour of the Right or Privilege they pretend to have, of searching, as well as visiting our Ships, upon what they call their Coasts in *America*, when such Ships, by their approaching too near, or by other Tokens, give Cause to suspect, that they are concerned, or designed to be concerned in some illicit Trade, I shall now, my Lords, endeavour to shew what may be said on our Side. With regard to any Liberty or Privilege we may take with the Ships of Foreigners sailing upon the *British* Seas, we may justly say, my Lords, that no Argument can from hence be drawn, in Favour of any Right the *Spaniards* may pretend to in the Seas of *America*; because we have an *Imperium* or Dominion over the *British* Seas, established by us by Custom immemorial, and acknowledged by almost all the Nations of *Europe*: Whereas the *Spaniards* can pretend to no such *Imperium* over the *American* Seas, nor ought we to allow them to exercise any Liberty or Privilege that may be a Foundation for their claiming such an *Imperium* in any future Time. Then with regard to what may be called the Sea Coast of any Country, we may say, that, by the Law of Nations, nothing ought to be called Sea Coast that is within the common Course of sailing from one Country to another; and that therefore nothing but Creeks or small Bays ought to be reckoned within the Sea Coasts of any Country, or such Places in the Sea which are so land-lock'd that no Ship would chuse to get within them, unless she be drove thither by Stress of Weather, or has some other Design than that of sailing along the Coasts of that Country. This, I say, my Lords, we may insist on as the general Rule for determining what may be called the Sea Coasts of any Country; and this ought to be the Rule in the *American* Seas, especially within the Tropicks, rather than any other, because the Winds and Currents in that Part of the World, not only make Ships chuse, but even force them to sail along, almost close in with the Shore of some of the Islands or Continent of *America*, as has been extremely well explained by a noble Lord, who spoke some time since upon the other Side of the Question.

To this, my Lords, we may add, that tho' an *Imperium* or Dominion may be acquired over some Seas, or some particular Parts of the Ocean, yet that Dominion, like Property in Lands, must be acquired by some overt Acts, which declare the Intention of the Possessor, and the Cession or Resignation of the rest of Mankind; and as no such overt Acts have ever been done by the *Spaniards*, and peaceably submitted to for any Time by other Nations, in

the Seas of *America*, therefore thoſe Seas ought to be look'd on as a large Common, lying between the *Spaniſh* Dominions and ours, no Part of which they can appropriate, nor aſſume any Juriſdiction over it, without our Conſent; and I am ſure we may juſtly ſay, that the late Behaviour of ſome of their *Guarda Coſta's*, and the Delays we have met with in obtaining Juſtice from their Court, have given us a very good Reaſon, never to allow them to aſſume the leaſt Degree of Juriſdiction in any Part of the *American* Seas, where our Ships may be obliged, or have Occaſion to ſail.

From what I have mentioned, my Lords, of the Arguments that may be made uſe of upon both Sides of the Queſtion, I believe it will appear, that the real Diſpute between *Spain* and us, I mean that which is of the greateſt Conſequence, is not about our Right to a free Navigation and Commerce in the *American* Seas, but about their Right to ſearch Ships upon what may be called their own Coaſts. The Right to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries, reſpectively appointed by this Preliminary, is not our Right to a free Navigation and Commerce in thoſe Seas, but their Right to do what every Nation does, I mean, to viſit, and even to ſearch, upon juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, ſuch Ships as come within what may be called their Sea Coaſts; and it is their late Behaviour, not ours, that makes the regulating of this Right neceſſary. They have lately extended what they call their Sea Coaſts ſo far out in the Ocean; and they have ſearched ſo many of our Ships without Cauſe of Suſpicion, and confiſcated ſo many of them without any Pretence of Juſtice, that it is become neceſſary to lay them under ſome Reſtraints and Regulations; and theſe Reſtraints and Regulations are to be ſettled and agreed on by the Plenipotentiaries reſpectively appointed. That they have Sea Coaſts in *America*, is what no Man will deny, and that they have ſome Sort of Power or Juriſdiction over thoſe Sea Coaſts, is what, I think, can be as little denied. Nay, we ſeem to have acknowledged it by Treaty; for as our *South-Sea* Company got, by the *Aſſiento* Treaty or Contract, the ſole Privilege of introducing Negroes into the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, it was by the 18th Article of that Treaty agreed, That when the *Aſſientiſts* ſhould have Notice that any Ship with Negroes (not belonging to them) was *come upon the Coaſt*, or entered into any Port, they might fit out, arm, and ſend out immediately ſuch Veſſels as they ſhould have of their own, or any others belonging to his Catholick Majeſty, or his Subjects, with whom they ſhould agree, to take, ſeize, and confiſcate ſuch Ships and their Negroes, of whatever Nation or Perſon they might be, to whom the ſame ſhould belong; to which End the ſaid *Aſſientiſts*, and their Factors, ſhould have Liberty to take Cognizance of, *and ſearch all Ships and Veſſels that ſhould come upon the Coaſts of India*, or into its Ports, in which they ſhould have Reaſon to believe, or ſuſpect, that there were contraband Negroes. Provided always, that for the making of ſuch Searches, Viſits, and other Proceedings before mentioned, they ſhould firſt have Leave from the Governors, to whom they ſhould communicate what occurred, and deſire them to interpoſe their Authority.

Theſe, my Lords, are the Words of the Treaty; and if the Court of *Spain* could delegate a Power to our *South-Sea* Company to ſearch ſuch Ships as came upon the Coaſts of *India*, in which they ſhould ſuſpect there were contraband Negroes, and by our accepting of this Article we have acknowledged they could

ſurely

ſurely we muſt allow, that they have a Power to ſearch ſuch Ships as come upon the Coaſts of *India*, in which they may ſuſpect there are any other Sort of contraband Goods; by which I mean, and by which they can only, with any Juſtice or Propriety, mean, ſuch Goods as are deſigned to be imported into, or have been exported from, their Settlements in *India*, contrary to the excluſive Privilege enjoyed by the Subjects of *Spain*, and confirmed to them by the Treaties ſubſiſting between them and us. This Power, my Lords, I ſay, we muſt allow them; but we muſt not allow them to make a bad Uſe of it, or to extend what they call their Coaſts, ſo far as may give their *Guarda Coſta's* a Pretence to interrupt our lawful Trade or Commerce in thoſe Seas; and as they have done ſo for ſome Time paſt, it is become neceſſary for us to lay this Power under ſuch Regulations, as may prevent ſuch Practices in Time to come: This, I hope, will be done by the definitive Treaty that is to be concluded; but as the contriving and ſettling theſe Regulations required a moſt mature and ſerious Deliberation, it could not be done ſo as to make them a Part of this preliminary Treaty; and therefore it was neceſſary to refer this Matter to the Plenipotentiaries.

What Liberty we may allow to the *Spaniards*, with regard to ſearching our Ships at Sea, or upon what they call their own Coaſts, or whether or no we ought to allow them any ſuch Liberty, or if we do allow it, what Reſtraints and Regulations it ought to be ſubjected to, are Queſtions, my Lords, that cannot, I think, come before us upon this Occaſion: All I deſign by what I have ſaid upon this Head, is to ſhew, that the Diſpute between the *Spaniards* and us, about Search or no Search, is of ſuch a Nature, that it could not be immediately determined. If we had been at War with *Spain*, and had reduced them to ſuch Diſtreſs, that they muſt have agreed to any Thing we thought fit to propoſe, the Diſpute might have been eaſily ended; becauſe, as it would be our Intereſt to have a *free* Trade to the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, as we ſhall always reap the more Advantage, the more Trade our Subjects have with them, therefore, if we cannot obtain a *free* Trade, it is our Intereſt not to admit of any Thing that may prevent or obſtruct an *illicit* Trade; and for this Reaſon, if we had prevailed ſo far as to have the drawing up of the Articles of Peace, if the *Spaniards* had been forced to preſent us with a *Carte Blanche*, we ought certainly to have ſtipulated no Search any where but in their Ports or Harbours, when our Ships happened to be forced in there by Sea Diſtreſs. But this, my Lords, was not our Caſe when this Treaty was negotiated: We were treating upon equal Terms: We were negotiating to prevent a dangerous War, and not to put an End to a ſucceſsful one; and in theſe Circumſtances it was impoſſible for us to adjuſt and finally ſettle a Diſpute of ſuch a Nature in ſo ſhort a Time. If it be finally adjuſted and ſettled in the eight Months preſcribed by this Preliminary, I ſhall think it ſomething very extraordinary; and if at laſt all the Diſputes now ſubſiſting between *Spain* and us are adjuſted to our Satisfaction, I ſhall then think, that we may juſtly apply to one Perſon in this Kingdom, what was ſaid of the great *Fabius* at *Rome*, *Cunctando reſtituit Rem.*

I know, my Lords, it would have been more glorious, and would have look'd more like great Courage and Magnanimity, to have attack'd the *Spaniards* directly, without ſo much as aſking, whether they were willing to give us Satisfaction: If we

had done ſo, the *Spaniards* could not with Juſtice have complained of us, nor could they have ſaid, we treated them otherwiſe than they deſerved; but I cannot think it would have been prudent, nor do I think it would have been acting like Men that had a due Regard to the Proſperity and Happineſs of their Country. Wars and Victories, my Lords, make a fine Figure in Hiſtory, or even in a News Paper: We ſtill read with Pleaſure the romantick Accounts of our Wars and Battles in *France*, when our Kings were waſting the Subſtance, and ſpilling the Blood of their Subjects, in queſt of that which would have ruined their Country, if they had met with the wiſhed for Succeſs; we likewiſe read with Pleaſure, an Account of our late Campaigns in *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, when we were running ourſelves ſeveral Millions in Debt yearly, for the Sake of conquering Kingdoms and Provinces for thoſe, who have not ſince ſhewed themſelves very grateful for the Favours we then ſo bountifully beſtowed; and if we had now run ourſelves headlong into a War with *Spain*, we ſhould probably, if they had been aſſiſted by none of their Neighbours, have had the ſame Succeſs we have formerly met with in our Wars againſt that Nation: The taking of ſome of their *Galleons* or *Flota*, the plundering of ſome of their Towns upon the Sea Coaſt in *Europe*, or the taking or plundering ſome of their Settlements in *America*, would have furniſhed our *Gazettes* with excellent Paragraphs for the Entertainment of the preſent Age, and our Hiſtories with fit Matter for the Amuſement of future Generations; but upon balancing Accounts, we ſhould have found, I believe, that the Profit would not anſwer the Charge; and that we had done better to have accepted at firſt of a reaſonable Satisfaction in a peaceable Manner. In the mean Time, our Trade would have been interrupted, our People oppreſſed with Taxes, many of our Merchants ruined by Captures, and Multitudes of Tradeſmen drawn away from uſeful Labour and Induſtry; for it was well obſerved by a celebrated Clergyman, who was appointed to preach at St. *Paul*'s upon the Peace of Utrecht, That thoſe Times which are the beſt to read of, are far from being the beſt to live in.

It was therefore, I think, my Lords, the wiſeſt Courſe, to try firſt what could be done by Negotiation; and as there is nothing in this Preliminary that is either ſcandalous, or inconſiſtent with any of the Rights or Privileges of this Nation; as we have got all that could be expected in ſo ſhort a Time; and as the Time ſtipulated for concluding a definitive Treaty is but very ſhort, I muſt think, it was right to accept, in the mean Time, of this Preliminary. If the Court of *Spain* ſhould refuſe, or unreaſonably delay giving us entire Satisfaction by a definitive Treaty within the Time limited by the Preliminary, we muſt go to War; we ſhall then be able to excuſe or juſtify ourſelves in our own Minds let the Event of that War be what it will; becauſe of two Evils, the leaſt is certainly to be choſen. Our Trade cannot ſuffer much in the mean Time, the Circumſtances of Affairs in *Europe* cannot become more unfavourable than they now are, nor can it be ſuppoſed that we ſhall be weaker, or *Spain* ſtronger eight Months hence, than at preſent. For theſe Reaſons, my Lords, I think we cannot well refuſe to give our Approbation of this Preliminary, in thoſe general Terms the noble Lord has propoſed; and therefore I ſhall be for agreeing to the Motion he has been pleaſed to make.

Thus ended the first Day's Debate upon this Subject; and as I have been pretty full in the Account I have given of it, I shall give you, as briefly as I can, the Substance of a few only of the Speeches that were made in the second Day's Debate, when our Club assumed a different Character, and the Debate was begun by Pomponius Atticus, *whose Speech was in Substance thus.*

Mr. President,
SIR,

WHEN any Treaty of Peace or Alliance is, by the King's Order, laid before Parliament, it is a Custom so long established, and a Custom that has been so constantly observed, to present an Address of Thanks upon every such Occasion, that I should have thought it quite unnecessary to say any Thing in favour of the Motion I am to make, if more than ordinary Pains had not been taken to render People dissatisfied with the Treaty now under our Consideration. It is this that has occasioned the presenting of so many Petitions against it; and it is this that makes me think it necessary, to endeavour to remove those Prejudices that have been so artfully and so industriously raised among all Degrees of Men, before I make that Motion with which I intend to conclude.

I shall begin, Sir, with this general Observation, that when Differences arise between two Nations, an immediate Declaration of War seldom is, and never ought to be the first Resolution of either. If those Differences proceed from any Dispute about a Matter of Right, Justice and Humanity require, that Endeavours should be used to have those Disputes determined in a peaceable Way, by the true and infallible Rules of Reason, before Recourse be had to the deceitful and uncertain Fortune of War; and if they relate to Injuries done, or Violences committed, the same Justice and Humanity require that Satisfaction should be ask'd, in an amicable Manner, by the Party offended, and peremptorily denied, or unreasonably delayed, by the Party offending, before Hostilities are resolved on. Even the greatest Affront that can be put upon, or the greatest Injury that can be done to one Nation, by the Subjects of another, ought to be complained of before it is revenged; because the Honour of no Nation can be injured but by some publick or national Act in another; therefore, when any Injury is done, or Affront given, by the Subjects of one State to those of another, the State whose Subjects have been injured, ought to apply to the other for Satisfaction, and ought not to look upon its Honour as any Way affected, till the State, whose Subjects committed the Violence, has made the Act of its Subjects its own, by refusing to punish the Transgressors, or to make Reparation for the Damage sustained.

This, Sir, is what Justice and Humanity require, and what is just and humane, must be honourable. Therefore when, upon Application, there appears a Probability that all Differences may be settled and adjusted by amicable Means, while that Probability lasts, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous, and consequently dishonourable, to have recourse to Arms. Ambition or Interest may prompt some Nations to make Conquests, and such Nations may, and do often break through this established Rule of Justice and true Honour, by laying hold of the most frivolous Pretence for engaging in War, without any previous Application for an Accommodation. But as it is not the Interest of this Nation to make Conquests, and as,

I hope, our Ambition will never provoke us to act contrary to our Intereſt, we can therefore have no Motive for tranſgreſſing this Rule, with regard to the Differences that may ariſe between us and any Nation in *Europe*.

Upon this Maxim, Sir, and in this Light, if we conſider the Treaty now before us, I believe it will appear to be not only a juſt and honourable Meaſure, but the only juſt and honourable Meaſure we could take, with regard to the Differences now ſubſiſting between us and *Spain*; ſome of which are ſuch as proceed from Diſputes that have lately ariſen about Matters of Right, and the reſt are ſuch as proceed from the Violences and Depredations that have been committed by ſome of the Subjects of that Kingdom againſt the Subjects of this. As the Matters of Right which are in Diſpute, are of great Conſequence to us, as *Spain* had little or no Reaſon to raiſe any Diſpute about them, and as their Depredations have been great and frequent, if it had been our Intereſt to endeavour to conquer any Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, or if his Majeſty had been influenced by Ambition, and a Purſuit after a glaring but falſe Renown, he might, and probably would have laid hold of theſe Differences, as a juſt Pretence for declaring War againſt *Spain*, without the leaſt Attempt to have them reconciled by amicable Means; but as it is not the Intereſt of this Nation to make Conqueſts, his Majeſty conſidered the Peace and Happineſs of his People as the moſt ſolid Foundations of his Glory; therefore, he often applied, before laſt Summer, to the Court of *Spain*, for having the Differences ſubſiſting between the two Nations accommodated in a friendly Manner, which that Court always found ſome Excuſe or another for delaying; but at laſt his Majeſty, upon the Application from both Houſes of Parliament laſt Seſſion, made a peremptory Demand, and inſiſted upon a ſpeedy and categorical Anſwer; and till that Anſwer ſhould arrive, his Majeſty reſolved, according to the Maxim I have mentioned, and according to the Advice of his Parliament, to ſuſpend the Effects of his Indignation. When the Court of *Spain* ſaw that the Affair could be no longer put off with Safety, they appeared willing to enter immediately into a ſerious Diſquiſition of the Rights that were in Diſpute; and as thoſe Rights were of ſuch a Nature that they could not be in a ſhort Time fully examined into and finally determined, to ſhew they were in earneſt, they propoſed to have the Account between the two Nations, for Reparation of Damages ſuſtained on each Side, immediately ſettled, and to pay, in a ſhort Time, whatever ſhould appear to be due upon the Balance. From hence his Majeſty juſtly conceived, that there was a Probability of having all our Differences accommodated, and therefore, he could not in Juſtice or Honour commence Hoſtilities, or refuſe to accept of a preliminary Convention, by which we were to obtain Satisfaction for all paſt Injuries, and by which we were to be put into the moſt probable Method, nay, the only Method that could be propoſed, for obtaining, in a ſhort Time, a full Security againſt all future.

To this I muſt add, Sir, that his Majeſty's agreeing to this preliminary Convention, and reſolving to ſuſpend Hoſtilities, till he ſhould ſee what Effect this Preliminary might produce, was not only the juſteſt and the moſt honourable Meaſure he could purſue, but it was agreeable to, and in ſome Meaſure a neceſſary Conſequence of, the Advice given him laſt Seſſion by both Houſes of Parliament. By the Addreſſes preſented

ſented laſt Seſſion upon Occaſion of our Differences with *Spain*, his Majeſty was adviſed to uſe his Royal Endeavours with his Catholick Majeſty, to obtain effectual Relief for his injured Subjects; and aſſured, that in caſe his Royal and Friendly Inſtances, for procuring Juſtice, and for the future Security of that Navigation and Commerce, which his People had an undoubted Right to, by Treaties and the Law of Nations, ſhould not be able to procure, from the Equity and Friendſhip of the King of *Spain*, ſuch Satisfaction, as his Majeſty might reaſonably expect from a good and faithful Ally, the Parliament would effectually ſupport his Majeſty in taking ſuch Meaſures, as Honour and Juſtice ſhould make it neceſſary for him to purſue. From theſe Words, the Advice of Parliament plainly appears to have been, that his Majeſty ſhould firſt try what could be done by peaceable Means, and that in caſe he could, by ſuch Means, procure ſuch Satisfaction, that is to ſay, ſuch Reparation for paſt Injuries, and ſuch Security for our Navigation and Commerce in Time to come, as he could reaſonably expect from a good and faithful Ally, he ſhould avoid engaging the Nation in a War with *Spain*. Now, Sir, if by this Convention his Majeſty has got ſuch Reparation, and ſuch Security, as he could reaſonably expect, it muſt be allowed, that his refuſing to accept of it, would have been acting directly againſt the Advice given him by Parliament; and that we have got as much Reparation, and as much Security, as any reaſonable Man could expect by a preliminary Convention, I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew.

With regard to Reparation, Sir, for paſt Injuries, it is not only finally adjuſted, but a certain Sum promiſed to be paid within a very ſhort Time after the Exchange of the Ratifications. As there were mutual Demands, with reſpect to Damages ſuſtained, it became neceſſary to ſettle and balance the Account; for I am ſure no reaſonable Man could expect, that we ſhould receive full Reparation for all the Damage done to us by *Spain*, and allow nothing for the Damage that had been done by us to that Nation. Upon examining therefore into, and ſtating our mutual Demands, it appeared that our Demands upon *Spain*, according to a Calculation made by our own Commiſſaries, amounted to 200,000*l.* and that the Demands of *Spain* upon us, amounted to 60,000*l.* ſo that there was a Balance due to us of 140,000*l.* which Sum his Catholick Majeſty propoſed to pay to us, by giving Aſſignments upon his Revenues in *America*, being the only Means he had for paying ſo large a Sum; but as we knew the Tediouſneſs and Precariouſneſs of that Fund, it was propoſed to make an Allowance for prompt Payment, if his Catholick Majeſty would engage to pay the Money in a ſhort Time here at *London*, and the Allowance agreed on was 45,000*l.* which reduced, the Sum due to us to 95,000*l.* and this Sum his Catholick Majeſty has expreſsly promiſed, by this Convention, to pay here at *London*, in four Months after the Exchange of the Ratifications. From hence it appears, Sir, that we have not only got all the Reparation any reaſonable Man could expect, but all the Reparation we could with any Pretence of Juſtice inſiſt on. For tho' there were perhaps ſome other ſmall Articles, which we might have added to the Sum of our Demands, yet it muſt be allowed, they were ſuch Trifles, ſuch *Minuties*, as not to be worth minding in a Tranſaction between two powerful Nations; and if we had inſiſted on them, it would have been eaſy for *Spain* to have balanced them with Articles of the ſame Kind, which

which were not at first brought in to her Account.

Now, Sir, as to our future Security, every Man that understands what it means, must know, that it depends entirely upon those Matters of Right that are now in Dispute between *Spain* and us; and that therefore it cannot be clearly and effectually provided for, till those Rights are particularly examined into, and fully explained. But could any reasonable Man expect, that it was possible to do this in a few Weeks, or by a preliminary Convention? It is a Discussion that depends not only upon several disputable Points in the Law of Nature and Nations, but likewise upon several Facts and Circumstances that must be enquired into, and this Enquiry can be made in the *West-Indies* only. For this Reason we could not so much as desire *Spain* to do more than they have done. They have agreed to refer this Discussion to Plenipotentiaries, and that those Plenipotentiaries should be obliged finally to decide the Affair within the short Term of eight Months; which is all we could expect, and all we could with any Justice or Reason desire. Therefore, if there had not been one Word in this Treaty, from whence it could be presumed, that *Spain* had passed from, or given up any of those Rights she has lately set up, yet the Treaty might have been said to be a good Preliminary, and such a one as his Majesty ought to have accepted of, rather than engage the Nation in a War. But this is not the Case: The principal Right *Spain* pretends to, and the most destructive Right for this Nation to submit to, is that of searching our Ships on the open Seas of *America*, and making Prize of them, in case any *Spanish* Money or Effects be found on board. This Right *Spain* has, even by this Preliminary, in Effect given up. That of searching our Ships upon the open Seas, they have allowed to be a Cause of Complaint, which, if not put a Stop to and prevented, might occasion an open Rupture between the two Crowns: They have allowed it to be a Grievance, which ought to be removed. Can the Exercise of a just Right be allowed to be a Cause of Complaint? Can it be allowed to be a Grievance? Whoever does so, disclaims the Right; and therefore we must conclude, that *Spain* has, even by this Preliminary, in Effect disclaimed the Right of searching our Ships upon the open Seas of *America*, which to me is a strong Indication, that they intend to disclaim it by the definitive Treaty, in the most express Terms we can propose.

Sir, the Court of *Spain* have not only acknowledged the searching our Ships on the open Seas, and confiscating them for having *Spanish* Money or Effects on board, to be a Grievance which ought to be removed, but they have in some Measure directly owned it to be wrong: They have allowed it to be an Injury, by giving us Reparation for what our Merchants have suffered by that Practice. Therefore, the Plenipotentiaries appointed by this Convention, are not to determine whether it be a Grievance or not: This is a Point which is not referred to their Discussion: It is already determined: They are only to consider, contrive, and adjust the proper Methods for removing it; and in this too they are circumscribed; for the Regulations they contrive and agree on for this Purpose, must be according to the Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns; and those Regulations must be contrived and fully settled within eight Months after their first Meeting, which is to be but six Weeks after the Exchange of the Ratifications; so that the Affair must be finally concluded before the Middle of *November*

vember next. Therefore the chief Queſtion now ſeems to be, whether we ought to go to War rather than grant the Court of *Spain* a Delay of eight Months, for giving us full Satisfaction and abſolute Security; and I do not think that any Man who conſiders the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, or the preſent Circumſtances of this Nation, would be for involving his Country in a dangerous and expenſive War, rather than grant ſuch a Delay.

War, Sir, let the Proſpect of Succeſs be what it will, is both a dangerous and a deſtructive Expedient to any Nation, eſpecially a trading and induſtrious Nation: It is the Bane of Trade, and the Parent of Idleneſs. It gives your Neighbours an Opportunity to undermine you in ſeveral Branches of your Trade, and draws a great many of your own People away from uſeful Labour and Induſtry, not only during the War, but for ever; for thoſe who have been, for but a few Years, accuſtomed to live in Idleneſs, by Rapine and Violence, can never afterwards ſubmit to get their Bread by the Sweat of their Brow. Beſides, it may prove dangerous to your Liberties: For ſupporting and carrying on a War with Vigour, great Armies muſt be raiſed: When the War is ended, you may, perhaps, find it difficult to diſband your Armies: The Generals will be againſt it, and the Soldiers having loſt the Hopes of living by the Plunder of their Enemies, may reſolve to live by the Plunder of their Country. War therefore, even with the moſt flattering Proſpect of Succeſs, ought to be avoided by a trading, free Country, if poſſible. The Event is doubtful, let the Hopes of either Party at the Beginning be never ſo well founded. It is not the firſt Time we have heard of the Event of a War's turning out contrary to all human Appearances. We have a freſh Inſtance of this before our Eyes. All *Europe* thought, the *Emperor* engaged in the preſent War againſt the *Turks* with great Odds of his Side; but we find ourſelves diſappointed in our Expectations; the Odds are already turned againſt him, and little Hopes left of his coming off with Honour, much leſs with Advantage.

Whoever conſiders theſe Things, Sir, muſt think, that, if the Circumſtances of Affairs in *Europe* were entirely favourable for us, if our own Circumſtances were as happy as we could wiſh, we ought not wantonly to engage in a War; but when we conſider that the Circumſtances of *Europe* were never in a more unhappy Situation for us than at preſent, and that our own Circumſtances are far from being in a happy Situation, who is it will ſay, a War is not by all Means to be avoided? The powerful Kingdom of *France* is now in greater Vigour than ever it was ſince the Reign of their *Charles* the Great, it is now governed by wiſe Counſels, and in perfect Unity and Concord within itſelf. The King of *France* is bound, not only by Intereſt, but by the Ties of Blood, to aſſiſt the King of *Spain*; and as an Addition to this Obligation, there is now forming, for what I know already concluded, a Treaty of Alliance between them. If we declare War againſt *Spain*, we muſt therefore expect that *France* will take Part with *Spain* againſt us; and tho' I have ſo good an Opinion of my Country, as to think we are more than a Match for the one, and at leaſt an equal Match for the other, yet I cannot be ſo vain as to think, we are an equal Match for both, and conſequently, I muſt think, we have Reaſon to be afraid of our ſinking under the Burden, unleſs we can get ſome of the other great Powers of *Europe* to aſſiſt us.

Let us now look round *Europe*, Sir, and we ſhall find with Regret, there is not at preſent any one of the Powers thereof, on whom we could, in ſuch a Caſe, depend for an effectual Aſſiſtance. The Houſe of *Auſtria* is now in ſo weak a Condition, and ſo much reduced by the Misfortunes they have met with in their War againſt the *Turks*, that they could not, if they would, afford us any Aſſiſtance; and if they could, 'tis a Queſtion if they would; for their Counſels ſeem at preſent to be too much directed by *French* Influence. The *Dutch* are at preſent in a poor and helpleſs Situation; for tho' the Subjects of moſt of the United Provinces are rich and in affluent Circumſtances, their Government is extremely low, and almoſt all their publick Revenues mortgaged or anticipated; which makes them ſo backward to engage in War, that tho' they have met with as bad Treatment from *Spain* as we have done, tho' as many *Dutch* Ships, in proportion, have been unjuſtly ſeized by the *Spaniards*, as there have been of *Engliſh*, yet they have never yet attempted, nor do they ſeem to have the leaſt Inclination to reſent theſe Injuries in any hoſtile Manner. The Princes of *Germany* are now contending amongſt themſelves about the Succeſſion to ſome Parts of the *Palatinate*; and that Contention may perhaps break out into an open Rupture. Of the Princes of *Italy*, the two moſt Potent may probably be engaged in the Alliance againſt us; and the King of *Portugal* dares not aſſiſt us, I even doubt if he would dare to admit our Men of War into his Ports. Then, Sir, if we look Northward, of the two Northern Kingdoms, the moſt powerful ſeems already to be united againſt us; and the *Muſcovites*, if they were inclined, are at too great a Diſtance to afford us any Relief. Thus, Sir, we are at preſent without any one Ally upon the Continent, that would give us Aſſiſtance; and in caſe of a War, the two moſt potent Kingdoms in *Europe* would probably be united againſt us: Nay, I do not know but that the greateſt Part of *Europe* would unite againſt us; and when the Affairs of *Europe* are in ſuch Circumſtances, would it not be the Height of Madneſs in us to engage in War, if we can by any Art, or by any Means, avoid or delay it?

But this, Sir, is not our only Misfortune at preſent. Our domeſtick Circumſtances are far from being in ſuch a Condition as may encourage us to engage in War. Our People are already taxed almoſt as much as they can poſſibly bear; and moſt of thoſe Taxes mortgaged for paying the Debts we contracted in the late War: The Overplus of our publick Revenue is hardly ſufficient for ſupporting our civil Government in Time of Peace. If we go to War, we muſt lay on new or additional Taxes: This will increaſe thoſe Animoſities and Diviſions that now prevail too much amongſt us; and will cauſe that Party to raiſe its Head, which has not dared to look up for near twenty Years paſt. If we go to War, our Enemies will certainly endeavour to bring us into Confuſion at home, by embracing the Cauſe of the *Pretender*: The War itſelf will be made the Cauſe of the *Pretender*; and when our People find every Year new Loads of Taxes laid upon them, many of them may begin to aſcribe all the Misfortunes they labour under, to the Illuſtrious Family now upon our Throne, which will make them ready to join any Number of foreign Troops that ſhall invade us, with the *Pretender* at their Head. If *France* and *Spain* ſhould join againſt us, it will be impoſſible for us to guard our Coaſts, by Means of

our

our Navy, ſo cloſely, as that it may not be in their Power to throw a few regular Troops into ſome Part of the Iſland; and this might give us ſo much to do at home, that we ſhould neither have Leiſure nor Power to diſtreſs our Enemies, or protect our Plantations abroad.

I have as juſt a Senſe as any Man can have, of the Sufferings of our Merchants, and of the Indignities that have been put upon the Nation, by the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*; but national Reſolutions, Sir, ought not to be directed by Paſſion: We may, we ought to ſhew a proper Reſentment; but our Reſentment ought to be governed by Prudence; and if it is, we muſt ſuſpend ſhewing it, till a Change in the Circumſtances of *Europe* preſents us with a favourable Opportunity, which, in all probability, we ſhall not be long obliged to wait for. Therefore, if this Convention had not been ſo favourable as it appears to be, his Majeſty ought, I think, in the preſent Conjuncture, to have accepted of it. This is the Opinion I muſt form, from the View I have of the preſent Poſture of Affairs, and from Circumſtances that are publickly known; but his Majeſty may know many Circumſtances which we do not know, which he cannot communicate to this Houſe; and therefore in ſuch Caſes, we ought to be extremely cautious of refuſing our Approbation to a Meaſure which his Majeſty has thought fit to approve of. Such a Caution would have been neceſſary, even tho' this Convention had appeared to have been altogether unſatisfactory; but I have ſhewn, I think, that we have got by it all that could be reaſonably expected by a Preliminary Treaty; from whence we have good Reaſon to hope, that in eight Months Time we ſhall obtain by a definitive Treaty all we can deſire, which is a Delay, I am ſure, not worth our while to go to War for. Therefore, Sir, I muſt think, I am fully warranted in what I am to propoſe, which is, That an humble Addreſs, *&c.* (ſuch another as was propoſed by *C. Cicerejus.* See Page 469)

C. Calpurnius Piſo *ſpoke next to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I STAND up to ſecond the Motion which the Hon. Gentleman near me has been pleaſed to make; and I ſecond it, becauſe, I think, the neceſſary Conſequence of our not agreeing to it, would be an immediate War. Now, as I think we have got by this Convention, as much as we could expect by a preliminary Article, for with reſpect to our future Security it can be called nothing elſe, nor was it poſſible in ſo ſhort a Time to make it any Thing elſe; and, as I think, that the Court of *Spain*'s agreeing to this Convention, eſpecially that Part of it which ſtipulates an immediate Reparation, furniſhes us with a ſtrong Preſumption, that they are inclined to do us Juſtice, and that we ſhall in a ſhort Time, obtain ſufficient Security for the Freedom of our Trade and Navigation in Time to come; therefore, I muſt think a War quite unneceſſary, and no War can be juſt that is not neceſſary, nor can any War be honourable that is not juſt.

This Conſideration, Sir, convinces me, that we ought to approve of this Convention; and my Hon. Friend has taken Care to put ſome Words or Expreſſions into the Addreſs he has been pleaſed to propoſe, which, in my Opinion, will obviate the only material Objection I have heard made to this Treaty. Our Merchants ſeem to think, that our Rights and Poſſeſſions in *America* are not ſufficiently ſecured to us by the Terms

of this Preliminary; and therefore they apprehend, that ſome of them are to be given up by our Plenipotentiaries. Theſe Apprehenſions, I think, there can be no Ground for, from any Word or Expreſſion in this Preliminary, nor can any Man entertain ſuch a Thought, if he conſiders the inviolable Attachment his Majeſty has always ſhewn for the Rights and Privileges of his People, and that our Plenipotentiaries can do nothing without his Order, nor finally agree upon any Thing without his Approbation; but if it were poſſible to apprehend, that any of our Rights or Poſſeſſions are in danger of being loſt, or given up by the definitive Treaty, that is to be concluded in purſuance of this Preliminary, even that Poſſibility muſt be taken away, by our declaring, in the Addreſs propoſed, our Reliance on his Majeſty, that from his conſtant Attention to the Honour of his Crown, and the undoubted Rights of his People, effectual Care will be taken, that the Freedom of Navigation in the *American* Seas may be fully ſecured and eſtabliſhed for the future; and that in regulating and ſettling the Limits of his Majeſty's Dominions in *America*, the greateſt Regard will be had to the Rights and Poſſeſſions belonging to his Majeſty's Crown and Subjects.

By theſe Words, I ſay, Sir, the very Poſſibility of apprehending any Danger to our Rights or Poſſeſſions, muſt be effectually removed; for after ſuch a full and explicit Declaration of Parliament, what Miniſter will dare to adviſe his Majeſty to give any Inſtructions, or to ratify any Treaty, for giving up, or incroaching in the leaſt upon, any of our Rights or Poſſeſſions in *America?* Therefore, I think, no one good Reaſon can be aſſigned for our refuſing to give ſuch an Approbation to this Convention, as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe; for really, in my Opinion, it looks more like a Declaration of what we expect by the ſolemn Treaty that is to be concluded, than an Approbation of the Preliminary that has been already concluded.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus *then ſtood up, and ſpoke in Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

THE great Deſign, and the chief Uſe of Parliaments, is, to preſent to our Sovereign the Opinions, as well as Grievances of the People; and this Houſe in particular is deſigned as a Check upon Miniſters, and as a Sort of Mirror, in which the Counſels, the Actions, and the Meaſures of Miniſters, are to be truly and faithfully repreſented to their Maſter. In abſolute Monarchies the King can never know, by any legal Means, whether the Meaſures he is adviſed by his Miniſters to purſue, be agreeable or diſagreeable to his People: He can never be informed of their being diſagreeable, but by the Inſurrections or Rebellions of the People, which generally end in the Deſtruction of a great many Subjects, and often in the Ruin of the Sovereign. This is a Misfortune that in this Kingdom we ſhall always be free from, while we have Parliaments, and ſuch Parliaments as are independent of the Adminiſtration. But if ever our Parliaments ſhould come to be under the Direction of the Miniſter, for the Time being, they would be uſeleſs, they would be pernicious; becauſe they would be made uſe of only for impoſing upon the King with the greater Aſſurance, and for oppreſſing the People with the greater Security. Therefore, I hope, that in this Houſe we ſhall upon all Occaſions talk to our King, not in the Language of his Miniſters, but in the Language of Truth,

Truth, in the Language of his People. For this Reaſon, while I have the Honour to have a Seat here, I ſhall never join in any Addreſs to the Throne, that may in the leaſt contribute towards inducing my Sovereign to form ſuch an Opinion of any publick Meaſure, as may be contrary to the Opinion I have, upon a thorough Enquiry, formed of it, and contrary to the Opinion which, I know, the People in general have formed of it. The Convention now before us is, in my Opinion, the moſt diſhonourable, the moſt deceitful, the moſt ruinous Treaty, this Nation ever made: I will be bold to ſay, that 99 out of a 100 of the People are of the ſame Opinion; and ſhall I agree to an Addreſs, which muſt make the King believe, if he believes what we ſay, that it is an honourable, fair, and advantageous Treaty?

The Hon. Gentleman and his Friends may, if they pleaſe, Sir, call the latter Part of the Addreſs he has propoſed, a Declaration of what we expect by the ſolemn Treaty that is to be concluded; but the firſt Part is a downright Approbation of this Convention; and is therefore inconſiſtent with the latter; for it would, in my Opinion, be ridiculous in us to ſay, we expect or hope for any Thing from a ſolemn Treaty that is to be concluded in Purſuance of a Preliminary, by which every Thing we have to expect or hope for, is previouſly given up, and almoſt expreſsly ſurrendered. Out of the Regard I have, and, I hope, ſhall always have for his Majeſty, I muſt, in examining the Addreſs propoſed, leave his Name out, and ſubſtitute in its Room, the Name or Term Miniſter, or Negotiator. Shall I, Sir, upon Occaſion of this Convention, expreſs my moſt grateful Acknowledgments for the Miniſter's, or Negotiator's particular Care, and tender Regard for the Intereſts of the People, when I think that in negotiating and agreeing to this Convention, he has ſhewn no Care, no Regard for, but on the contrary, has ſacrificed, I ſhall not ſay betrayed, the moſt valuable, the moſt ſacred Rights of his Country? Shall I ſay, that a final Adjuſtment of our long depending Demands has been obtained by this Convention, when I ſee, that inſtead of adjuſting, we have releaſed them? Shall I ſay, that any Payment is to be made by *Spain* upon that Account, when it appears that *Spain* is not to pay one ſingle Groat, when it appears that no one Shilling is ſo much as ſtipulated, but what is to be paid by one Part of our own Subjects to another? Or ſhall I ſay, I am ſatisfied with the Foundation, the Miniſter or Negotiator has laid, for preventing the like Grievances and Cauſes of Complaint for the future, when I am convinced that, by this Convention, a Foundation is laid for increaſing them, and for rendering them perpetual? God forbid, Sir, that any Member of this Houſe ſhould behave in ſuch a ſlaviſh Manner towards the Miniſter, or in ſuch a deceitful Manner towards his Sovereign.

I ſhall allow, Sir, that when Differences ariſe between two Nations, War ought not to be reſolved on, till Application be firſt made for having them removed by a friendly Accommodation; but that Application ought to be made in an honourable Manner, and ſuitable to the Dignity of the Nation that makes it. If the Matters of Right that are begun to be diſputed, be ſuch as are really doubtful, a Negotiation may be ſet on Foot for having them explained; but to diſpute the moſt undoubted Rights, Rights that are eſtabliſhed by the Law of Nature, as well as by particular Treaties, is one of the greateſt Inſults that can be put by one Nation upon another;

and

and therefore, the only Application that can be made, is a peremptory Demand for having them acknowledged in the moſt explicit Terms: To negotiate, or to treat about ſuch Rights, is to betray them. Again, when Violences are committed by the Subjects of one Nation, upon thoſe of another, Satisfaction may be demanded, nay, I ſhall grant that it ought to be demanded in a peaceable Manner, before reſolving to take Satisfaction by Force of Arms; but this Satisfaction ought to be required, not ſued for; and much leſs ſued for again and again, after many affected Delays or ſham Excuſes: To require Satisfaction in a peaceable but dignified Manner, is prudent, is commendable; but to ſue and ſollicit for it, is mean, abject, and diſhonourable; and when a Nation continues to ſue for it, under frequent Repetitions of the ſame Sort of Violences, it is ridiculous, it is miſchievous.

This, I'm afraid, Sir, is our Caſe with regard to *Spain*. We have negotiated about our undoubted Rights, we have ſued for Satisfaction, and have ſo long continued ſuing, while they continued violating, that we have at laſt rendered ourſelves ridiculous and contemptible. In this Opinion I am confirmed by the Treaty now under our Conſideration: A Treaty which they ſeem to have impoſed upon us as the *Coup de Grace* to that Character we formerly had among the Princes and Potentates of *Europe*. After diſputing with us ſuch undoubted Rights, and committing ſo many and ſuch unheard of Depredations upon our Merchants, if they had not had the utmoſt Contempt of our Underſtanding, as well as Power, it was impoſſible they could have thought of impoſing ſuch a Treaty upon us: A Treaty by which they have, under the Pretence of giving us a Foundation for obtaining future Security, obliged us to give up thoſe Rights upon which it depends, and inſtead of giving us Reparation, they have obliged us to give them a general Releaſe; nay farther, they have obliged us to give up to them, for much leſs than the true Value, five *Britiſh* Ships and their Cargoes, which they had, before this Treaty was thought of, obliged themſelves to reſtore. If they had given us a flat Denial: If they had abſolutely refuſed to give us any Security or Reparation, it would have been ſhewing a Contempt of our Power only; but to preſume to palm upon us ſuch a ſham Security, and ſuch a fallacious Sort of Reparation, is ſhewing the utmoſt Contempt of our Judgment, as well as our Power. As yet the Contempt can fall upon our Negotiators only; but if this Houſe ſhould give any Thing like a Sanction to ſuch a Treaty, the Contempt muſt fall upon the Nation, or at leaſt upon that which is called the Wiſdom of the Nation.

In order, Sir, to make good what I have ſaid, I muſt beg Leave to conſider what we ought to have had, and whether we have got, by this Treaty, ſo much as the Hopes of obtaining any one Thing we ought to have had. I believe every Gentleman will allow, that we ought to have had ſome Satisfaction for the many Inſults the *Spaniards* have put upon the Crown and Flag of *Great Britain*. To ſome this may appear to be merely a Point of Honour; but to me it appears ſo material, that, I think, we can have no future Security without it. No Treaty, no Regulations you can make, will, in my Opinion, ſignify any Thing, without ſome exemplary Satisfaction; for the *Spaniſh* Governors and Captains of *Guarda Coſta's* in *America*, will ſhew no Regard to any Treaty or Regulations you can make, if they find they may tranſgreſs them with Impunity. Where-

as,

as, if ſome of thoſe Governors and Captains that have robbed our Merchants, had been hanged, as they highly deſerve, and their Bodies hung up in Chains, upon the moſt conſpicuous Capes of *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto-Rico*, it would have ſhewn all ſuch for the future, what they were to expect, if they inſulted the Crown, or injured the Subjects of *Great Britain*. But the Court of *Spain* being reſolved to grant nothing that might any Way contribute to our future Security, reſolved not to allow the Word *Satisfaction* to be ſo much as once mentioned in this Treaty. Even the *Spaniſh* Pirate that cut off Captain *Jenkins*'s Ear, making uſe at the ſame Time of the moſt inſulting Expreſſion towards the Perſon of our King, an Expreſſion which no *Britiſh* Subject can decently repeat, an Expreſſion which no Man that has a Regard for his Sovereign can ever forgive: Even this Fellow, I ſay, is to live to enjoy the Fruits of his Rapine, and remain a living Teſtimony of the cowardly Tameneſs, and mean Submiſſion of *Great Britain*, and of the triumphant Pride, and ſtubborn Haughtineſs of *Spain*.

This alone, Sir, is ſufficient to ſhew, that we can have no Hopes of any future Security; and yet a future Security for the Freedom of our Trade and Navigation, was what we ought principally and peremptorily to have inſiſted on; but our negotiating Miniſters have not ſatisfied themſelves with neglecting it, they have almoſt expreſsly, by this Preliminary, given it up: They have almoſt expreſsly given up the Rights upon which it depends, by referring them to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries; for if we conſider the Nature of thoſe Rights in diſpute between *Spain* and us, upon which our future Security depends, we muſt ſee, that if the Right we pretend to, be regulated, it muſt be ſurrendered, and that if the Right *Spain* pretends to, be regulated, it muſt be eſtabliſhed. The Right we pretend to, the Right which, I hope, the Nation will never depart from, whatever our Negotiators may do, is a Right to a free Navigation in the open Seas of *America*: This Right the *Spaniards*, truſting to our Feebleneſs, or our Fondneſs for Negotiation, have taken upon them to deny: They ſay, we have no Right to any Navigation in the *American* Seas but what they have granted us by Treaty, which is only whilſt our Ships ſteer a direct Courſe from one Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions to another. For God Sake, Sir, what is it, in this Caſe, our Plenipotentiaries are to regulate? Are they to regulate what ſhall, or ſhall not be called a direct Courſe? If we agree to any ſuch Regulation, can we afterwards ſay, we have a Right to a free Navigation? Does not every Gentleman ſee, that if this Right be regulated, it muſt be given up?

On the other hand, Sir, *Spain* pretends to a Right to ſearch our Ships in the open Seas of *America*, and to ſeize and confiſcate them, if they be found ſailing out of their due Courſe, or if any Goods which they are pleaſed to call contraband, be found on board. Does not every Gentleman ſee that this Right muſt be granted, muſt be eſtabliſhed, before it can be regulated? Therefore, it may be juſtly ſaid, that, by this Preliminary, we have ſurrendered the Right we pretend to, and eſtabliſhed the Right the *Spaniards* pretend to; or at leaſt, that we have laid a Foundation for expreſsly ſurrendering the one, and eſtabliſhing the other, by the ſolemn Treaty that is to be concluded in Purſuance of this Preliminary. This is the leaſt we have done by this Preliminary; and this is the more diſhonourable, the more ſcandalous, becauſe the Right

we

we pretend to, is a Right eſtabliſhed by the Law of Nature, enjoyed by all Nations, and confirmed to us by every Treaty ſubſiſting between the two Crowns: Whereas, the Right the *Spaniards* pretend to, is a Servitude, which no Nation ever pretended to impoſe upon another, nor did ever the moſt contemptible Nation under the Sun ſubmit to it. To which I muſt add another Misfortune, that all the Regulations that can, in either of theſe Caſes, be eſtabliſhed, are to be explained and judged of by *Spaniſh* Governors and Captains of *Guarda Coſta's*; and therefore, we may, from their paſt Behaviour, conclude, that every *Britiſh* Ship they meet with in the Seas of *America*, will be adjudged to be a Treſpaſſer againſt ſome of theſe Regulations, and conſequently liable to Confiſcation.

Thus, Sir, it appears, we have negotiated, we have treated away all Hopes of future Security; and now I ſhall make it appear, we have done the ſame with reſpect to Reparation for paſt Injuries. By a commiſſorial Way of Reckoning, our Negotiators reduced the Demands of their Country to 200,000*l.* and this Sum, allowing a Trifle, as they ſay, for prompt Payment, they pretend to have obtained for us; but how have they obtained it? They allow *Spain* to deduct 60,000*l.* on Account of a moſt frivolous Demand they ſet up againſt us, and before *Spain* pays any Thing to us, they have allowed them to extort, in the moſt unjuſtifiable Manner, from our *South-Sea* Company, 68,000*l.* Theſe two Sums reduced what *Spain* was to pay to us, by Way of Reparation, to 72,000*l.* and from this Sum, they have allowed them to deduct 45,000*l.* a pretty modeſt Allowance, for prompt Payment: Then there remains but 27,000*l.* and for this they have allowed them to detain, and convert to their own Uſe, five *Britiſh* Ships, which the King of *Spain* had before promiſed to reſtore, and had actually ſent *Cedula's* to the *Weſt-Indies* for that Purpoſe, which five Ships, I mean thoſe mentioned in the 4th Article of this Treaty, were worth 30 or 40,000*l.* Does not every one ſee, Sir, that inſtead of our getting any Reparation by this Treaty, for paſt Injuries, we have really allowed the *Spaniards* to keep to the Value of at leaſt 95,000*l.* if not 13,000*l.* of what they had before obliged themſelves to reſtore, and this, I ſuppoſe, our Negotiators allowed them, by Way of a Reward for their allowing the ſham, ſtipulated Payment of 95,000*l.* to be mentioned in this Treaty. In Conſideration of which ſham, ſtipulated Payment, we have given them a general Releaſe for all Demands, and all paſt Injuries. Sir, if we had freely given them a general Releaſe, we might have had ſomething to boaſt of: We might have bragg'd of our generous and forgiving Temper; but to be thus chouſed out of all our juſt Demands, muſt make us the Ridicule of every Foreigner that hears of it. Can ſuch a ſham Reparation, ſuch a lumping Bargain as this, be ſaid to be an Acknowledgment in the *Spaniards*, of their having been in the wrong to us? So far otherwiſe, that it muſt be ſuppoſed, they inſiſted upon our lumping away our Demands in this Manner, on Purpoſe to avoid their being obliged to acknowledge themſelves in the wrong, or to acknowledge that any of our Ships had been unjuſtly ſearched, ſeized, or confiſcated, except the five Ships they had before acknowledged to be ſo; and provided we would allow them to keep theſe five Ships, I ſuppoſe they were willing to agree to allow us what they valued them at, by Way of Reparation.

This, Sir, is in reality, whatever we may pretend, the only Repara-

tion

tion we are to meet with from *Spain*; and this Reparation they had promiſed us before this Convention was thought of. The 68,000*l.* which we have allowed them for their Ships, which we took and deſtroyed in the Year 1718, can be no Reparation to us, whatever it may be to them; becauſe they had no Pretence for any ſuch Demand. The taking and deſtroying of thoſe Ships was what we had, from their Infraction of Treaties, a juſt Title to: It was then reckoned ſuch a Piece of publick Service, that Sir *George Byng* was made a Peer for doing it; and if we promiſed to reſtore them by the Treaty in 1721, we performed that Promiſe, as far as was incumbent upon us: We promiſed only to reſtore them in the Condition they were in: We did not promiſe to repair them, or to make them fit for Service; and if the *Spaniards* would not take them, becauſe they would not be at the Expence of repairing them, it was their Fault. Therefore, I muſt ſuppoſe our Negotiators allowed of this Demand, for no other Reaſon, but in order to have a Pretence to ſay, they had obtained ſome Sort of Reparation; and the 68,000*l.* to be paid by our *South-Sea* Company, I muſt look on, as a Condeſcenſion of the ſame Nature. The King of *Spain* had juſtly no ſuch Demand upon the Company: If he had, they had much greater Demands upon him: The Court of *Spain* itſelf, allows they have a juſt Demand for above four Times that Sum; therefore, the moſt that Court could inſiſt on, was Compenſation; but the Truth is, I believe, they are reſolved never to pay the Company a Shilling; and our Negotiators allowed them to inſiſt upon the immediate Payment of this 68,000*l.* upon a Promiſe to pay it back to them by Way of Reparation. Can this be called a Reparation made by *Spain*? Can it be called a Reparation, made to this Nation? If the Company would agree to pay it, which I believe they will not, it might be ſome Reparation to our injured Merchants; but a Reparation made to them by our own *South-Sea* Company, can never be ſaid to be a Reparation made by *Spain*; nor can a Reparation made by one Part of our own People to another, be ſaid to be a Reparation made to the Nation.

I have now, I hope, clearly ſhewn, Sir, that by this Convention, we have obtained no Satisfaction, no Security, no Reparation; but that, on the contrary, we have given up all future Pretences to every one of them. Therefore, I cannot think that any Gentleman who conſiders himſelf only as a Member of this Houſe, will agree to our approaching the Throne of our Sovereign, with ſuch an Addreſs as has been propoſed. Immediate War may not be the Conſequence of our refuſing our Approbation; but immediate Infamy to the Nation will, in my Opinion, be the certain Conſequence of our granting it. I ſhall allow that War ought to be avoided. It ought to be avoided by all Means, but ſcandalous, cowardly Means. A Nation that has once got the Character of being cowardly, or too fearful of engaging in War, muſt always be in a Sort of War. They will always be ſuffering War, but never making any. This, I'm afraid, has been too much our Caſe for 17 or 18 Years paſt: We have had our Towns beſieged, our Ships taken, our Merchants plundered, and our Seamen barbarouſly treated, without our declaring War, or committing any Hoſtilities, on our Side. Long before the Treaty of *Seville*, the *Spaniards* began their Depredations: We then bought Peace at a dear Rate; at the Price of ſacrificing the Friendſhip and Confidence of one of

our beſt Allies. While we were getting Provinces for *Don Carlos*, which has ſince procured him Kingdoms, the *Spaniards* ſuſpended a little their Depredations; but they never granted us any Reparation for what was paſt, nor Security againſt future, tho' they promiſed both by that Treaty: On the contrary, as ſoon as their Turn was ſerved, they renewed their Depredations, with more Vigour and Cruelty than ever. And ſhall we approve of a Treaty, which, inſtead of preventing them, will give the *Spaniards* what they never had before, a Title to continue them; for this muſt be the Caſe, if, in purſuance of this Preliminary, we agree, by a ſolemn Treaty, to any Regulations, either with regard to our Right to a free Navigation, or with regard to the Right they pretend to, of ſearching our Ships upon the open Seas, and ſeizing them, if found ſailing out of their due Courſe, or with any Goods on board, which they are pleaſed to call contraband.

Our agreeing, Sir, to ſuch a Treaty, muſt neceſſarly involve us at laſt in a War, unleſs we have a Mind to give up our Plantations and *Weſt-India* Trade: Whereas our refuſing our Approbation to this Preliminary, will prevent any ſuch ſolemn Treaty's being negotiated, and may prevent a War; for if *Spain* has the leaſt Dread of our Reſentment or Power; if this Nation is not already brought into the utmoſt Contempt, when *Spain* ſees that they cannot amuſe a *Britiſh* Parliament, as well as a *Britiſh* Miniſtry, they will agree to do us Juſtice in a peaceable Manner. But for God Sake, Sir, what are we afraid of? If *Spain* is not aſſiſted by *France*, 'tis impoſſible we can have any Thing to fear. If *France* ſhould join againſt us; tho' I may not perhaps think, we are an equal Match for them both at Land, yet, I think, we are more than a Match for them both at Sea; and there they muſt gain a Superiority before they can diſtreſs, or greatly hurt this Nation. But ſuppoſe we were not: The Hon. Gentleman who made this Motion, has himſelf given a good Reaſon, why we ſhould not ſubmit to an infamous Peace. The Race is not to the Swift, nor the Battle to the Strong, 'tis God that gives the Victory; and when we have ſo juſt a Cauſe, we have great Reaſon to hope for the Aſſiſtance of God Almighty; which will be ſufficient for us, even tho', by Means of our late Negotiations and Conduct, we may now literally ſay We have none elſe to put our Truſt in, but him.

The Circumſtances of *Europe*, Sir, are, indeed, at preſent, in a dangerous, a moſt terrible Situation; and the preſent Circumſtances of this Nation cannot, 'tis true, be ſaid to be happy; but the Hon. Gentleman who made this Motion is, I think, one of the laſt that ought to have made uſe of ſuch an Argument for our approving of a diſhonourable or deſtructive Treaty. If we have negotiated the Affairs of *Europe* into an unlucky Situation, 'tis well known who ought to be blamed; and if the domeſtick Affairs of this Nation be now in great Diſorder, a certain Friend of his cannot be entirely innocent. If our Affairs are brought to ſuch a fatal Criſis, that we muſt either forfeit our Honour, and leave our Plantations and Trade expoſed to continual Inſults and Depredations, or engage in an unequal War, (which may be an Argument for ſuſpending our Reſentment, if poſſible, till a more favourable Opportunity offers, but it can be no Argument for our agreeing to a diſhonourable and pernicious Treaty; eſpecially, when by ſuch a Treaty we are to get nothing not ſo much as a Suſpenſion of Hoſtilities, and are to give a general Releaſe of all former Demands, a ge-

neral Oblivion of all paſt Injuries; for ſince we are to get nothing, I think, we ought not to have paſſed from any Thing by this Preliminary: Our Demands, as well as our Rights, might have been referred to be regulated by our Plenipotentiaries; and in that Caſe, we could have inſiſted or relaxed with regard to the former, according to the Compliances we had found *Spain* ready to make with regard to the latter.

I therefore hope, Sir, that no Gentleman will be frightned into an Approbation of this Treaty, by the Terrors that have been thrown out; but that on the contraty, every Gentleman will, upon this Occaſion, reſume the Spirit of his Anceſtors, and reject a Treaty which ſo evidently blaſts the Honour of his Country. When this is done, we may, with Honour, examine into the Terrors we have been threatned with, and if there be the leaſt Ground for them, I hope it will be a prevailing Argument for our entering upon a ſtrict Enquiry into the Conduct of thoſe who have brought their Country into ſuch fatal Circumſtances; for if we be in ſuch a woful Condition, as to be unable to continue in Peace with any Degree of Honour, or engage in War with any Proſpect of Succeſs, I am ſure we can expect no Redreſs from the future Conduct of thoſe, who, by their paſt Conduct, have brought our Affairs, both at home and abroad, into ſuch Diſtreſs and Confuſion.

The next that ſpoke was A. Gabinius; *but as his Speech has been already publiſhed, I have no Occaſion to ſend it you; and therefore I ſhall proceed to give you a ſhort Sketch of what was ſaid by* L. Hortenſius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was thus:*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

IF I may judge of this Treaty as I do of others, I muſt think it as good a one as we could expect. We never obtained by any Treaty all we could deſire, nor all we thought we had Reaſon to inſiſt on. I do not know that ever any Nation did, unleſs they made a Sort of Conqueſt; and then it is not a Treaty, but a Law preſcribed by the Conqueror to the Conquered. In all other Caſes, Nations are obliged to conſider Times and Circumſtances, and to accept of the utmoſt the then Poſture of Affairs will allow them to inſiſt on. Between contending Nations, the Caſe is the ſame with what it is between private Men: Each Party thinks himſelf in the Right, tho' it generally happens that both are in the Wrong: What may ſeem extremely clear, and nothing but juſt, to one Party, or in one Country, may appear to be very doubtful, or highly unreaſonable, in the other. Therefore, when two Nations are treating upon a Par, if they have a Mind to agree, neither muſt obſtinately inſiſt upon what they think right, but each muſt conſider its own Circumſtances, and the Circumſtances of its Adverſary, at that particular Time, in order from thence to judge, what Conceſſions muſt be made, and what Demands may be peremptorily inſiſted on. In this Light, I think, the Treaty now before us ought to be conſidered; and in this Light I muſt ſay, I'm ſurprized to find it ſo good as it is.

With regard to the *Spaniſh* Demand on our *South-Sea* Company, and with regard to their Demand on Account of the Ships taken and deſtroyed by us in the Year 1718, I am far from being of the ſame Opinion with thoſe Gentlemen who diſapprove of this Treaty. I believe, Sir, the *Spaniards* had ſome Reaſon to inſiſt upon both, eſpecially the laſt. Perhaps they may ſay, they had Reaſon at that Time to attack the *Emperor* in *Sardinia*, and

the Duke of *Savoy* in *Sicily*, becauſe of a Negotiation then on Foot, for giving *Sicily* to the *Emperor*, in Exchange for *Sardinia*, without aſking the Conſent of *Spain*; and without ſhewing the leaſt Regard to the Right of Reverſion they had to *Sicily* by the Treaty of *Utrecht* between *Spain* and *Savoy*, confirmed by the 14th Article of the Treaty made at the ſame Place, between *Great Britain* and *Spain*. And as for their Demand upon the *South-Sea* Company, I muſt in Charity believe, they thought it was juſt, otherwiſe they would not have made it; but whether it be juſt or not, or whether or no the *South-Sea* Company pays it to *Spain*, are Queſtions that can have no Relation to the preſent; becauſe by this Treaty the Juſtice of the Demand is not acknowledged, and the *Spaniards* are to pay us the 95,000*l.* ſtipulated, whether this Sum be paid to them by our *South-Sea* Company or not; therefore I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that the *South-Sea* Company is to advance any Part of that Money which is to be paid us by *Spain*; but ſuppoſe they did, if in Conſideration thereof, *Spain* gave up what they thought a juſt Claim, the Money would, according to their Way of thinking, be paid by them, and to this Nation too. From hence, I think, it appears, that the Reparation we have obtained by this Treaty, amounts to 155,000*l.* and this I muſt look on as no inconſiderable Sum, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, and the ſtrong Objections *Spain* had to make to ſome of our Claims.

As to our future Security, Sir, I ſhall acknowledge, it depends upon the Rights in Diſpute; but by this Treaty we have neither given up any we pretend to, nor acknowledged any the *Spaniards* pretend to. We have only referred them to be examined into, and diſcuſſed by Plenipotentiaries, which I cannot but approve of; becauſe I am convinced, the Juſtice of what we pretend to, and the Unreaſonableneſs of what *Spain* pretends to, will from thence fully appear: Whereas, if we had refuſed to have our Title diſputed, it would, in my Opinion, have been an Argument that we ourſelves thought it diſputable.

Therefore, Sir, without being influenced by any Fears or Terrors, or by any thing but the Reaſonableneſs of the Thing itſelf, I cannot but approve of the Treaty now under our Conſideration, and conſequently muſt agree to the Motion the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to make.

The next that ſpoke was Julius Florus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr, Preſident,

S I R,

THERE certainly has never been in Parliament a Matter of more high and national Concern, than the Convention referred to the Conſideration of this Committee; and give me Leave to ſay, there cannot be a more indirect Manner of taking the Senſe of the Committee upon it, than by the complicated Queſtion that is now before you. I have no Apprehenſions that any one Gentleman can be led into an Approbation of the Convention under the ſofter Name of an humble Addreſs to the Throne: But is this that full, deliberate Examination, which we were called upon with Defiance, to give to this Convention? Is this curſory, blended Diſquiſition of Matters of ſuch Variety and Extent, all that we owe to ourſelves and to our Country? When Trade is at ſtake, it is your laſt Retrenchment, you muſt defend it or periſh; and whatever is to de-

cide

cide of that, deſerves the moſt diſtinct Conſideration, and the moſt direct undiſguiſed Senſe of Parliament. But how are we now proceeding? Upon an artificial, miniſterial Queſtion: Here is all the Confidence, here is the conſcious Senſe of the greateſt Service that ever was done to this Country; to be complicating Queſtions, to be lumping Sanction and Approbation, like a Commiſſary's Accompt, to be covering and taking Sanctuary in the Royal Name, inſtead of meeting openly, and ſtanding fairly, the direct Judgment and Sentence of Parliament, upon the ſeveral Articles of this Convention.

Sir, you have been moved to vote an humble Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, for a Meaſure, which, I will appeal to Gentlemen's Converſation in the World) is odious throughout the Kingdom: Such Thanks are only due to the fatal Influence that framed it, as are due for that low, unallied Condition abroad, which is now made a Plea for this Convention. To what are Gentlemen reduced in ſupport of it? Firſt try a little to defend it upon its own Merits; if that is not tenable, throw out general Terrors, the Houſe of *Bourbon* is united, who knows the Conſequence of a War? Sir, *Spain* knows the Conſequence of a War in *America*, whoever gains, it muſt prove fatal to her: She knows it, and muſt therefore avoid it; but ſhe knows *England* does not dare to make it. And what is a Delay, which is all this magnified Convention is ſometimes call'd, to produce? Can it produce ſuch Conjunctures, as thoſe you loſt, while you were giving Kingdoms to *Spain*, and all to bring her back again to that great Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, which is now thrown out to you with ſo much Terror? If this Union be formidable, are we to delay only till it becomes more formidable, by being carried farther into Execution, and more ſtrongly cemented? But be it what it will, is this any longer a Nation, or what is an *Engliſh* Parliament, if with more Ships in your Harbours than in all the Navies of *Europe*, with above two Millions of People in your *American* Colonies, you will bear to hear of the Expediency of receiving from *Spain* an inſecure, unſatisfactory, diſhonourable Convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this Debate; it carries Fallacy or downright Subjection in almoſt every Line: It has been laid open and expoſed in ſo many ſtrong and glaring Lights, that I can pretend to add nothing to the Conviction and Indignation it has rais'd.

Sir, after ſo much has been ſaid, and very ably, by Gentlemen that have gone before me, I can expect to be heard but with little Attention: I am ſorry it is ſo eaſy to ſpeak on our Side of the Queſtion; I wiſh the Subject were leſs copious; I think it a very melancholy Advantage, and I will trouble you as little as I can upon a Matter that furniſhes ſuch unhappy Abundance.

Sir, as to the great national Objection, the ſearching your Ships, that favourite Word, as it was call'd, is not omitted, indeed, in the Preamble to the Convention, but it ſtands there as the Reproach of the Whole, as the ſtrongeſt Evidence of the fatal Submiſſion that follows: On the Part of *Spain*, an Uſurpation, an inhuman Tyranny claim'd and exercis'd over the *American* Seas; on the Part of *England*, an undoubted Right by Treaties, and from God and Nature, declared and aſſerted in the Reſolutions of Parliament, are referr'd to the Diſcuſſion of Plenipotentiaries, upon one and the ſame equal Foot. Sir, I ſay this undoubted Right is to be diſcuſs'd and to be regulated. And if to regulate be to preſcribe Rules, (as in all Conſtruction it is) this Right is, by the

expreſs Words of this Convention, to be given up and ſacrificed; for it muſt ceaſe to be any Thing, from the Moment it is ſubmitted to Limits.

The Court of *Spain* has plainly told you (as appears by Papers upon the Table) you ſhall ſteer a due Courſe, you ſhall navigate by a Line to and from your Plantations in *America*; if you draw near to her Coaſts, (tho' from the Circumſtances of that Navigation you are under an unavoidable Neceſſity of doing it) you ſhall be ſeized and confiſcated: If then upon theſe Terms only ſhe has conſented to refer, what becomes at once of all the Security we are flatter'd with in conſequence of this Reference? Plenipotentiaries are to regulate finally the reſpective Pretenſions of the two Crowns, with regard to Trade and Navigation in *America*; but does a Man in *Spain* reaſon that theſe Pretenſions muſt be regulated to the Satisfaction and Honour of *England?* No, Sir, they conclude, and with Reaſon, from the high Spirit of their Adminiſtration, from the Superiority with which they have ſo long treated you, that this Reference muſt end, as it has begun, to their Honour and Advantage.

But Gentlemen ſay, the Treaties ſubſiſting are to be the Meaſure of this Regulation. Sir, as to Treaties, I will take Part of the Words of Sir *William Temple*, quoted by the Hon. Gentleman near me, *it is vain to negotiate and make Treaties*, if there is not Dignity and Vigour to enforce the Obſervance of them; for under the Miſconſtruction and Miſinterpretation of theſe very Treaties ſubſiſting, this intolerable Grievance has ariſen, it has been growing upon you Treaty after Treaty, thro' 20 Years of Negotiation, and even under the Diſcuſſion of Commiſſaries to whom it was refer'd. You have heard from Captain *Vaughan* at your Bar, at what Time theſe Injuries and Indignities were continued, as a Kind of explanatory Comment upon the Convention *Spain* has thought fit to grant you, as another *inſolent Proteſt*, under the Validity and Force of which ſhe has ſuffer'd this Convention to be proceeded on. We'll treat with you, but we'll ſearch and take your Ships, we'll ſign a Convention, but we'll keep your Subjects Priſoners, Priſoners in *Old Spain*; the *Weſt-Indies* are remote, *Europe* ſhall be Witneſs how we uſe you.

Sir, as to the Inference of an Admiſſion of our Right not to be ſearch'd, drawn from a Reparation made for Ships unduly ſeiz'd and confiſcated, I think that Argument is very inconcluſive. The Right claim'd by *Spain* to ſearch our Ships, is one Thing, and the Exceſſes admitted to have been committed in Conſequence of this pretended Right, is another; but ſurely, Sir, reaſoning from Inferences and Implications only, is ſuch a *Minutie* as has been ſaid by the Hon. Gentleman that made this Motion, to be below the Dignity of your Proceedings, upon a Right of this vaſt Importance. What this Reparation is, what Sort of Compoſition for your Loſſes, forced upon you by *Spain* in an Inſtance that has come to Light, where your own Commiſſaries could not in Conſcience decide againſt your Claim, has fully appear'd upon Examination; and as for the Payment of the Sum ſtipulated, (all but ſeven and twenty thouſand Pounds, and that too ſubject to a Drawback) it is, evidently, a fallacious, nominal Payment only. I will not attempt to enter into the Detail of a dark, confuſed, and ſcarcely intelligible Accompt; I will only beg Leave to conclude with one Word upon it, in the Light of a Submiſſion, as well as of an adequate Reparation. *Spain* ſtipulates to pay to the Crown of *England* ninety five thouſand Pounds;

by

by a preliminary Proteſt of the King of *Spain*, the *South-Sea* Company is at once to pay ſixty eight thouſand of it; if they refuſe, *Spain*, I admit, is ſtill to pay the ninety five thouſand; but how does it ſtand then? The Aſſiento Contract is to be ſuſpended: You are to purchaſe this Sum at the Price of an excluſive Trade, purſuant to a national Treaty, and of an immenſe Debt, of God knows how many hundred thouſand Pounds, due from *Spain* to the *South-Sea* Company. Here, Sir, is the Submiſſion of *Spain* by the Payment of a ſtipulated Sum; a Tax laid upon Subjects of *England*, under the ſevereſt Penalties, with the reciprocal Accord of an *Engliſh* Miniſter, as a Preliminary that the Convention may be ſign'd; a Condition impoſed by *Spain* in the moſt abſolute imperious Manner, and receiv'd by the Miniſters of *England* in the moſt tame and abject. Can any verbal Diſtinctions, any Evaſions whatever, poſſibly explain away this publick Infamy? To whom would we diſguiſe it? To ourſelves and to the Nation: I wiſh we could hide it from the Eyes of every Court in *Europe:* They ſee *Spain* has talk'd to you like your Maſter, they ſee this arbitrary fundamental Condition, and it muſt ſtand with Diſtinction, with a Preeminence of Shame, as a Part even of this Convention.

This Convention, Sir, I think from my Soul, is nothing but a Stipulation for national Ignominy; an illuſory Expedient to baffle the Reſentment of the Nation; a Truce without a Suſpenſion of Hoſtilities on the Part of *Spain*, on the Part of *England*, a Suſpenſion, as to *Georgia*, of the firſt Law of Nature, Self-preſervation, and Self-defence; a Surrender of the Rights and Trade of *England* to the Mercy of Plenipotentiaries, and in this infinitely higheſt and ſacred Point, future Security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the Reſolutions of Parliament, and the gracious Promiſe from the Throne. The Complaints of your deſpairing Merchants, the Voice of *England* has condemn'd it; be the Guilt of it upon the Head of the Adviſer; God forbid that this Committee ſhould ſhare the Guilt, by approving it!

The next Speech I ſhall give you upon this Subject, was that made by Mecænas, *who ſpoke as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

FROM ſome Words that fell from the Hon. Member who ſpoke laſt, I ſhall begin by wiſhing in the moſt ſolemn Manner, by making it my moſt ardent Prayer, that the mercantile Intereſt may be the only Biaſs of our Deliberations Today; and that neither the Intereſt of a Party, nor much leſs that of any ſingle Man, may prevail over this, which is the national Concern. For then we ſhall do our Duty in this great Affair, and our Deciſion of it will do Honour to Parliament. But before I enter further into this Debate, I beg Leave to take Notice of ſome Words that dropt from an Hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke the firſt upon this Queſtion, and which I heard with the deepeſt Concern.

After he had uſed many Arguments to perſuade us to Peace, to any Peace good or bad, by painting out the Dangers of a War, (Dangers I by no Means allow to be what he repreſents them) he crown'd all thoſe Terrors with the Name of the Pretender. It wou'd be the Cauſe of the Pretender: The Pretender would come! Is the Hon. Gentleman ſenſible what this Language imports? The People of *England* complain of the greateſt Wrongs and Indignities; they complain of the Interruption, the Deſtruction of their Trade; they think this Peace has left them in a

worſe

worſe Condition than before; and in Anſwer to all theſe Complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to ſuffer all this, is the Price they muſt pay to keep the King and his Family on the Throne of theſe Realms. If this were true, it ought not to be own'd. Will it ſtrengthen the Family to have it believ'd? But it is far from true; the very Reverſe of it is true: Nothing can weaken the Family, nothing can ſhake the Eſtabliſhment, but ſuch Meaſures as theſe, and ſuch Language as this.

Sir, I know who hears me, and for that Reaſon I ſpeak.—The Hon. Gentleman who firſt moved you this Queſtion, and he who ſpoke laſt, have both ſtrongly inſiſted, and it was the Sum of all their Arguments, that our Right not to be ſearched, is not referr'd to the Diſcuſſion of Plenipotentiaries, they are only, it ſeems, to conſider how to remedy Grievances. What Grievances, Sir, do the Gentlemen mean? The Grievances of *England!* they admit but of one Remedy, a very ſhort and ſimple one, and which wants no Conſideration: That our Ships ſhall not be ſearch'd upon any Pretence. This alone can go to the Root of our Grievances; all leſs than this is trifling, hurtful, fatal to Commerce. Do they mean the Grievances of *Spain?* The illicit Trade? The Remedy for that too is already provided, it is already ſettled by our Treaties with *Spain*, that we are not to trade in their Ports and Havens in *America*; but if our Ships are found there, they muſt be confiſcated. Is not this ſufficient? I defy the Hon. Gentleman who has ſo much Skill in Negotiation, to diſcover another Expedient to ſecure the *Spaniards* from illicit Trade, which will not be deſtructive to the lawful Trade of *Great Britain*; and, I hope, we ſhall be more ſolicitous for our own, than for theirs. The Hon. Gentleman ſaid, the ſettling this would take up ſome Time; it will indeed, Sir; for it will never be ſettled; it is morally impoſſible it can ever be ſettled; and therefore, I think it ought not to have been brought into Diſpute. Had we proceeded conformably to the Intentions of Parliament, we ſhould either have acted with Vigour, or have obtained a real Security, in an expreſs Acknowledgment of our Right not to be ſearched, as a Preliminary *ſine quâ non* to our treating at all. This we ought to have inſiſted on in the Words of *La Quadra*'s Proteſt (which is the Preliminary *ſine quâ non* of that Crown) we ought to have inſiſted on it in thoſe very Words, as *the preciſe, and eſſential Means to overcome the ſo much debated Diſputes, and that on the Validity and Force of this expreſs Acknowledgment, the ſigning the Convention may be proceeded on, and in no other Manner.* Inſtead of this, what have we done? We have referr'd it to Plenipotentiaries. Is not this weakening our Right? Wou'd you, Sir, ſubmit to a Reference, whether you may travel unmoleſted from your Houſe in Town, to your Houſe in the Country? Your Right is clear and undeniable, why wou'd you have it diſcuſs'd? But much leſs wou'd you refer it, if two of your Judges belong'd to a Gang, which had often ſtop'd and robb'd you in your Way thither before.——

Things that are of a Nature to admit of Temperaments, in which each Party may recede from their reſpective Pretenſions, and come to a Medium to conclude the Diſpute, ſuch Things allow of a Diſcuſſion, and may be referr'd; but when no Medium can be found, when the Caſe admits of no Temperaments, where to recede one Tittle, is to give up the Queſtion, there to agree to a Diſcuſſion, is to endanger the Whole: At beſt, it can end in nothing but in both Sides adhering to their

their Claim, and leaving all in Uncertainty, to go on as before. And can any Thing worſe befal us? Is not this Deſtruction itſelf?

Oh but, ſaid the Hon. Gentleman, we have gain'd a great Point, in bringing *Spain* to acknowledge by the preſent Convention, that Grievances have ariſen in the ſearching of Ships, and that Means to remedy theſe Grievances ought to be found out! Sir, was this ever denied? Did *Spain* ever deny, that her *Guarda Coſta's* had ſometimes *committed Exceſſes*, that is, ſearched a little too wantonly, gone a little too far, made ſome *irregular Seizures*, and that this ought to be remedied? All this is expreſs'y confeſs'd in *La Quadra's* Letter to Mr. *Keene*, dated the 10th of *February* laſt Year, before we ſent out our Fleets, and that Orders ſhould be given for Reparation, when ſuch Exceſſes are proved. But does this amount, or do the Words of the Treaty amount to any Thing like a departing from their Pretenſion to Search? No —they are only a Modification of it to a certain Degree, which is a Defence of the Practice itſelf, and we thought ſo laſt Year, or why did we judge that Letter ſo unſatisfactory? But, Sir, pray conſider, our Right not to be Search'd is a very ſhort Point, wants no Diſcuſſion, does not depend upon Arguments of any Difficulty to examine or to comprehend. The King of *Spain* muſt have known for this Twelvemonth at leaſt what he ought to think of it, and whether he will yield it or no. The only imaginable Reaſon of his chicaning ſo long, is, that he ſuſpected a Weakneſs in the Counſels of *England*. What was then only Suſpicion, is now turn'd into Certainty, and if that will make him more pliant, it is eaſy to judge.—

As we go on with our Politicks, ſo will the *Spaniards* with theirs. Ours have been to procraſtinate, to put off a War at any Rate, to live upon daily Expedients, to endure and to treat: Theirs have been to fool us with the Name of Peace, and to commit all Sorts of Hoſtilities on our Merchants and Trade, to plunder and butcher the former, and to ruin the laſt. Thus it has been; thus it will continue to be.——How we find our Account in it I am unable to gueſs! How *Spain* finds hers in it, is too plain at firſt Sight. If that Court were bent upon undoing this Nation, they need only leave us to the Conduct we hold. What could they deſire better, than for eighteen Years more to interrupt our Navigation, and deſtroy our Trade, put us to the Charge of half a Dozen pacifick Fleets, furniſh us with a Pretence for a numerous ſtanding Army to conſume us at home, render us the Scorn of *Europe*, and at laſt, to make us Amends, account with us ſo as to receive or detain much more than they give, and keep the Claim ſubſiſting upon which they robb'd us ſo long? But it would be better for *England* to ſubmit at once, throw up the Trade to our Colonies, and the Colonies themſelves, than to leave our Merchants expos'd to ſuch inhuman Cruelties, and ſuffer ourſelves to be mock'd with Forms of Juſtice and Law, while we are the Prey, and Sport, of all Injuſtice and Violence, or with inſignificant Treaties, which inſtead of giving us Security, ſerve as a Pretext and Sanction for all future Injuries.

But we are deſir'd to have Confidence, to have Hopes in the Wiſdom and Succeſs of the Meaſures which his Majeſty is adviſed to purſue.

Sir, the People of *England* fear much more than they hope.——And have not they Reaſon? What can a Review of the paſt produce, but Dread of the future? Have not theſe Depredations increas'd Year after Year, ſince 21? How many Fleets have been ſent out in that Time? What were they to do for us? To *perſuade* the *Spaniards*.——To what did they perſuade them? To make Conventions and Treaties.——What have we got by thoſe Treaties? New, and greater Inſults and Wrongs. This was enough to induce us to ſuſpect even laſt Year, that with all our Appearances of Vigour, we ſhou'd do nothing effectual; but thoſe Suſpicions were born down by the ſtrong Aſſurances given, that we ſhou'd not meet here again and find nothing done. What has been done, Sir? What is the Fruit of our Armament? A temporary Expedient, a poor, unſafe Procraſtination, a ſhameful Barter of our future Security, for the Name of Reſtitution, which, indeed, we make to ourſelves. I won't tire you with repeating what has been ſo fully made out; but when I compare this nominal, this ridiculous Satisfaction, with the ſerious Riſk we run of loſing our moſt valuable Rights, I dare be bold to ſay, no other Nation under Heaven ever ſtaked their Honour and Intereſt againſt *ſuch Counters* as theſe.

And are we to go on ſtill hoping, truſting ſtill in ſpite of Experience? Are our Reſentments perpetually to be play'd with in this Manner, ſhifted off from Expedient to Expedient, and from Seſſion to Seſſion? Adjourn'd from one Treaty to another, and ſo on to a third; if you don't like this, you ſhall the next, and when that comes, if you don't like that neither, you may go to War. Is this the Language to be held to a Parliament?—

But Gentlemen aſk, what have you loſt by deferring your War?——What have we loſt? All that we gave to make it laſt Year.—We have loſt much too of our Reputation, much of the Eſteem of Mankind, much of the Affection of our People, which is the worſt of all Loſſes. But, I beg Leave to ſay, in anſwer to a great deal of Reaſoning which I have heard from many Gentlemen, and heard

with great Pain, that the Queſtion is not, whether War or Peace be more eligible; the Queſtion now is about maintaining your Rights. If *Spain* believed us in earneſt, if ſhe did not depend upon our Timidity, it is ſcarce conceivable this ſhould coſt us a War. But if it did bring on one, it is a War of Neceſſity, and it is a War, in which our Neighbours have a common Cauſe with us. What was ſaid of the War againſt the Pirates, it wou'd be *Bellum omnium gentium.* Wou'd *France* take Arms to overturn a general Right, which it is as much her Intereſt to ſupport as ours? Wou'd ſhe fight to eſtabliſh in the Crown of *Spain*, a Power deſtructive to the Freedom of Commerce, and a ſupreme Dominion in the *American* Seas; or to impoſe that upon *England*, which ſhe muſt refuſe for herſelf? Upon the Foot of all Treaties this is quite impoſſible: We muſt be uſed as the *gens amiciſſima*; if *France*, or any other Nation ſhall retain this Right for themſelves, they retain it for us too; it is ours by Conſequence. Will ſhe break all Treaties then to take it away? This wou'd be acting with a Spirit of Violence, which does not ſeem to be in her now, and which, whenever it ſhews itſelf, muſt unite all *Europe* to oppoſe its Effects. Shou'd not we find one Friend among ſo many Allies? Have we negociated all the World into Enemies, united them all to our Deſtruction? If by the Conduct of our Miniſters, Things are brought to ſuch an Extremity, that we are reduced to the Neceſſity of periſhing in the juſt Defence of our Rights, or of periſhing equally by loſing them; the Choice is eaſy to make; let us periſh like Men, and with Swords in our Hands. But don't let us have the Weakneſs to expect our Safety from thoſe, who have brought a flouriſhing Nation to ſuch a dreadful Alternative.——What is this wretched Reprieve that we have begg'd for eight Months? Will that do us any good, Sir; will that be worth our Acceptance? Do we really flatter ourſelves that we now are at Peace? Peace is a ſecure and unmoleſted Enjoyment of our Rights—But Peace, at the Expence of Rights, of eſſential Rights, Peace expoſed to Inſults, Peace expoſed to Injuries, is the moſt abject, is the moſt deplorable, is the moſt calamitous Circumſtance of human Affairs. It is the worſt Effect that cou'd be produced from the moſt unſucceſsful, the moſt ruinous War. No Nation ſhou'd ſubmit to it, while it can hold up its Head: But to ſuch a one have we ſubmitted, without ſtriking a Stroke, and in a Condition to defend ourſelves, not againſt the *Spaniards* alone, but if our Strength were wiſely exerted, againſt any Enemies, whom in ſuch a Quarrel we might have to oppoſe, notwithſtanding all the Terrors, now thrown out to make us believe, that the Nation itſelf is as weak as, our Enemies may think, the Counſels that govern it. Yet though the Weakneſs is not in us, we muſt ſuffer the Shame of it, and all the Miſchiefs attending upon Loſs of Honour to a Nation. With what Contempt and Inſolence are we uſed by *Spain*, when in the ſame Treaty where ſhe ſtipulates that we ſhall not have Liberty to fortify *Charles-Town* itſelf, which is as undoubtedly ours, as *London* or *York*, that we muſt not dare to dig a Ditch about it till this Diſcuſſion is paſt, ſhe has not granted us a ſhort Suſpenſion of Hoſtilities, a temporary Obſervance of Treaties in not ſearching our Ships? So that far from having a Peace, we have not got ſo much as a Truce. For ſure the worthy Member over the Way did not believe himſelf when he argued, that to have aſk'd a Ceſſation of Injuries, would have been allowing their Claim. If a Man were at Law with me for my Eſtate, without any Title at all, and the Caſe was referr'd to Arbitrators, ſhou'd I let him cut down my Woods, and make what Waſte he pleaſed, till the Suit was decided, for Fear he ſhou'd interpret the forbidding it, as an Admiſſion of his Claim? Sure an Acquieſcence under it would admit it much more.

But, Sir, the worſt of all Indignities is his Catholick Majeſty's Behaviour with Regard to the *South-Sea* Company in *La Quadra's* Proteſt. That he ſhou'd not deign to ſubmit his Accounts with them to a Reference, to which we have ſubmitted Things of ſuch infinite Conſequence, as the Right we have to our Dominions, and the Security of our Trade, that he ſhould value our Friendſhip ſo little, as not even to grant us *this Treaty*, unleſs out of an unliquidated Account, the Part he claims be inſtantly paid, without any Regard to the Balance, or that upon a Refuſal of this, he ſhall deprive the Company of their Trade; that this ſhould be the only Condition of his agreeing to ſign this Convention, and that we ſhou'd take it on theſe Terms, is, indeed, aſtoniſhing, even to thoſe who are uſed to conſider the repeated Inſults of *Spain*, and the habitual Tameneſs of *England*.—

Sir, I entirely agree to what has been ſaid by ſome Gentlemen, that the Non-Compliance of the Company to this monſtrous Demand will not forfeit what is ſtipulated to be paid to our Merchants, nor directly annul the Convention—To be ſure it will not. But the Penalty annext to it, is the Depriving the Company, during the Pleaſure of *Spain*, of the Benefits of the Aſſiento Trade, and probably too the Loſs of their Debt, againſt Right and Juſtice, and the Senſe of all Treaties. Will our Government admit of this? Will they agree to it as juſt? If they do, it is evident, this great Body of our Countrymen, are put out of his Majeſty's Protection, and left at the Mercy of *Spain*; and it is no leſs evident, that we buy this Convention at the Expence of a great national Intereſt, and by a

Breach

of national Faith, of the Honour and Juſt. of Parliament, which has ſold and confirm'd this Trade to the Company. To ſay, this is not an Article, what will that avail? It is much ſtronger than an Article, as it is the Baſe of the Whole. It is much worſe than an Article, as the doing it in this Way has an Air of Tricking and Evaſion, that wou'd ſhame an Attorney. Gentlemen may diſtinguiſh and refine as much as they pleaſe, but on this dirty Foundation this Convention does ſtand. If every other Part of it were as good, as it is bad and diſhonourable, this alone ſhou'd oblige us to reject it with Scorn.——With Scorn, Sir, let us reject it, that to all we have ſuffer'd before, to all the accumulated Inſults that were ever heap'd on the Nation, a worſe Diſhonour may not be added, and that Diſhonour fall upon the Parliament. And therefore I heartily give my Negative to this Queſtion.

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was that made by T. Manlius Torquatus, *who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

I HAVE upon many Occaſions obſerved, that by the Art of Miniſters, or by the Art of thoſe who would be Miniſters, a popular Cry has been raiſed, by which the giddy Multitude have been, like Children, led in a Leading-ſtring, and induced to favour or join with thoſe who firſt raiſed the Clamour, tho' the End they were driving at, appear'd to be directly contrary to the Cry they had raiſed. In a late Reign, a Clamour was raiſed among the People, *That the Church was in Danger.* This Cry was firſt begun by thoſe who were not, but had a ſtrong Mind to be Miniſters; and it was ecchoed back by the People from all Corners of the Kingdom. Thoſe who put the People into this general Fright, got their Aim: They got themſelves made Miniſters; and they endeavoured to ſupport themſelves in Power, by the ſame Means by which they had got it: During their Adminiſtration, the popular Cry continued to be, *The Church was in Danger*; and yet many are miſtaken, if they were not, during the whole Time of their Adminiſtration, ſecretly driving at an End, which would have brought the Church into real Danger.

Upon the preſent Occaſion, I obſerve, that the general Cry raiſed among the People is, *Our Trade is in Danger.* I do not know, Sir, by whom this Cry has been raiſed; but, I am ſure, it has not been raiſed by our Miniſters; and if it has been raiſed by thoſe who are for involving the Nation in War, it muſt be allowed, that the End they are purſuing, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Cry they have raiſed; for War will certainly bring our Trade into real Danger. At preſent, I cannot think our Trade in any real Danger; and I have good Reaſon for thinking ſo; becauſe in a Debate of twelve Hours, I obſerved there was but one Merchant that ſpoke againſt this Treaty; and now I obſerve, that one of our greateſt Merchants, one who ought to have as great a Corncern for Trade as any Member of our Club, is ſitting in a Place from whence he cannot ſpeak *.

P. Villius Tappulus *thinking himſelf pointed at by the Concluſion of this Speech, removed from where he was, and after taking his Seat at the Table, he ſtood up and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

MY Reaſon for not ſpeaking upon this Queſtion, was not, becauſe I do not think our Trade in Danger: On the contrary, I think it will be abſolutely ſacrificed, if we approve of this Convention; but the Affair has been ſo fully, and ſo well ſpoke to by other Members, the fatal Conſequences of our agreeing to give a Sanction to this Preliminary, have been ſet in ſo clear a Light, and ſo little ſaid in its Favour, that I thought there was no Neceſſity for my giving you any Trouble upon this Occaſion.

Now I am called upon, Sir, I muſt obſerve, that our Trade is at preſent, I think, in the moſt imminent Danger. A juſt and a well conducted War can never bring our Trade into any Danger. But, if we ſhew that we dare not reſent any Injury that may be done to our Trade: If we allow our Merchants to be plundered, and our Seamen murdered and tortured with Impunity, our Trade will not only be in Danger, but muſt be undone. To this I muſt add, Sir, that with regard to the Treaty now under our Conſideration, the Honour of the Nation is as much concerned as its Trade; and therefore, it aſtoniſhes me to hear the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt, or any Gentleman of his Character, making light of ſuch a Subject; for if the Gentlemen of our Army ſhould make themſelves merry with the Honour of their Country, or ſhould join in ſacrificing it, by giving a parliamentary Sanction to an infamous Treaty of Peace, I am ſure they would be at leaſt as blameable, as thoſe Merchants who ſhould make a Joke of, or join in ſacrificing its Navigation and Commerce.

* N. B. *By the Rules of our Club, no Member can ſpeak, unleſs he has taken a Place at the Table.*

I ſhall conclude this Subject with giving you a ſhort Speech, that was made by M. Furius Camillus. *He had before ſpoke in the Debate, as he always does, with great Eloquence and Strength of Reaſon; but, after the Debate was, in a Manner, ended, he roſe up and made a ſhort, but emphatick and moving Speech, the Purport of which was thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I Do not riſe up after ſo long a Debate, to give you again my Sentiments upon the Convention, which we are now, it ſeems, to approve of; but to expreſs my great Concern at what I have ſeen happen. In all the Variety of Company I have kept, I have never heard a ſingle Perſon without Doors pretend to juſtify this Convention; and when the Sentiments of Particulars were ſuch, I did not expect, when they were met together in a Body, to ſee a Majority vote for it. This muſt be owing to one of theſe two Cauſes: Either Gentlemen were convinced by the Arguments made uſe of in this Houſe, for juſtifying this Convention, or there are other Methods of convincing beſides Reaſon. I am not at liberty to ſuppoſe it the latter, therefore, I muſt ſuppoſe it the former. But this, Sir, is to me a very melancholy Conſideration; for tho' I have attended with the utmoſt Regard to all that has been ſaid upon this Convention, I have not heard a ſingle Argument in its Favour, that has had the leaſt Weight with me. This, I ſay, Sir, is a very melancholy Conſideration to me, ſince it makes me conclude, that I have not Common Senſe, becauſe I find I cannot be convinced by the Strength of Common Reaſon; and therefore I think myſelf very unfit to do my Duty in this Houſe. While I ſit here, I am reſolved never to be directed by any Thing but Reaſon; and, as I muſt now conclude, that I do not underſtand Reaſon when I hear it, I muſt think myſelf incapable of doing my Duty in this Houſe; therefore I am reſolved to retire to the Country, and there perform my Duty as far as I am able, by acting in Conformity to the Laws, and in Obedience to the Government.

However, I muſt beg Gentlemen to conſider the Conſequences of the Vote they are now going to give. This Addreſs is intended to convince Mankind, that the Treaty now under our Conſideration, is a reaſonable and an honourable Treaty for this Nation; but, if a Majority of 28, in ſuch a full Houſe, ſhould fail of that Succeſs, if the People ſhould not implicitly reſign their Reaſon to a Vote of this Houſe, what will be the Conſequence? Will not the Parliament loſe its Authority? Will it not be thought that, even in Parliament, we are governed by a Faction? And what the Conſequences of this may be, I leave to thoſe Gentlemen to conſider, who are now to give their Vote for this Addreſs. For my own Part, I will trouble you no more; *but, with theſe my laſt Words, I ſincerely pray to Almighty God, who has ſo often wonderfully protected theſe Kingdoms, that he will graciouſly continue his Protection over them, by preſerving us from that impending Danger which threatens the Nation from without, and likewiſe from that impending Danger which threatens our Conſtitution from within.*

The JOURNAL *of the* PROCEEDINGS *and* DEBATES *in this* CLUB *to be continued in our* MAGAZINE *for this Month, which will be publiſhed the Beginning of next Month, as uſual.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 580. of the APPENDIX to last Month.

AS no material Diſpute, eſpecially of a political Nature, happens in this Kingdom, but what becomes a Topick of Converſation, and often the Subject of a Debate in our Club, the late Election of a *Lord Mayor* of *London*, (ſee p. 499, &c.) gave Occaſion for a Debate, a ſhort Account of which may be agreeable to your Readers.

Whether the Citizens of *London* had a Right to chuſe their *Lord Mayor*, that is to ſay, to return any two Gentlemen they pleaſed, that had ſerved the Office of Sheriff, to the Court of Aldermen, notwithſtanding the Cuſtom that has lately prevailed, was a Queſtion that could not admit of any Diſpute; but whether they had wiſely, juſtly, and properly exerted that Right upon Occaſion of the laſt Election, was the Queſtion that was ſtated and debated amongſt us.

Upon this Queſtion, the Hon. Solon *was the firſt that gave his Opinion, in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

I HAVE often obſerved, that what we call civil or political Power, and what we call Preheminence or Reſpect, are Terms which are not ſo properly diſtinguiſhed as they ought, by thoſe who talk or write upon the Subject. Preheminence a Man may be entitled to by Nature, and he may be poſſeſſed of it without Power; but Power proceeds from the Free-gift of the People alone, and always draws with it Preheminence. A Superiority of Age, entitles a Man to Preheminence or Reſpect from his Juniors, which he can forfeit only by a wicked or childiſh Behaviour; and ſuperior Qualifications, eſpecially of the Mind, intitle a Man by Nature to a Sort of Preheminence or Reſpect; but neither of theſe gives him any Title to Power, tho' they are good Reaſons for prevailing on the People to inveſt him with Power. In Society, again, a Man's being the Repreſentative of an antient Family, or the Son of a Father from whom the So-

ciety has received great Benefits or Services, gives him a Sort of natural Right to Preheminence, but it gives him no Right to any Power, legiſlative, juriſdictive or executive, eccleſiaſtical, civil or military: Nay, it ought not to be, tho' it generally is, of itſelf a Reaſon for prevailing on the People to inveſt him with any Power. No Man therefore can have a Title to any Sort of political Power, but by the expreſs Election, or the Submiſſion, which is a tacit Sort of Election, of the People.

But as expreſs Elections in numerous Societies are troubleſome, and often give Occaſion to Factions and Seditions, therefore in moſt Societies the People have, in many Inſtances, by their Submiſſion, annexed Power to Preheminence. By which I mean, Sir, that in moſt Societies, the Repreſentatives of ſome of their antient Families have a Sort of Right or Title to Power, by the Conſtitution or Form of Government eſtabliſhed in that Society. It is this that gave Riſe to Monarchies and Ariſtocracies: It is this that preſerves theſe Sorts of Government, and makes them ſo univerſal.

When the whole Power of the Society is thus, Sir, by annexing Power to Preheminence, lodged in the Repreſentative of one great and antient Family, it conſtitutes what is properly call'd an abſolute hereditary Monarchy; ſuch as that eſtabliſhed in *Turkey*. When it is lodged in the Repreſentative of a certain Number of great and antient Families, it conſtitutes that Form of Government we properly call an Ariſtocracy; ſuch as that may be called which is eſtabliſhed at *Venice*. But when no Power is annexed to Preheminence: When the whole Power of the Society is lodged in that Magiſtrate, or in thoſe Magiſtrates, that are choſen by the expreſs Election of the People, it conſtitutes that Form of Government we call an elective Monarchy; ſuch as that of *Poland*, with regard to thoſe called Gentlemen of *Poland*; for the reſt of the People of that Kingdom, are rather Slaves than Subjects: Or it conſtitutes that Form of Government which we properly call a Democracy; the likeſt to which, is that now eſtabliſhed in *Swiſſerland*.

With regard to abſolute Monarchies, it may be juſtly ſaid, Sir, that they muſt generally be tyrannical and oppreſſive; becauſe a Man who is born and bred preſumptive Heir of a Crown, ſeldom learns in his Youth to bridle or confine his Paſſions; and ſuch a Man, when he comes to be veſted with uncontroulable Power, muſt almoſt neceſſarily make a bad Uſe of it; ſo that it is next to a Miracle, if he does not oppreſs the People who have the Misfortune of being ſubject to his Government. And with regard to Ariſtocracies, tho' no one ſingle Man be veſted with an uncontroulable Power, yet thoſe who have the Power lodged in their Hands, too often connive at the Oppreſſive and tyrannical Acts of one another; and ſometimes a few of them form themſelves into a Confederacy, and by that Means aſſume an abſolute Rule over the whole Society; ſo that the People are generally oppreſſed by an ariſtocratical, as well as a monarchical Government.

But with regard to a Democracy, Sir, it can never become tyrannical or oppreſſive, whilſt the Elections of their Magiſtrates are frequent and free; for when a Magiſtrate knows that the Time of his Magiſtracy will be ſoon at an End, and that he muſt then return to the People for a Continuance of his Power, or that he may have ſuch Succeſſors as will call him to a ſtrict Account, he will probably be as circumſpect as poſſible, in order to recommend himſelf to the People at the next Election

or to prevent its being in the Power of thoſe that ſucceed him, to charge him with any Crime or Neglect. Indeed, if the Magiſtrates be choſen for Life, or a long Term of Years, a Democracy may not only become oppreſſive, but the moſt oppreſſive, and the moſt troubleſome of all Sorts of Government; becauſe their Elections can never be free. Such Elections are always both ſeditious and corrupt; and the Government is a continual Courſe of Oppreſſion in thoſe that prevail over the Party that oppoſed them, which Oppreſſion is ſo ſharpened by the Rancour and Malice raiſed at the Time of Election, that it cuts aſunder the Bands of Relation, Friendſhip, Gratitude, and even Humanity itſelf; for the prevailing Party being awed by no Fear of a ſpeedy End to their Power, they give a full Looſe to their Revenge, and the long Time they have to reign, makes them conceive Hopes of rendering it perpetual, by extirpating the Party that oppoſed them.

On the other hand, Sir, if Elections are frequent, they will probably be free, eſpecially if Care be taken, that the ſame Man ſhall never, or not ſoon, be re-elected into any Office of great Dignity and Power; for when the Time of Magiſtracy is but ſhort, no Man can, during his Magiſtracy, form ſuch a Party as may be able to force the People to re-chuſe him, and it can never be worth any Man's While to purchaſe ſuch an Election by Bribery. Every Elector has a Bias or Inclination to vote for one Candidate rather than another, proceeding from Friendſhip, Acquaintance, Eſteem, Character, or ſome other Motive that is not corrupt; and if the other Candidate has a Mind to corrupt him, he muſt give him ſuch a Sum, as will make the corrupt Motive get the better of all the other Motives: If one Guinea, or one hundred Guineas will not do this, he muſt give him two, three, four, five, ſix, or ſeven: Now if a new Election is to return in a Year, it may not be worth the corrupting Candidate's While to give five or ſeven; and conſequently, he can purchaſe but a very few low Fellows; whereas, if a new Election is not to return for ſeven Years, it may be worth the corruptiug Candidate's While to give five or ſeven Guineas, which may be a corrupt Motive, ſtrong enough to get the better of all other Motives, with ſuch a Number of the Electors, as may gain him a Majority upon the Election; from whence 'tis evident, that the more frequent the Elections are, the more free, and the leſs corrupt they muſt neceſſarily be.

And for this very Reaſon, Sir, they muſt be the leſs ſeditious; for nothing is ſo apt to ſtir up Sedition, and even Civil Wars, as Violence or Injuſtice upon either Side of an Election. Whoever endeavours to gain a Majority of Votes in any Aſſembly by forcible or corrupt Methods, gives the other Side a Right to have Recourſe to Arms, and they certainly will, if they have the leaſt Proſpect of Succeſs: Whereas, when a Candidate and his Party know, or have Reaſon to believe, that every Man was left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, if a Majority declares againſt them, they have no Right to complain, therefore they bear their Diſappointment with Patience, and hope for better Succeſs upon the next Occaſion; eſpecially when they know, that in a ſhort Time they muſt have an Opportunity for a freſh Trial; which is another Reaſon for Elections being leſs ſeditious, when they are frequent, than when they happen but once in an Age, or in a long Term of Years. In the former Caſe, the

Diſappointment a Candidate meets with, is not ſo conſiderable as in the latter, and therefore cannot ſo highly provoke his Reſentment: Nay, if he has any, he will endeavour to ſtifle and conceal it, in order to recommend himſelf upon the next Occaſion, to many of thoſe who voted againſt him upon the former; which is a prudential Caution, a Magiſtrate choſen for Life, or a long Term of Years, has no Occaſion for; and therefore, thoſe who oppoſe him, will certainly oppoſe him with the more Heat and Animoſity, becauſe if he be choſen into the Magiſtracy, they muſt expect no Favour; they muſt expect that the Law will be moſt rigourouſly executed in every Caſe, where any one of them has a Concern.

From theſe Reflexions, Sir, upon what we properly call Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, one would think, that Democracy ſhould be the only Form of Government eſtabliſhed in any Part of the World; and that of all Democracies, that which has a quick Rotation of Magiſtracy of all Kinds, ſhould be the only one choſen. But what we call the Vulgar in every Country, which makes by far the moſt numerous Part of Mankind, are ſo bad Politicians, that no pure Democracy was ever of any very long Continuance. The Vulgar are ſo ſenſible of the Evils they ſuffer, and ſome Evils they muſt ſuffer under any Form of human Government; and they are ſo inſenſible of thoſe Evils to which they were never expoſed, that in order to avoid the ſmall Evils they ſuffer under a Democracy, and inſtead of contriving Methods for amending their popular Form of Government, they throw themſelves under the inſufferable Evils of an abſolute Monarchy or Ariſtocracy. Of this the *Iſraelites* in the Days of *Samuel* are a notable Inſtance, who, when they found themſelves oppreſſed by his Sons, inſtead of reſtoring and regulating their Commonwealth, inſiſted upon having an abſolute Monarchy eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding the lively and true Repreſentation, *Samuel* made to them of that Form of Government.

Another Reaſon, Sir, for the ſhort Duration of Democracies is, that the Vulgar can never ſee into the ſecret and remote Deſigns of cunning and ambitious Men. They judge from outward and preſent Appearance only; and as moſt Men endeavour to graſp at all the Power they can get, and are not only for keeping Poſſeſſion as long as they live, but even for tranſmitting it to their Poſterity; therefore, the Ambition of ſucceſsful Generals, or artful and great Magiſtrates, and the ſtupid Confidence of the Vulgar, are the Cauſe that pure Democracies have generally ſoon ended in abſolute Monarchy.

For this Reaſon, Sir, it has been found neceſſary to make ſome Sort of Mixture or Compoſition of theſe three different Sorts of Government and of all the Compound Governments that were ever eſtabliſhed, I believe, that which is eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom is, according to its true Conſtitution, the moſt convenient, and the moſt durable. But as it depends upon ſuch an equal Mixture of the three, as that no one of them may be able to get the better of, and ſwallow up the other two; and as no human Prudence can pretend to contrive ſuch Regulations as muſt for ever guard us againſt this Danger, the only Means we can propoſe, for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, is to be continually upon the Watch, in order to diminiſh the Power of that Part of our Conſtitution, which is at that Time like to prevail over the other two.

At preſent, Sir, the only Danger our Conſtitution ſeems to be threatned with, is, leſt the Monarchical

Part of it ſhould ſo far prevail as to get the abſolute Direction of the other two; and therefore, we ſhould guard as much as poſſible againſt any Increaſe of Power in the Monarchical Part of our Conſtitution. Perhaps it may be now become abſolutely neceſſary to diminiſh, or take away, ſome of that Power it has lately acquired. Now as there are a great many Magiſtracies and Offices in the Gift of the Crown, the Power of the Crown muſt be greater, when thoſe Magiſtracies or Offices are granted during Pleaſure, than when they are granted during Life; for a Magiſtrate or Officer, when his Poſt depends upon the Pleaſure of the Crown, will be more ſubſervient to the Crown, and will more implicitly obey its Commands, than he would do, had he his Poſt for Life. This we may be convinced of by obſerving, that it has been the perpetual Endeavour of all our Princes and Miniſters that were aiming at arbitrary Power, to get as many Poſts and Offices as poſſible at the Diſpoſal of the Crown, and to diſpoſe of them *durante beneplacito* only. Therefore, we ought to be extremely cautious of increaſing the Number of thoſe Poſts or Offices that are granted by the Crown, eſpecially thoſe that are granted by the Crown during Pleaſure: And thoſe who think the Power of the Crown already too great, ought to endeavour to have ſome of thoſe Poſts now at the Diſpoſal of the Crown provided for otherwiſe, and to have it ſo regulated that moſt of thoſe which are now diſpoſed of by the Crown *durante beneplacito*, may hereafter be always granted *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit.*

But, Sir, with regard to all thoſe Magiſtracies, Poſts or Offices, that are by our Conſtitution in the Diſpoſal of the People, which conſtitutes the democratical Part of our Form of Government, the Caſe is very different; for in order to increaſe the Power of the People, and diminiſh the Power of the Crown, ſuch Magiſtrates and Officers ought all to be annually choſen, or for a very ſhort Term of Years: When ſuch Magiſtrates and Officers are choſen for Life, or for a long Term of Years, the Crown muſt neceſſarily have great Influence, not only upon the Elections, but alſo over the Magiſtrates and Officers after they are choſen. While we are under a juſt and wiſe Adminiſtration, this Influence can be no Way prejudicial, but on the contrary, may be of Service to the Publick. But when the Nation has the Misfortune to be under an ambitious, a wicked, or a weak Adminiſtration, which is a Misfortune too frequent in this, and every other Nation, this Influence may contribute towards the Overthrow of our Conſtitution, or it may contribute towards gaining a conſtitutional Juſtification of the moſt wicked, or a conſtitutional Approbation of the moſt ridiculous Meaſures. And that this Influence will be great or ſmall, in Proportion to the long or ſhort Duration of ſuch Magiſtracies or Offices, is apparent from the Attempts of ſuch of our Princes or Miniſters that have been aiming at the Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power; for from the whole Courſe of our Hiſtory we ſhall find, that ſuch Princes and Miniſters have always endeavoured, either to take this Nomination entirely away from the People, or to have ſuch Magiſtrates and Officers choſen for Life, or for a long Term of Years.

This, I ſay, Sir, we may know from Experience, but even from Reaſon itſelf we may be convinced of it; becauſe it is more worth the While of a Court or Miniſter, to gain an Influence over the Election of any Magiſtrate or Officer, who is to be choſen for Life, or a long Term of Years, than over the Election of a

Magi-

Magiſtrate or Officer who is to be choſen for a Year only, or for a ſhort Term of Years. And it is more the Intereſt of a Court to gain an Influence over a Magiſtrate or Officer that is in for Life, or a long Term of Years, than over one that is in for a Year, or a few Years only. Therefore, a Court or Miniſter will always give more for the Purchaſe of a corrupt Influence in the former of each of theſe Caſes, than in the latter. When a Prince or Miniſter is purſuing arbitrary Deſigns, or wicked, or weak Meaſures, the People will ſoon become ſenſible of it, and every Man will be hated or deſpiſed by them, that endeavours to ſupport or juſtify ſuch Meaſures. Notwithſtanding the Contempt that ſome of our modern fine Gentlemen are now induſtriouſly taught to ſhew for Popularity, I will be bold to ſay, that every Man has ſome Regard for his Character among the People of his Country: No Man will knowingly and deſignedly ſacrifice it, without a valuable Conſideration; and that Conſideration he muſt think more valuable, than the Value he puts upon his Character among the People of his Country; therefore, when I hear a Man deſpiſing Popularity, I always conclude, that he has either a corrupt, or a corrupting Heart; and that he does ſo, either to juſtify the villanous Sale he has made, or to diminiſh the Price of thoſe, whoſe Characters he has a Mind to purchaſe. But all the Art and Ridicule that can be made uſe of againſt Popularity, by the mercenary Tools of a wicked Adminiſtration, can never entirely root out of the Heart of Mankind, that Paſſion for Eſteem, which God and Nature have ſo wiſely and ſo ſtrongly imprinted. Some Men may put but a ſmall Value upon their Character, and the Tools of a wicked Adminiſtration, like common Thieves, by keeping Company only with one another, may at laſt come to be regardleſs of their Character among the reſt of Mankind; but no Man of common Senſe ever made the firſt Sacrifice of his Character for nothing; therefore, before an ambitious, wicked, or weak Adminiſtration, can have a corrupt Influence, which is the only Influence they can have, upon a popular Election, they muſt give to each Elector they find neceſſary to corrupt, a Bribe ſuperior to the Value he puts upon his Character among his Neighbours and Countrymen, which becomes the more impoſſible, the more frequently ſuch Elections return; and before they can gain ſuch an Influence over a Magiſtrate or Officer choſen by the People, they muſt give him a Bribe ſuperior to the Value he puts upon his Character among the People that choſe him, which of courſe becomes the more impoſſible, the ſhorter Time that Magiſtrate or Officer is to continue in Office; and in both Caſes, the oftner the Method of Bribing muſt be made uſe of, the more eaſily may the Corruption be diſcovered.

As the Rules of Reaſon, Sir, are always beſt explained, and moſt ſtrongly enforced by Example, I ſhall beg Leave to ſuppoſe this Nation ſo unfortunate, as to be under an Adminiſtration, whoſe Meaſures had become the Ridicule of every Man in the Kingdom, not hired to approve or commend. Every one muſt ſee, that ſuch an Adminiſtration muſt neceſſarily endeavour to gain a corrupt Influence over moſt of our popular Elections, and over moſt of thoſe Magiſtrates and Officers that are choſen by the People, eſpecially thoſe called our Repreſentatives in Parliament. In this Caſe, ſuppoſe our Parliaments were ſeptennial, as they are at preſent, it might be worth the Government's While to pay 700*l.* for gaining a corrupt Influence over a ſmall Borough; and

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe the Majority of the Electors was not above a hundred, 7*l.* a Man might be a higher Price, than any one of them valued his Character at, and might be a Motive ſuperior to all the Motives he might have to vote for the Candidate upon the Country Intereſt; therefore, the Court Candidate would be ſure of being choſen: Whereas, if our Parliaments were annually choſen, as they originally were, the Court could not give above 100*l.* for gaining a corrupt Influence over ſuch a Borough, and 20 Shillings a Man would be far from being a Price ſuperior to the Value any Man but a mere Scoundrel could put upon his Character, nor could it be a Motive ſuperior to the other natural and honeſt Motives any Elector might have to vote for the Candidate upon the Country Intereſt. Then with regard to the Repreſentatives, after they are choſen, a Penſion of 500*l.* or 1000*l.* a Year, for ſeven Years certain, might be a prevailing Motive with many Members to vote always with the Court, at the Expence of their Character, who would deſpiſe and ſpurn at an Offer of 500*l.* or 1000*l.* when they knew that their accepting of ſuch an Offer, or voting in ſuch a Way, would be a certain Means for throwing them out of Parliament upon the next annual Election.

Now, Sir, with regard to thoſe Magiſtrates and Officers that are choſen by the People, I cannot chuſe better for an Example, than thoſe of the City of *London*. We know that the Citizens have as yet the Power of chuſing all their own Magiſtrates and Officers; and we likewiſe know, that moſt of them are annually choſen. Even the Aldermen were, by their firſt Inſtitution, to be annually choſen, and continued ſo till the 17th Year of *Richard* II. But that King having formed a Deſign againſt the Liberties of the People, began, as ſuch Princes uſually do, by endeavouring to oppreſs the City of *London*. Upon a frivolous Pretence, he took away their Charter, which they did not get reſtored till they made him a Preſent of a very large Sum of Money; and in order, as may be ſuppoſed, to render their Aldermen more liable to Court Influence, he got a Regulation made, for having the Aldermen choſen for Life, unleſs removed for a reaſonable Cauſe. The Fate of that unfortunate Prince, and how much that Fate was owing to this Treatment of the City of *London*, is well known; but tho' that Prince was ſolemnly depoſed, and afterwards privately murdered, this Regulation, with reſpect to the Aldermen of the City of *London*, was too convenient for the Crown, ever to admit of an Alteration; ſo that the Aldermen have ever ſince been choſen by their reſpective Wards for Life.

I need not take up your Time, Sir, with ſhewing how convenient it muſt always be for our Adminiſtration to have the Magiſtrates and People of *London* of their Side: If our Court had no other Guards than what they had in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time, it would be abſolutely neceſſary; and that long Reign is not only a Proof, that this may be accompliſhed by a wiſe Conduct alone, but it is alſo a Proof, that the People of *England* are not ſo factious and fickle, as ſome late Politicians have been pleaſed to inſinuate. But when the Nation happens to be under ſuch an Adminiſtration as I have before ſuppoſed, the Citizens of *London* will certainly declare againſt it, and then it becomes neceſſary for our Miniſters to gain to their Intereſt, by corrupt Means, for they can do it by none other, as many of the City Magiſtrates as they can. In this Caſe let us examine, whether it would not be much more eaſy and certain to gain a corrupt In-

Influence over an Alderman choſen for Life, than over one choſen for a Year only. Before a Man can be choſen Alderman, we muſt ſuppoſe him to be a Favourite of his Ward, and conſequently that he muſt have a good Character among the People. This Character we cannot ſuppoſe he would ſacrifice, by joining in Support of a hated or deſpiſed Miniſter, unleſs for a very valuable Conſideration. Suppoſe this Conſideration, or the Value he puts upon his Character amongſt his old Friends and Acquaintance, to be at leaſt 1000*l.* a Year during Life: This he would certainly have, either in Poſt or Penſion from ſuch a Miniſter; for it would be well worth ſuch a Miniſter's While to pay 14,000*l.* a Year for ſecuring a Majority in the Court of Aldermen, eſpecially ſince that Court has got, by a late Statute, the extraordinary Power of putting a Negative upon the moſt general Reſolution of the rich and populous City of *London*.

But, Sir, if the Aldermen of the City of *London* were, as formerly, and as the Common-Council Men now are, choſen from Year to Year, tho' ſuch an Alderman could not do the Court near ſo much Service, as an Alderman choſen for Life, yet he would put a higher Price upon his Character among his old Friends and Acquaintance, for this very good Reaſon, becauſe he would have more Uſe for it. When the Aldermen are choſen for Life, if the Cuſtom of advancing them to the Honour of the Mayoralty by regular Rotation, ſhould ever be eſtabliſhed as unalterable, a Man who had got himſelf once choſen Alderman, would be at the Top of his Ambition, with regard to any Thing his Friends in the City could beſtow; therefore he would, from that Moment, begin to diſregard his Character among them, and conſequently would undervalue it. Whereas, if he were choſen for a Year only, he muſt preſerve his Character in the City, in order to recommend himſelf to their Choice at the next annual Election; and even while the Citizens Right of chuſing the Lord Mayor yearly, is left free, and unconfined by Law or Cuſtom, it muſt lay the Aldermen, tho' choſen for Life, under ſome Sort of Obligation to preſerve their Character among the Citizens, till they have got above the Chair, which, of courſe, muſt at leaſt enhance their Price to a hated or deſpiſed Adminiſtration. But if their Continuance in the Magiſtracy as Aldermen, as well as their Advancement to the Mayoralty, depended upon their preſerving their Character amongſt the Citizens, moſt of them would put ſuch a Price upon their Character, as would render it impoſſible for a wicked Adminiſtration to purchaſe a Majority in the Court of Aldermen; for even ſuppoſe they ſhould put no greater Value upon their Character, than I have ſuppoſed an Alderman for Life to do, in order to purchaſe an Alderman for a Year only, the Court muſt give him at once a Sum equal in Value to an Annuity of 1000*l.* a Year for Life, which is at leaſt 10,000*l.* ſo that it would coſt ſuch an Adminiſtration as I have ſuppoſed, at leaſt 140,000*l.* a Year, to preſerve, by corrupt Means, from Year to Year, a Majority in the Court of Aldermen.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, in relation to Parliament-Men choſen for one Year, or ſeven, I need not trouble you with ſhewing, that a Court, or wicked Adminiſtration, will always more probably have a corrupt Influence over the Election of an Alderman for Life, than over the Election of one choſen for a Year only: For every one muſt ſee, that in the former Caſe, it may be worth their While to lay out in Bribery

bery, ſuch a Sum upon the Election, as might be ſufficient for tempting the Majority of the Liverymen of a Ward, to vote for the Court Candidate, at the Expence of their Character, and in Defiance of all the honeſt Motives they might have, to vote for the other Candidate; whereas, in the latter Caſe, it would never be worth the While of an Adminiſtration, to lay out ſuch a Sum upon any annual Election.

This muſt ſhew, Sir, how much it would contribute towards ſecuring the Liberties of the City of *London* againſt the Attempts of an ambitious or wicked Adminiſtration, to have their antient Method of chuſing Aldermen reſtored. But ſince this is not, I'm afraid, to be expected, ſurely the Citizens of *London* ought to take great Care, that their annuul and free Choice of a Lord Mayor ſhall not be wreſted from them, either by an expreſs Law, or by a Cuſtom, which, if continued for many Years without Interruption, might have the ſame Effect. This free Choice, while it is preſerved, will, as I have ſaid, have ſome Effect, in preſerving the Integrity and Fidelity of their Aldermen under the Chair; and ſince this is their laſt Boon, the only Check they have now left, upon a Set of Magiſtrates who may greatly contribute, upon many Occaſions, towards preſerving or deſtroying the Liberties, not only of their City, but of their Country, they ought to be extremely jealous of having it, under any Pretence, wreſted from them. For this Reaſon, they ought to interrupt the Cuſtom of preſenting the two ſenior Aldermen under the Chair, as often as they have an Opportunity; and this Opportunity muſt always preſent itſelf, when either of the two is ſuſpected of any enormous Crime, or egregious Weakneſs, either in publick or private Life; for a Lord Mayor of *London*, like the Wife of *Cæſar*, ought not to be ſo much as ſuſpected of any Crime or Weakneſs.

I am far from accuſing the Gentleman who had the Misfortune of being put by upon the laſt Occaſion, of any Thing criminal; but, Sir, the very Suſpicion was a ſufficient Authority for what was done; and he had the additional Misfortune of being under a moſt unlucky Alternative, in the Eye of every Man that thought our late Convention with *Spain* a moſt inglorious and deſtructive Treaty; which, I believe, was the Way of thinking of a great Majority of his Electors. As he in the moſt publick, the moſt ſolemn, and the moſt hurtful Manner, approved of that Convention, every Man who had ſuch an Opinion of it, muſt conclude, either againſt his Integrity, or his Capacity; and therefore, every ſuch Man was obliged, both in Honour and Conſcience, to vote againſt his being raiſed to a Poſt of ſo great Honour, as that of the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*; for, beſides the real Injuries a Man in ſuch a Poſt may do to his Country and Fellow-Citizens, when a Criminal is raiſed to ſuch a high Dignity, he diſgraces it; when a weak Man is, he renders it contemptible. From hence we may ſee, that when a Man preſents himſelf as a Candidate for any Poſt of Honour in his Country, he muſt of courſe ſubject both his Character and Capacity to a fair Enquiry. Upon this Enquiry, his Electors are the only rightful Judges; and whoever thinks he has a well-founded Suſpicion of either, not only ought, but is in Duty bound, to give his Negative to ſuch a Candidate: There is no Occaſion for a full Proof, the very Suſpicion is a juſt Reaſon for that Negative. But when, by ſuch a Negative, a Man preſerves to his City or Country a moſt valuable Privilege, or interrupts a Cuſtom that

wonld in Time put an End to it, the Negative he gives is ſtill more to be juſtified.

Upon this Footing, Sir, we ought to judge of the Behavour of the Citizens of *London* at the laſt Election of their Lord Mayor, and upon this Footing we muſt conclude, they juſtly, wiſely, and properly, exerted their Right upon that Occaſion: Nay, we muſt conclude, that ſuch of them as thought the late Convention with *Spain* a diſhonourable and diſadvantageous Treaty, would have been deficient in their Duty towards their City, if they had not given their Negative to a Man whom in their Hearts they could not but condemn, either for Want of Integrity, or for Want of Capacity.

[*This Journal and Debate to be continued in our next.*]

The two following were omitted in our laſt for Want of Room.

Craftſman, Oct. 27. N° 694.

A SPEECH *of* QUEEN ANNE, *with Obſervations upon it*, &c.

SIR,

I THINK you have laid down a very honeſt and practicable Scheme, in your Paper of the 13th (ſee p. 509) towards the Expences of a *War* with *Spain*; and tho' one of the *miniſterial Hacks* hath endeavour'd to nibble at it in general, yet he ſeems to be aſhamed of reaſoning againſt *one Part of it*, by paſſing it over intirely in Silence. I mean *that* which relates to a parliamentary Deduction, or a voluntary Contribution, from the *Civil-Liſt*; which are fully juſtified in Times of *War*, not only from Reaſon and Equity, but the two Examples you mention'd in the Reigns of K. *William* and Q. *Anne*.

As to the *latter*, you confin'd yourſelf to the Authority of her Grace the Dutcheſs Dowager *Marlborough*; which is confirm'd by her Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, at the Beginning of her Reign, *viz. March* 30, 1702. which I believe will be very acceptable to every *true Engliſhman*. It is as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very well pleas'd to have given my Aſſent to the Act for taking the *publick Accounts*. No thing is more reaſonable than to give the Kingdom the Satisfaction of having thoſe *great Sums* accounted for, which were rais'd to carry on the *late War*; eſpecially when it is neceſſary, for our *own Safety*, and the Support of *our Allies*, to continue *great Taxes*.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my kind and hearty Thanks for continuing to me, for my Life, the *ſame Revenue* you have granted to the *King*. I will take great Care it ſhall be manag'd to the *beſt Advantage*; and while my Subjects remain under the Burden of *ſuch great Taxes*, I will ſtrain myſelf, in *my own Expences*, rather than not contribute all I can to their *Eaſe* and *Relief*, with a juſt Regard to the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

It is probable the *Revenue* may fall very ſhort of what it hath formerly produced. However, I will give Directions, that 100,000*l.* be apply'd to the *publick Service* in this Year, out of the *Revenues* you have ſo unanimouſly given me.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The preſent Poſture of Affairs *abroad*, as well as the Seaſon of the Year, obliges me to put you in mind of giving all poſſible Diſpatch to the *publick Buſineſs*.

This Speech breathes ſuch a glori-
us Spirit, and ſo warmly expreſſes
e Affections of the *Mother of her*
ountry, that it was receiv'd with
eat Applauſe, at that Time, and it
ould be Injuſtice to her Memory,
preſent, not to make a ſhort Com-
ent upon it.

It is certainly true, (as *her Maje-*
obſerves) that nothing is more
aſonable, at the Commencement
a *new War*, which muſt be car-
d on by the Continuance of *great*
xes, at the Expence of *the People*,
an that they ſhould have a full
d ſatisfactory Account how the
oney rais'd for the Support of any
mer War hath been diſpos'd of. I
nnot help adding, that *ſuch an Ac-*
nt is certainly more reaſonable, at
e Beginning of a *War*, after im-
enſe Sums have been expended
ring a *long Courſe of Peace*; for
at being a Time, which requires
extraordinary Expences, it is the
tereſt of a *wiſe Prince*, and the
uty of an *honeſt Miniſter*, to lay
ld of ſuch an Opportunity to heal
the Wounds, which a *War* hath
caſion'd, and to lay in a Stock for
ew one, when Neceſſity requires
by recruiting the *publick Treaſure*,
d eaſing the *People*. Both of theſe
y be eaſily done, during a long
erval of *War*, by a little *good Oe-*
omy and *honeſt Management*.

In the next Place, we find the
een returning the *Houſe of Com-*
ns Thanks, for continuing to her,
ring Life, the *ſame Revenue* they
d granted to K. *William*. She
s ſo far from deſiring any In-
aſe of the *Civil-Liſt*, that ſhe
s very thankful for the *ſame Re-*
ue her Predeceſſor enjoy'd, tho'
came to the Throne with a War
n her Hands, which might have
n made a Pretence by *ſome Princes*
have aſk'd for more. But her ge-
ous Heart diſdain'd any ſuch un-
ſonable Demands; and aſſur'd the
liament, that whilſt *her Subjects*
ain'd under the Burthen of *ſuch*
great Taxes, ſhe would ſtraiten her-
ſelf in her *own Expences*, rather
than not contribute all ſhe could to
their *Eaſe* and *Relief*.

Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, "that many
ſeem'd to apprehend that ſo *great a*
Revenue might be apply'd to *Uſes*,
not ſo profitable to the *Publick*, in a
Reign that was like to be *frugal*,
and probably would not be liable to
great Accidents."

However, theſe Jealouſies immediately vaniſh'd upon *her Majeſty's Speech*, which did not conſiſt of *Words* only; for tho' ſhe expreſſes her Apprehenſions, "that the *Revenue* would fall very ſhort of what it formerly produced," yet ſhe promis'd to give Directions that 100,000*l.* ſhould be apply'd towards the *publick Expences of that Year*; and, during the Progreſs of the *War*, ſhe gave up a conſiderable Part of her *Revenue* to the *ſame Uſes*, beſides many other *munificent Benefactions*, both of a *publick* and *private Nature*.

All this was done by that *diſintereſted Frugality*, which ſhe promis'd the Nation in her Speech; for the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* aſſures us, upon the Authority of the late Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord High-Treaſurer, "that from *Accidents in the Cuſtoms*, and *Lenity in the Collection*, her *Civil-Liſt* did not ariſe, one Year with another, to more than 500,000*l.* a Year." We have the ſame Authority for ſaying, "that ſhe never bought any *one Jewel* during her whole Reign; and that as to her *Robes*, for nine Years, ſhe ſpent only 32,050*l.* including the *Coronation Expence*."

The preſent State of the *Civil-Liſt* is ſo well known, and hath been ſo fully explain'd, that I ſhall not trouble you, or the Reader, with any Recapitulation of the Particulars.—Neither will I preſume to offer my Opinion what ought to be done upon the preſent extraordinary

Occaſion, either by *his Majeſty*, or the *Parliament*. A *War*, ſo long deſired by the Nation, is now proclaim'd in Form againſt *Spain*; and it cannot be doubted that the beſt Meaſures will be devis'd for carrying it on, not only with *Vigour* and *Succeſs*, but likewiſe with *all the Eaſe to the People*, which the *preſent Circumſtances of Affairs* will admit.

But I muſt beg Leave to take Notice of one Point, which deſerves our particular Conſideration. All wiſe Governments have kept a *reſerv'd Stock*, for the Uſe of the *Publick*, againſt extraordinary Emergencies, which was always look'd upon as *inviolable*, and not to be diverted to *any other Purpoſes*.

The States of *Greece* had a ſacred Treaſure, which was kept in the Temple of *Delos*, and not to be alienated except in Caſes of the utmoſt Extremity. *This Treaſure* was religiouſly preſerv'd, according to its original Inſtitution, till the unhallow'd Hands of *Pericles* ſeiz'd upon it, and at the ſame Time upon the Liberties of his Country.

The *antient Romans* had likewiſe a ſelect Treaſure, call'd *Aurum viceſſimarium*, which was laid up in the Temple of *Saturn*, and not to be touch'd but in Caſes of the laſt Neceſſity.

The *modern Romans* have a Reſource of the ſame Kind in the *Caſtle of St. Angelo*, beſide their great Riches at *Civita Vecchia*, which are kept reſerv'd againſt any great Emergencies, or Attacks upon the *Holy See*.

The ſacred Treaſure of *England* conſiſts, as Q. *Elizabeth* obſerv'd, *in the Purſes of the People; for whilſt they are full, the royal Coffers will never be empty*; and for this Reaſon ſhe generouſly refunded a large Sum of Money to her *People*, when the Service, for which it was granted her by *Parliament*, did not require it.

We have, indeed, *another Treaſure*, formerly call'd *ſacred* and *inviolable*; I mean the *Sinking Fund*, which was conſtituted for the Payment of our *national Debts*; but the very Perſon, who had once the Vanity to call it *his own Child*, hath ſince manifeſtly diſcover'd his Want of natural Affection, by diverting and ſacrificing it to other Purpoſes for *temporary Expedients*, and *his own immediate Intereſt*. If *this Fund* had been regularly and punctually apply'd, either to the *Payment of our Debts*, or the *Reduction of our Taxes*, for which it was orignally deſign'd and moſt ſolemnly appropriated, the *People's Purſes* would have been enabled to ſupply very large Sums toward the Expences of a *War*. But ſince our Affairs are very unhappily in another Situation; it is to be wiſh'd at leaſt, that the *Sinking Fund* will not, upon any Occaſion, be *funded out*; which would be mortgaging our Poſterity, almoſt without Redemption; but that whatever our Neceſſities may require, will be rais'd *within the Year*; by which it will be plainly perceiv'd whether the *War* is well or ill conducted, whatever may be the Succeſs of it. But I will conclude, as a late Writer hath done, with this hearty Prayer

—— GOD PROSPER THE ARMS OF GREAT BRITAIN!

Common Senſe, Oct. 27. N° 143.

The Inconveniencies of Over-Arming. And Miniſters anſwerable for the Succeſs of a War, tho' the War was againſt their Opinion.

IF any one Man ſhould pretend to controul, and direct all, he is anſwerable for all the Corruptions and Miſmanagements in every Part of Government; beſides which, he is guilty of the higheſt Crime in uſurping a Power inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. But this does not clear ſuch as are appointed for thoſe Provinces; in them, it is a notori-

ous

ous Breach of Truſt to ſuffer any Man to exerciſe ſuch a Power.

If they ſhould urge, that they were preferr'd by him for this very Purpoſe; it makes the thing worſe: It is then a plain Conſpiracy of many againſt the State, and muſt come within the Conſtruction (if not within the Letter) of High-Treaſon.

I cannot help ſaying again, that the Power exerciſed by a firſt Miniſter is inconſiſtent with the Nature of a free Government; nay, it would hardly be endured in *Conſtantinople*, was it not that publick Examples are ſo often made of them when they incur the Hatred of the People.

Be this as it will, they who direct the Operations of the War, be they one or many, are certainly anſwerable for its Succeſs, tho' War was againſt their Opinion.

Nations which go to War, always arm in Proportion to the Strength of the Enemy. When it was once propoſed in Council, to give Mareſchal *Turenne* an Army of 70,000 Men upon the *Rhine*, he ſaid, 40,000 would do much more Service, and deſired he might have no more, for that Number was ſufficient to face any Force the Enemy could bring into the Field. Over-arming is a Mark of Fear, but that is not the worſt of it, for you waſte your own Strength by it, and it often hinders you from annoying the Enemy.

I don't doubt but very good Reaſons will be given for the vaſt Addition which has been made to our Standing Army, at a Time when not one Power of *Europe* has put itſelf to the Expence of raiſing one Company.

The People have a Right to aſk, why the Land Force is increaſed ſo near the Time of a new Election? And I take it for granted, the M——rs will give ſuch ſatisfactory Reaſons, as will remove all Suſpicion on that Account.

The Advantages of our Situation are ſuch, that if *Xerxes* with his Army of a Million was encamp'd along the Banks of *Calais*, he could not hurt us without a ſuperior Fleet; and the Time requiſite for equipping ſuch a Fleet, would give us Leiſure to exert our whole Force; much leſs can a *French* Fiſhing-Boat, throwing out a Plumb-Line in the Channel, juſtify the putting the Nation to ſuch an Expence.

Nothing can diſtreſs foreign Trade ſo much as an Embargo; therefore it is never lai'd but when the Safety of the State is at Stake; and in ſuch a Caſe, thoſe who are the Loſers by it, will always acquieſce. No doubt but it will be proved, to the Satisfaction of all diſintereſted Men, that it was neceſſary to lay a longer Embargo the laſt Summer, than had been done in the moſt dangerous Criſis before; and a certain Perſon, I hope, will be call'd upon to explain himſelf, for ſaying, with an inſulting Air, to one of the Merchants who applied for having the Embargo taken off, *What! you have had enough of the War already.*

The numerous Squadrons alſo ſent to Sea will be accounted for to thoſe who are to pay the vaſt Expence; for every Body cannot find out a Reaſon for equipping ſuch a Number of Ships of War, Bomb-Veſſels, Fire-Ships, *&c.* when not a Power in *Europe* had fitted out ſo much as a Squadron (if we except the 4 Ships ſent to the *Baltick* by *France*) which made a *Frenchman*, who was told, that the *Spaniards* had not 5 Men of War at Sea, but the *Engliſh* had ſent out 100, to ſay, that the *Engliſh* look upon one *Spaniſh* Man of War to be as good as 20 *Engliſh*.——Whatever Meaſures may be taken by our Enemies, it need not give us any Concern, if Perſons of any Capacity be employ'd in our Affairs.

While we were not to be beat out of our pacifick Diſpoſitions, and the Doctrine of Patience was carried to

a higher Pitch of Philoſophy in Practice, than ever it was by *Seneca* in Theory, the Language of the Mercenaries was, that, if a Miniſter was reſolv'd to have Peace, it could not be for Reaſons which regarded himſelf, becauſe he could not be anſwerable for the ill Succeſs of War.——I wiſh they would be ſo kind to tell us, who is anſwerable, in ſuch a Caſe, if the Miniſter be not.—If a Ship be run upon Sands, or carried into an Enemy's Port, by the Ignorance of the Pilot, is Nobody anſwerable to the Owners for this Blunder?

I know there are Accidents in War which no Prudence can foreſee, and no Wiſdom prevent. A Miſtake in the Word of Command has ſometimes occaſioned the Loſs of a Battle: A Fleet may be ſhipwreck'd, before it can execute ſome Deſign which muſt ruin the Enemy. In Things the beſt concerted, Fortune will have ſome Share in the Execution. But, it is very eaſy to diſtinguiſh betwixt thoſe Diſappointments which come from the Strokes of Fortune, and thoſe which are the natural Conſequence of blundering Counſels.

Some things are ſo abſurd in their firſt Projection, that it is not in the Power of Fortune to give them Succeſs.——If, in a long Courſe of ſuch Meaſures, Nobody is to be call'd to Account, what muſt become of the Commonwealth?

In Matters of Negotiation, Fortune cannot ſo much as meddle; the Blunders are all of human Inſtitution, and a Miniſter may find himſelf in ſuch Circumſtances that, tho' he knows not how to preſerve Peace, he dares not go to War.—— When War is abſolutely neceſſary for the State, it may threaten Ruin to the Miniſter.

Machiavel tells us, that a State has ſometimes ow'd its Preſervation to ſome imminent Danger which has fallen upon it; for Difficulty and Diſtreſs (ſays he) rouſe the People, and have often forced them to wreſt the Government out of the Hands of the Corrupt, the Weak, and the Baſe, to commit their Affairs to Men of Honour and Abilities.

If he who for his own Sake had reſolv'd to preſerve Peace, tho' to the Ruin of the publick Intereſts, ſhould be driven into a War by the Voice of the Nation, he might be glad it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, that it might, in ſome Meaſure, juſtify his paſt Conduct; and he may have Talents to make it ſo.

Suppoſe the *Vizir* had a Mind to have prevented a War, by ſome ignominious Conceſſions to *Ruſſia* and the *Empire*, and the People were unanimous for War, he might be inſolent enough to take it into his Head to be reveng'd on them for oppoſing his Meaſures; he might ſend an Army of 100,000 Men againſt 10,000 *Imperialiſts*; he might fit out the whole *Ottoman* Fleet, tho' the Emperor had not ten Ships, on Purpoſe to impoveriſh the People by the great Expences. Such an unwieldy Army would only waſte the Country, while the Fleet was making a fooliſh Parade. He might then tell the People, with an inſolent Sneer, You would have War, and ſee what is come of it. But, I fancy, if any thing like this happen'd in *Conſtantinople*, the People would teach ſuch a Fellow better Manners; they would make bold to tie his Heels to a Horſe's Tail, and make him perform *Amande honourable* thro' all the Streets of the City, as ſome of his Predeceſſors had done for much leſs Crimes.

A certain Perſon hath applauded himſelf enough, but it hath had no Effect Abroad; the Fruits of his long boaſted Talents were ſet forth, in a ſhort Sentence, by one who hath been nearly concern'd with him,

him, when he very wiſely declared, that the Nation had not one Ally Abroad, nor Money at Home to go to War.

You hire two Perſons to take Care of your Houſe, who, by Careleſſneſs ſet it on Fire; when you begin to beſtir yourſelf to put out this Fire, one of them calls to you, and tells you, you may as well be quiet, for I (ſays he) have ſet all your Neighbours againſt you, that not one of them will move a Hand to ſave you; and my Fellow-Servant hath let all your Pipes run, that you have not a Drop of Water left; ſo that you may reſt content, and ſee your Houſe conſumed in Peace.——I will appeal to every unprejudiced Man, whether two ſuch Fellows do not deſerve to be kick'd out of the Creation.

Univerſal Spectator, Nov. 3. N° 578.

HYPOCRISY *in Religion expos'd, and* SINCERITY *recommended, in the different Characters of two* LADIES.

Mr. Stonecaſtle,

HYPOCRISY in Religion ſo eaſily impoſes on the World, that there are few who ſee thro its Artifices, and are ſenſible of the Cheat: On the contrary, the Generality of People in this Article always aſſiſt to deceive themſelves. No one, I believe, has a greater Veneration for Perſons truly religious than myſelf, yet no one has a greater Abhorrence of an *affected Piety*, and a Pretence to *ſuperlative Virtues*. Whenever I obſerve a rigid Severity of Manners ſhewn in a publick Company, or hear any declamatory Invectives againſt the common Failures of human Nature, I am ſuſpicious there is not that honeſt Truth of Heart which in Charity I could wiſh; for I take this Obſervation to be withont Exception, that a Perſon of true Piety, who has no Deſigns to carry on, like one of an eſtabliſh'd Fortune, always makes the leaſt Noiſe: The one never pulls out his Money, the other never talks of Religion, but when there is Occaſion for it.

About a Month ago I arriv'd at *London* from the Weſt of *England*, and was engag'd, during my Stay in Town, to reſide with a Relation of mine, who had not been long marry'd to an agreeable young Lady. I was pleas'd when I found my Friend had made ſo happy a Choice; for with a great Share of Beauty, ſhe had an engaging Sprightlineſs of Wit, and an affecting Good-Nature: Her Youth and Gaiety of Temper made her not averſe to the innocent Amuſements of Life, therefore could partake of the publick Diverſions of the Town, without any Suſpicion of having committed a criminal Folly. As a Contraſt to this Lady, whom I ſhall call *Flavia*, there liv'd with her an Aunt of my Friend, nam'd Mrs. *Vizard*, who having liv'd to her 50th Year without entering into the State of Matrimony, was come under the Denomination of an old Maid. The Humours of the Aunt and the Niece I found entirely oppoſite. *Flavia* was always gay, free, facetious, and good-natur'd; Mrs. *Vizard* reſerv'd, proud, peeviſh, and cenſorious: The one viſited, and ſometimes ſaw a Play; the other was always railing againſt the Vanity of wordly Converſation, the Sinfulneſs of indulging Pleaſure, and commending the Sanctity of following private Lectures. One Afternoon Mrs. *Vizard* and I were accidentally left together in the Parlour, when ſhe took an Opportunity of lamenting the Depravity of the preſent Age; the general Corruption of Mankind, but more particularly of the Clergy, were Topicks ſhe very copiouſly declaim'd upon; then turning her Artillery of Cenſure againſt her own Sex, ſhe inveigh'd againſt them as really guilty of all the Crimes

Crimes they were ever accus'd of, without making many Exceptions to ſo general a Charge. I was ſurpriz'd that ſo zealous a Devotioniſt ſhould be ſo uncharitably cenſorious, and was going to enter into an Argument, but ſhe prevented me by immediately venting her godly Spleen againſt *Flavia:* She told me a hundred reproachful Stories of her; ſhe blam'd her Conduct in general, and did not fail to hint by ſome dark Innuendoes, that her Virtue was not ſo unſuſpected as ſhe could wiſh it. ——At this Juncture *Flavia* enter'd with a particular Sweetneſs in her Countenance, and requeſted Mrs. *Vizard* to go with her to ſee ſome Curioſities which a *Weſt-India* Captain of her Acquaintance had juſt brought over, and with great Good-Nature preſs'd her to it, as it might divert her from the little Melancholy which ſhe perceiv'd hung about her. Mrs. *Vizard* deny'd with an Air of ſanctify'd Pride, and pity'd her Folly who could be ſo taken with the tranſitory Amuſements of the World, adviſing her, that ſhe had much better go with her to a certain religious Society in *Fetter-lane:* But as this was a Propoſal in which they could not agree, Mrs. *Vizard* hurry'd away to her Methodiſts, and left us in ſo abrupt a Manner, that too evidently betray'd a ſecret Spleen, and a ſpiritual Contempt. I could not help obſerving to *Flavia*, that her Aunt was out of Temper, and hop'd to find by her Anſwer if any private Family Quarrel ſubſiſted between them: But the young Lady only ſaid, *it was her Way*; ſpoke of her in the moſt *obliging Terms*, nor mention'd the leaſt Syllable that was any ways diſreſpectful. I then made no Difficulty to conclude, that this formal Hypocrite was nothing near ſo truly virtuous and religious, as her Niece who kept her Devotion to herſelf; and in the ſhort Stay that I made in the Family, I made a thouſand Obſervations which confirm'd me in this Opinion.——*Flavia*, I found, never ſpent much Time about her Dreſs; Mrs. *Vizard* was particularly diligent in ſetting out to the beſt Advantage the Charms of her Perſon, and ſome Hours, which ſhe would have thought to be employ'd in pious Ejaculations, were devoted to the adjuſting her falſe Hair, and reviving the falſe Bloom of her Cheeks. The one was always affable, and good-natur'd to the Servants about her; the other never pleas'd, and never without finding fault: *Flavia*, if ſhe rally'd her Acquaintance, it was to their Face, and with an agreeable Facetiouſneſs; whomever Mrs. *Vizard* cenſur'd, it was behind their Back, and with bitter Accuſations and Scraps of Scripture. In ſhort, *Flavia* has Religion, and practiſes the Duties of it without any Affectation of Over-Righteouſneſs; *Vizard* affects Over-Righteouſneſs, and does not ſo much ſtudy to practiſe the true Duties of Piety: The one is what ſhe appears, devout with Sincerity; the other is not what ſhe would ſeem, devout without Hypocriſy.

What Application I would have your Female Readers make from the Characters of theſe two Ladies, would be entirely for their Intereſt: I would adviſe them not negligently to lay aſide the Appearance of being religious, neither to run into an affected, rigid Severity which is inconſiſtent with Religion: By the one, they are liable to the falſe Cenſures of the World; by the other, they are juſtly to be ſuſpected of being Hypocrites.

Yours, L. OBSERVATOR.

Common Senſe, Nov. 3. N° 144.

The Importance of a State's preſerving its Reputation, and the nice Senſe of Honour among the Romans.

IT is an Obſervation made by Hiſtorians and Writers of Politicks,

ticks, that Reputation contributes more to the Succeſs of all great Affairs, than Power or Force. Commonwealths (ſays *Tacitus*) flouriſh, *magis Fama quam Vi*, more by Fame than Strength. So that a Nation that takes no Care of its Fame, will, in all Probability, not long have any Thing elſe to take Care of.

The ſuffering Inſults and Injuries to paſs unregarded, is a Proof, that thoſe appointed to act for the Society are negligent of its Intereſts. It may be underſtood alſo to proceed from Want of Courage, which is a fatal Imputation when fix'd upon a People: But nothing hurts a Nation ſo much in the good Opinion of its Neighbours, as an ignominious Treaty; becauſe it diſcovers an extreme Weakneſs of Counſel within, and gives the World a Notion, that thoſe appointed to adminiſter Affairs have not Talents to govern.——I believe it hath been found, by Experience, that the Loſs of many Battles doth not render a Nation ſo contemptible, as one ignominious Treaty.

If a Nation couches only to wait for ſome favourable Event to riſe again, when its exhauſted Spirits ſhall be recovered, the Governors ought not to be cenſured; but even in this Caſe all poſſible Care muſt be taken to make the Thing look well, that nothing diſhonourable may appear to the World:——At worſt, it is much better your Neighbours ſhould think you want Strength, than that you want Conduct.

The Riſe and Grandeur of the Commonwealth of *Rome* was, in a great Meaſure, owing to the keeping up of a nice Senſe of Honour in all Things relating to the Publick. The preferring of Honour to preſent Profit was no Phantome, or idle Chimera, as ſome People now would make us believe: It was a wiſe as well as generous Maxim.

There are but two Examples in the *Roman* Hiſtory, wherein they came off with any Thing like Diſgrace in Matters of Negotiation. The firſt of theſe was with *Brennus* the *Gaul*, after he had gain'd a compleat Victory over the *Roman* Army, upon the Banks of the River *Allia*, had taken *Rome*, and beſieged the very Capitol. In this Diſtreſs, they treated with him, and agreed to pay him a certain Quantity of Gold to raiſe the Siege and march off—It was look'd upon as diſhonourable to purchaſe their Safety with Gold, at a Time they had not a Spot of Ground left in the World which they could call their own, except what was within the Walls of the Capitol.

The ſecond was, a Convention made with the *Samnites*, the Circumſtances of which are worth relating.

The *Romans* being at War with the *Samnites*, their Army was commanded by *T. Veturius* and *P. Poſthumius*, the Conſuls for the Year;—they were drawn into an Ambuſcade by *Pontius*, General of the *Samnites*, who diſguiſing ſeveral of his Soldiers like Herdſmen, inſtructed them to give a falſe Account of the *Samnite* Army: Theſe being taken by the *Romans*, told them, that the *Samnites* had march'd towards *Lucoria*.

The Conſuls not doubting but they were gone to beſiege that City, then in Alliance with the *Romans*, reſolv'd to follow them, and oblige them to raiſe the Siege. Thus the *Romans* were drawn into a Snare; for, taking the ſhorteſt way (as was natural) they march'd to the Streights of *Caudium*, where they were encloſed, ſo that they could neither march out, nor come at the Enemy to engage them.

The Conſuls, not knowing what to do, ſent a Herald to *Pontius*, to challenge him to come to a Battle; but he wiſely anſwer'd, that the *Samnites* had no Occaſion to fight,

having already gain'd a Victory. The Conſuls then propoſed a Treaty: *Pontius* anſwer'd, he would not ſo much as treat with them, unleſs the *Romans*, by way of Preliminary, would deliver up their Arms, and their whole Army would ſubmit to march under the Gallows.

The Conſuls having call'd a Council of War, and it appearing there was no Alternative, but either to ſubmit to theſe hard Conditions, or to periſh by Famine, the Majority were for ſuffering the latter; when they were turn'd from it by *L. Lentulus*, who deliver'd himſelf in theſe Terms:

" I have heard my Father ſay, that, when the Capitol was beſieg'd by the *Gauls*, he was the only Man in the Senate who oppoſed redeeming the City with Gold, becauſe there was a Poſſibility (tho' attended with infinite Difficulty) of ſallying out. Were the Caſe the ſame with us at preſent, were it poſſible for us to make Sallies, could we ſo much as come at our Enemy, or was there a bare Poſſibility of our forcing a Paſſage thro' them, I would convince all here, that I have the ſame Reſolution, and ſhould declare for fighting under any Diſadvantage.

Could we devote ourſelves for the Preſervation of our Country, we ought moſt certainly to do it; but *Rome* is at preſent in this Place; its Strength and Support lies within theſe Streights. What can a weak unarm'd Multitude of old Men, Women, and Children, left behind, do, for the Preſervation of the City? The Walls, and Houſes cannot defend them; if all that are here periſh, thoſe that remain in the City muſt fall of Courſe.

It hath been ſaid, that it is ſhameful to give up our Arms without fighting; I ſay ſo too: But, ſince ſacrificing our Lives can be of no Advantage to *Rome*, we muſt ſacrifice our Glory for its Preſervation: For the ſake of *Rome*, I ſay, we muſt ſubmit to the ſhameful Conditions impoſed upon us. We muſt yield to Neceſſity, from which the Gods themſelves are not exempt."

It was therefore reſolv'd to come to a Convention upon the Foot of the Preliminaries before-mention'd. As to the other Articles, the Conſuls declared, they had not a Power of concluding any that ſhould be binding on the *Roman* People, without their own Approbation; however, the Stipulation was accepted by the *Samnites* upon theſe Terms, and Hoſtages accordingly exchang'd.

When the Conſuls and the reſt were return'd to *Rome*, and this Convention came under the Conſideration of the Senate, the unfortunate *Poſthumius* was the firſt who ſpoke to it, who addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly, with the greateſt Modeſty and Humility, confeſs'd, it was a moſt infamous Convention; but, as he had declared to the *Samnites*, that the Articles were not binding unleſs the People ſhould approve them; if the People did not approve of them, (as he confeſs'd they had no Reaſon to do) nothing more could be expected from the Republick, than to deliver into the Hands of the *Samnites* all thoſe that had ſign'd this infamous Convention.—His humble Advice therefore was, that himſelf, his Colleague, and all the reſt that had a Hand in this profane Convention, ſhould be deliver'd up to the *Samnites* by the new Conſuls; and that, as ſoon as this was done, they might raiſe another Army and renew the War.

The whole Aſſembly was ſtruck with Admiration and Reſpect at the Generoſity of *Poſthumius*.—The Propoſal appear'd juſt and honourable, it met with no Oppoſition except from two Tribunes of the People, who had ſign'd the Convention, and were elected into their Office

Office ſince their Return; they objected, that the Propoſal of *Poſthumius* was irregular, becauſe the Tribunes being ſacred Magiſtrates, their Perſons were inviolable, and therefore they could not be deliver'd into the Hands of an Enemy without an Offence againſt Law and Religion.

Poſthumius, conceiving an Indignation againſt them for raiſing an Objection which only concern'd their own Safety, anſwer'd, it was true, their Offices were ſacred, therefore the Senate might wait till their Offices were expired, then cauſe them to be whipp'd with Rods in the publick *Forum*, by Way of Uſury, for the Delay; and as ſoon as this Ceremony was perform'd they might be ſent to the *Samnites*.

The Tribunes were ſo ſenſibly touch'd with Shame at this Reproach, that they voluntarily ſurrender'd their Offices, and deſired to be deliver'd up to the Enemy with the reſt.

Rome had one Advantage, which ſcarce any Government now enjoys, that its Magiſtracies being annual, it could not be ruin'd by the Blundering of any one ſet of Miniſters; next, ſo nice a Senſe of Honour and of Shame prevail'd amongſt them, that he who had once acted wrong, had not the Aſſurance to meddle a ſecond Time in publick Affairs.

THE Craftſman *of the 3d Inſtant ſets down ſome of the firſt Clauſes of his Majeſty's Declaration of War, and Extracts from two Political Pamphlets, printed this Year, one on each Side, in three diſtinct Columns; in order to ſhew who are beſt juſtified in their Conduct, by the Courſe of* Events, *and eſpecially by his Majeſty's* Declaration of War. *He then concludes thus:*

The *miniſterial Writers*, I am ſure, muſt now turn their old, ſtale, School-boy's Cant, *Pax Bello potior*, into *Pax quæritur Bello*. I am ready to agree with them, that all Hearts and all Hands ought to be united upon this Occaſion, in the common Cauſe; which can never be effected without ſuch a *national Union*, or *Coalition of Parties*, as we have conſtantly recommended, and they as conſtantly oppos'd. I am not aſham'd to revive this Doctrine, at preſent, however ſcandalouſly it hath been ridicul'd already, and may be again; for I am thoroughly convinc'd, that nothing will ſo effectually ſtrengthen the Hands of his Majeſty, and that nothing will promote *ſuch a Coalition* ſo much, as a *Place-Bill*, which hath been ſo earneſtly inſiſted upon in ſome of the capital Cities of the Kingdom, and I hope will ſoon become the general Voice of the Nation.

Craftſman, Nov. 10. N° 696.

A Project for new Pontifical Annals.

I HAVE been juſt reading a little Book, written in *French*, and intitled, *Diſſertation ſur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers Siecles de l'Hiſtoire Romaine*. The Deſign of it is to ſhew, according to its Title, that we cannot depend upon the Truth of the *Roman Hiſtory*, for the *firſt five Centuries*; and I think he hath done it pretty well, in the following Manner.

Firſt he quotes the Authority of *Cicero*; who ſays that the Hiſtory of *Rome*, during that Time, conſiſted of nothing but a Collection of *Annals*; for which Reaſon, and in order to preſerve the Memory of all publick Occurrences, it was the Buſineſs of the *Pontifex maximus* to record the Events of every Year. They were written upon a white Board, and publickly hung up at the *Pontiff*'s Door, for the Information and Judgment of the People; which were call'd the *Pontifical* or

Grand Annals. But my Author is of Opinion, and gives his Reaſons for it, that *theſe Memoirs* were conſum'd in the general Conflagration of *Rome*, by *Brennus* the *Gaul*, and afterwards very imperfectly continued—Upon this I muſt beg Leave to make a few Obſervations.

As the firſt Ages of *our own Hiſtory* are equally dark with thoſe of the *Romans*, and conſiſt chiefly of *Monkiſh* Annals, I would humbly propoſe, that for the ſake of future Times, our *preſent moſt reverend Pontiff*, and his Succeſſors for ever, ſhould be deſir'd and authoriz'd to take a ſtrict Account, from Year to Year, of all publick Tranſactions, and exhibit them to the open View of the People at his Palace-Gates. If ſuch a Cuſtom had prevail'd from the Beginning of our Government, and the *Pontifical Annals* had been religiouſly preſerv'd, what an Eclairciſſement would it have given to our Hiſtory? But ſince what is paſt cannot be remedied, we ought to take the beſt Care in our Power for the future. Let us ſuppoſe, for Inſtance, that if *all our late Treaties*, and particularly the *laſt ever-memorable* Convention had been ſtuck up at *Lambeth*, before they were ſign'd and ratified, for the Inſpection and Judgment of the *People*; would it not have been of ſome Uſe to the Publick, at preſent, as well as for the Information of future Ages? Tho' I think it impoſſible that any Conflagration, or other Injuries of Time, will be ever able to eraſe them from the Knowledge of Poſterity.

The ſecond Reaſon of the *ſame Author* for the *Uncertainty of the* Roman *Hiſtory*, when the *Pontifical Annals* were deſtroyed, or loſt, is, that *Family Memoirs* were ſubſtituted in their Stead, upon which there is much leſs Dependence than on the other; for as Vanity tempted every Man to record all the *great and glorious Actions of his Family*, ſo it is equally natural to ſuppoſe, that *their bad Actions* were either totally conceal'd, or palliated.—Thus, if a *certain honourable Gentleman*, who hath long valued himſelf upon a Deſcent of 17 *Generations*, ſhould ever think fit to compile any Annals of his Family, I make a great Doubt whether he will not ſlip over his Relation, the *Jeſuit*, who was engaged in a Plot to poiſon Q. *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*; but the *old Knight of* Bath, from whom he deſcended, and the wiſe Negotiations of his *Brother* abroad, as well as *his own righteous Management* at home, would certainly be tranſmitted to Poſterity in the ſtrongeſt and moſt impartial Light.

There is likewiſe great Reaſon, and even Authority, to believe that many an *Upſtart*, or *Creature of Fortune*, whoſe Name happen'd to reſemble that of any ancient *Roman*, diſtinguiſh'd in Hiſtory for his Valour, Wiſdom, or Juſtice, deriv'd his Pedigree from the *ſame Family*, tho' he had not a Drop of their Blood in his Veins, and perhaps had his Name given him only for a Jeſt, or to gratify the Pride of an obſcure Parent; juſt as we give the Name of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* to poor *Negroes*, and even to *Dogs*. This puts me in Mind of an itinerant Painter, named *Full*, who told me that it was only a Contraction of *Julius*, and that he had a very good Family-Account that his Anceſtor was a Bye-Blow of *Julius Cæſar*, when he landed in *Kent*.

Livy gives us his Opinion, * that nothing hath contributed to corrupt the *Roman Hiſtory* ſo much as *Funeral Orations*, and the flattering Inſcriptions upon *Images*; every Family endeavouring fallaciouſly to wreſt the Glory of all great Men to themſelves, *&c.* *Cicero* too makes the ſame Complaint. † Theſe *Funeral Orations*,

* *Lib.* 8. *cap.* 40.

† *Cic. in Brut. c.* 16.

rations, says he, have contributed a good deal to the Falsification of our History; for there are many Things *written* in them, which were never transacted; *fictitious Triumphs*, *fictitious Consulships*, and *fictitious Pedigrees*, by which Persons of *mean Birth* pretend to have sprung from some of the *noblest Families*, only because they happen to bear the same, or a similar Name, *&c.*

What a Blessing is it to this Nation, that we have a *Funeral Orator*, who hath so great a Regard for his own Character, and the Credit of his holy Function, that he scorns to play the Sycophant, or be-drop even *Majesty* itself, either living or dead, from any sordid Views of Preferment. On the contrary, it must be owing to his extreme Modesty and Self-denial, that he hath not yet receiv'd the Reward, so justly due to his extraordinary Merit. But if the *publick Good* should ever prevail upon him to accept of the *British Pontificate*, we might expect to see him vie with his *Roman Predecessors*, without any Fear of appealing to the Judgment of the People; for his *Annals* would be certainly drawn up, not only with the greatest Accuracy, but with the strictest Regard to *Truth*, and without either *Rancour* or *Flattery*. Happy and for ever glorious will *those Persons* be, whose Characters shall become the Subject of his Panegyrick, which is of itself the highest Authority, and will consecrate their Memories to all future Generations! But Woe be to those, (whether *Papists* or *Protestants*, *Whigs* or *Tories*, *Clergymen* or *Laymen*, of the *Court* or the *Country Party*) whose Conduct will not stand the Test of the nicest Examination! For if they should be found concern'd in *Bribery* and *Corruption*, selling of *Offices*, embezzling the *publick Treasure*, screening of *notorious Criminals*, ot any such unwarrantable Practices, they would be sure of being publickly stigmatiz'd in their Life-Time, and deliver'd down to Posterity in their true Colours.

If *Lambeth* should be thought too private a Place for such a glorious Institution, I would humbly propose, that Tables of all publick Transactions may be hung up at *Westminster-hall Gate*, *Temple-Bar*, and the *Royal Exchange*; which would, no Doubt, tend very much to the Satisfaction of the People, and prove of signal Advantage to the Nation.

Common Sense, Nov. 10. N° 145.

The CONVENTION *between the* ROMANS *and the* SAMNITES, *with* OBSERVATIONS. (See p. 597.)

SO much Magnanimity possess'd the Minds of the *Romans*, that, as soon as the Conditions of the Convention with the *Samnites* were known at *Rome*, the whole City put on Mourning; which is more than would have happen'd had the Army perish'd in Battle to the last Man: But a publick Disgrace was, to them, a more publick Calamity than Sword or Pestilence.

After some Observations on the Behaviour of Posthumius, *and particularly his Proposal, that he, and all the rest who had sign'd the Convention, should be deliver'd up to the* Samnites, *to be treated at their Mercy; this Writer goes on thus:*

This is the generous Proposal of an unfortunate Man of Honour who had made but one false Step in his whole Life. Thus he condemns himself, for having been the unfortunate innocent Cause of bringing upon his Country the Disgrace of having made a scandalous Convention.

'Had the like Event happen'd in the latter Days of the Commonwealth, or in the Reign of some of their foolish Emperors, when the Senate was dwindled into the Sign of a Senate, when the Interest of the

the Commonwealth was ſacrificed to the private Intereſt of every Upſtart in Power, and *Rome* was become a Sink of Corruption, this Affair might have gone off in a different Manner.

He who had moſt ſcandalouſly managed the War, and concluded it by a more ſcandalous Convention, would, perhaps, have ſtood up, and, with Impudence in his Face, addreſſing himſelf to the Senate, with an Air of Command, as if he conſider'd them only as his hired Slaves, would have begun by making his own Panegyrick, would have taken Glory to himſelf for the Infamy he had brought upon the Publick; have told them, that every Thing they could aſk or expect had been obtain'd by this Convention;——that if a *Carte Blanche* had been deliver'd to the Senate to write their own Terms, they could have obtain'd nothing better;——that the great Seal of the *Samnites* had been put to it, and that it would do Honour to every Man that had a Hand in it.——He might fancy, that, by the Force of ſuch an over-bearing Aſſurance, he ſhould ſo amaze the honeſt Part of the Senate, (his Enemies) that they would be ſtruck dumb, and that Truth itſelf would be put out of Countenance.

Here I cannot forbear obſerving, that of all the bad Characters in human Nature, there is none ſo deteſtable as that of a Man who hath loſt the Senſe of Shame: He that ſhews no Concern for having been the Inſtrument of Injury to another, muſt be far gone in Wickedneſs: He that brings Loſs and Infamy upon his Country, and is ſo far from taking Shame to himſelf, that he ſeems rather to glory in it, muſt have a Heart fitted for any Thing that's bad. They ſay, a Crocodile will weep after it hath done Miſchief: A corrupt Man is a greater Monſter than *Nile* ever bred.

I will allow, that no Parallel can be drawn betwixt our Convention with *Spain*, and that of the *Romans* with *Brennus*, or of *T. Veturius*, and *P. Poſthumius* with the *Samnites*; the Circumſtances are vaſtly different: A—— Our Capitol was not in Poſſeſſion of the Enemy, nor the whole Force of the State ſhut up in a Pound by the *Spaniards*, and ready to be cut off at a Blow.——In fine, our Convention can reſemble that with the *Samnites* in nothing, but B that it is likely to produce a War.

Notwithſtanding there can be no Similitude, yet, if thoſe who negotiated for us were the firſt who broke Faith, by promiſing Things not proper for them to own at Home, and, if own'd, would not C be conſiſtent either with the Honour or Safety of the Nation to be put in Execution, and this hath furniſh'd the *Spaniards* with Reaſons for not performing their Part: If this be the Caſe, I think we cannot, in Honour, ſtrike a Blow before we D imitate the Conduct of the *Romans*, and deliver all our Negotiators into the Hands of the *Spaniards*.

Cornelius Arvina was appointed, by the Senate, to conduct *Poſthumius* and the reſt. When he deliver'd them to the *Samnites*, he ſpoke as E follows.

" Since theſe Men, without ſufficient Powers, undertook to enter into a Convention with you, they commited a Crime in ſo doing; we, therefore, deliver them up to you, to treat in what Manner you F ſhall think fit, to free ourſelves from any Share of that Infamy, which they have drawn upon themſelves."

If theſe Words do not come up to our Caſe, another Speech may be made for the Purpoſe.

A Miniſter may ſometimes be ſo G embarraſs'd with Difficulties of his own making, that he may be under a Neceſſity of patching up a Pacification

cation upon any Terms;——he may be conſcious of his own Incapacity for managing a War;——he may have given the Commonwealth ſome ſecret Wounds, not yet diſcover'd, and which muſt break out in Caſe of a War;——and, in order to prevent Diviſions in that Faction which ſupports him, he may be under Engagements to them, to patch up ſomething by a certain Time.—— In ſuch a Situation, it would be no Wonder if he ſhould make ſuch Conceſſions, as the very Enemies might think the People would never ſuffer to be carried into Execution. ——But as our Miniſter hath not been entangled in any Blunders of his own making, nothing like this could have happen'd in our Convention.

But, before I finiſh this Diſcourſe, I muſt ſay a Word or two concerning the Place-mens Doctrine, of making the Miniſter eaſy; which, I conceive, may be ſtretch'd to ſuch an Extravagance, as to ſubvert the Order of Things, and turn a Nation upſide down.——Whereever it prevails, it will be known by the Symptoms and Effects; and when once it is found out to be the governing Principle, the Intereſts of that Commonwealth are gone, they muſt become the Prey of its Neighbours.

But let the Fate of the Convention be what it will, I hope a few mercenary Place-men will never be able to give Laws to ten Millions of People, and ſupport any Man that ſhall ruin the Intereſt of the Kingdom.

Univerſal Spectator, N° 577.

A Letter from a QUAKER, *ſhewing the Abſurdity of placing any Part of Religion in* DRESS.

SIR,

AS I think it my Duty to conſider the *Religion* of my Education, which is *Quakeriſm*, I am very ſorry to meet with any Mixture in it which ſeems the Product of a weak and whimſical Imagination, and is big with Injuries to all true Religion, and alſo to civil Society. Of this Kind I always thought the great Concern about Dreſs, and enjoining *one Form* of it as more conſiſtent with *Religion* than another. Tho' nothing is more frequent than for the very Upholders of this Practice to make ſolemn Declarations in religious Aſſemblies, that neither *Forms* nor *Titles* will render a Perſon more or leſs acceptable to the Author of his Being; yet I am ſorry to find the louder Speech of their *Actions* runs quite counter to this Declaration, ſince a *ſupernumerary Button* or two, or the Alteration of the *Cut* or *Colour* of a *Coat* will not only give them real Diſturbance, but make them entertain a much worſe Opinion of the Wearer, with Regard to his *religious State*.

Were it the only ill Conſequence of ſuch a Principle, that it furniſhes unneceſſary Matter of Debate amongſt the ſeveral Conſtituents of Families, and often breaks or weakens the Union of the neareſt Relations, it ought to render it the Averſion of all Men, who have a juſt Value for that great Happineſs of Mankind, *Peace* and *Concord*, which ought never to be endanger'd but where our Duty to God makes it abſolutely neceſſary. 'Tis an obvious Truth, that the leſs Diſagreement ſubſiſts amongſt any Set of Men, they are on that Account more ſocial, more ready to do kind Offices to one another; therefore he who introduces or encourages Cauſes of Diſſenſion in any Thing, unleſs he thereby raiſes himſelf higher in *Virtue* and *Religion*, is an injurious Member of Society: But as *true Religion* is *immutable*, therefore *Dreſs*, that can be vary'd at Pleaſure, can be no Part of it; for what can be more

more ridiculous than to ſuppoſe a Man putting on *Merit* with one *Coat*, and *Demerit* with *another*; beſides, while any Value is ſet on *Forms* of *Dreſs*, it will naturally afford a Maſk for the *Hypocrite* to deceive by, and a Snare for the Judger by *Dreſs* to fall into.

But the worſt Conſequence of this idle Practice, and all of the like Nature, is, that it renders *Religion*, which in its Nature is *ſimple* and eaſy to be known, and is every Man's Duty and Intereſt to be truly acquainted with, *myſterious* and *dubious*; for when one Sect annexes to it ſomething that has nothing to do with it, and another ſomething elſe, it grows ſo diſguis'd and hidden under *Forms* and *Ceremonies*, that endleſs Debates ariſe concerning it, and every Perſon, inſtead of contending for real *Religion*, does it for an Image of his own Creation: From this it is that the *Papiſt Prieſt* would not think himſelf, nor be thought, truly religious, unleſs the Habit in which he offer'd his Devotion was of a certain preſcrib'd Form; as a *Quaker* would be very ſlightly thought of, that ſhould preſume to offer his in a Coat of either *red* or *green*, or a *button'd Hat*.

One grand Miſtake, which probably led our Fathers into this Opinion, was, that they in their Idea always join'd *Ornament* and *Pride*, which have nothing to do with one another, and are quite inconnected. *Horatio* can put on a *laced Waiſtcoat*, yet no Perſon acquainted with him will accuſe him of Pride: I may admire a fine Houſe, a beautiful Garden or Landſcape, without any more Pride than if I was looking on a Kennel. *Pride* conſiſts in thinking too *highly* of ourſelves, and too *meanly* of others, and is only chargeable on thoſe who aſſume to themſelves undue *Superiority* in any *Endowment*: Thus the *Phariſee*, who thank'd God he was *not as other Men*, was *religiouſly proud*; and I fear, if they would give themſelves a reaſonable Examination, ſome of the greateſt *Zealots* for the Obſervance of *trifling Forms*, might find themſelves deeply dipt in this Crime.

If we look into *Nature*, and may preſume to judge of what God approves from what he has created, we muſt confeſs he delights in *Beauty*, *Gaiety* and *Ornament*; Fields, Trees, Flowers, Beaſts, Birds and Inſects, the whole animal and vegetable Creation, is a charming Scene of *Beauty* and *Variety*; Colour and Shape are vary'd into ten thouſand beautiful and gaudy Appearances; ſuch are the Cloaths the Author of Nature has inveſted thoſe Beings with, to whom he did not give Judgment and Power to provide Veſture for themſelves.

For his Creature *Man* he has plentifully provided the *Materials*, and left it to him to put them together; he has provided him *Matter* capable of producing all thoſe beauteous Dyes, with which the other Parts of the Creation are adorn'd by his own Hand: *Gold*, *Silver* and *Silk*, are neither ſerviceable for *Meat* or *Drink*; yet, being put to their proper Uſe, Ornament, are the Cauſes of giving Employment and a comfortable Subſiſtance to Thouſands; and at the ſame Time, by adorning human Bodies, make Mankind bear a conſiſtent and ſimilar Part in the great and beautiful Picture of the *Univerſe*; and in making this Uſe of theſe Things, they imitate no leſs worthy a Copy than the Works of their *Creator*.

I don't at all by this intend to defend *Extravagance*, or to ſet up the *Decoration* of the *Body* in Competition with that of the *Mind*, but would have each of them have their juſt Regard from us; the laſt is certainly highly preferable, and ought to ingroſs the moſt of our Time and Attention, as the former ought to

be

be much more indifferent to us; yet, as *external Beauty* is more eligible than the *Want* of it, 'tis not to be totally neglected, much leſs deſpis'd, or avoided as *criminal*.

There will at the *Head* of every *religious Society* naturally be ſome *Governors* and *Directors*; I would deſire ſuch to act ſtrictly within the Sphere of *religious Duties*, and neither *enjoin* or *recommend* Laws for our Conduct in Matters, wherein *Virtue* and *Vice* have no Being, but which are indifferent Things; in the Choice of which every Man, independent of all religious Societies, has a Right to pleaſe himſelf; all the Obligation he can in the leaſt be under, is that of ſhewing himſelf *ſocial* and *complying* with the *Cuſtoms* of his *Countrymen*, in caſe there be no real Diſadvantage in ſo doing, this being a *Complacency* which naturally breeds *Good-Humour*, and furniſhes no Grounds of *Wrangling* and *Debate*, which oftenеſt ariſe from differing in *inſignificant Trifles*.

To conclude, let us admoniſh one another to do *juſtly*, love *Mercy*, and walk *humbly* with God, which are Acts of the *Mind*, and may as eaſily be perform'd in one *Coat* as another; and let us admit every Perſon to make his *Clothes* to pleaſe himſelf, without the *Neceſſity* of taking out a *Licence* from any *Prieſt* or *Pope* on Earth.

PHILALETHES.

Craſtſman, Nov. 17. N° 697.

OBSERVATIONS *occaſion'd by the Declaration of* WAR, *with the late* POLITICKS *on both Sides compar'd.*

WHEN a *ſingle Perſon* hath engroſs'd the Royal Favour for many Years, and aſſum'd the Power of dictating Counſels to his *Maſter*, without admitting his *Fellow-Servants* to the leaſt Participation, it becomes extremely difficult to defeat his Meaſures, in any Degree, or to prevent the ill Effects of them, tho' it were ever ſo apparent that they tended to the Deſtruction both of *Prince* and *Country*.

For let the Juſtice and Goodneſs of the *Prince* be never ſo well known; yet as long as his Confidence is abſolutely repos'd in *one Miniſter*, and the Advice of *that Miniſter* conſtantly finds an uncontroulable Credit with him, it can not be expected that the *greateſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors* will ever venture to diſabuſe him; eſpecially if they have ſeen ſome of his *moſt faithful and able Servants* diſmiſs'd, for not yielding an implicit Obedience to the *Miniſter*. They will think it more prudent to reſerve themſelves to a better Seaſon. They will wait till the Conduct of the *Miniſter* ſhall expoſe itſelf in the moſt glaring Manner, till the Difficulties he blunders into ſhall prepare the *Royal Ear* for ſounder Advice; becauſe the certain Effect of offering good Advice, whilſt the Power of the *Miniſter* with the *Prince* remain'd irreſiſtible, would be expoſing themſelves to his Revenge, without a Poſſibility of doing any Good.

A *Miniſter*, of this *Vizier* Kind, would regard the Intereſt of *Prince* or *Country* only as ſubſervient to *his own*. Affairs, both *abroad* and *at home*, would be always conducted with this ſingle View. *War* or *Peace* would be the Portion of the Country, as *either* ſhould be thought moſt conducive to his Eaſe and Security. If his Puſillanimity ſhould repreſent *War* as a State of Danger, always to be avoided, leſt it ſhould interrupt the quiet Enjoyment of his *deſpotick Authority*; or draw from him *thoſe Treaſures*, which his Intereſt requir'd for *other Purpoſes*; or, perhaps, leſt it ſhould introduce to the Favour and Confidence of his Prince, *Men of military Honour and Experience*, who would not be ſubſervient to his Commands; whatever might

be his Motives, or his Fears, he would be deaf to the Cries of a whole Nation; he would never be diverted from a fruitleſs Train of *Negotiations*, *Treaties*, *Preliminaries*, *Conventions*, and *ſpecious Pacifications* of every Kind. If a Conduct quite contrary to the Bent of the People ſhould produce a general Murmuring, and a ſtrong Oppoſition to *himſelf*, he would not fail to aſſure his *Prince* that it was owing to a mutinous and ſeditious Temper againſt his Government.

Solomon ſays, that in the *Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety*. It muſt therefore be happy, both for *Prince* and *People*, when the *Royal Favour* is unconfin'd, and freely communicated to *all his faithful Counſellors*. Then will ſome Men be found of Probity and Ability enough to adviſe ſuch Meaſures, as will ſoon convince the *Prince* of the true Diſpoſition of his *People*.

I do not intend to apply theſe Reflections wholly to the *preſent Times*; but I have been led into them, by obſerving the Tenour of thoſe Diſſertations, with which the Band of *Gazetteers* have oblig'd the Publick for ſome Years paſt.

The Cruelties of the *Spaniards* to *our Sailors* have been either conſtantly deny'd, or diminiſh'd. The Depredations of *our Merchants* have been, in a good Meaſure, juſtify'd, on Pretence of *illicit Trade*. *War*, eſpecially with the *Spaniards*, hath been repreſented as a Meaſure ſo much to be avoided by a *trading Nation*, that no Injuries ſhould provoke us to enter upon it. The various *Treaties* and *Pacifications* made, from Time to Time, have been all applauded in their Day, tho' conſtantly found deluſive and ineffectual. On the contrary, it hath been maintain'd, both by ſpeaking and writing, that the *Spaniſh Inſolence* was grown ſo exorbitant by *our Tameneſs* and *Forbearance*, that nothing could convince them we dared to reſent their Inſults, but turning our *inactive Squadrons* into *hoſtile Fleets*. The *Voice of the People* univerſally concurr'd in this Sentiment, and exclaim'd againſt every *pacifick Expedient*, almoſt annually offer'd.

What ſhould the *truſty Stipendiaries of Power* do, in ſuch a Caſe? The *Voice of the People* is diametrically oppoſite to the Conduct of the *Miniſter*. Why then the *People*, great and ſmall, are ſeditious, impatient of legal Government, inſenſible of their Felicity, and attempting to involve their Country in *War*, in order to make way for the *Pretender*. I appeal to the whole World, whether this hath not been the Language of *theſe Writers*. But it cannot be ſuppos'd that ſuch Miſrepreſentations have reach'd the Royal Ear. No Preſumption of ſuperior Power and Credit can have embolden'd any Man to *ſuch a Leeſing-making* of the *People* to *their Sovereign*; or if any ſuch Whiſpers have ever enter'd the *Cloſet*, what a Delight muſt it give to every true Lover of his *King* and *Country*, to ſee them ſo effectually refuted by the loyal Acclamations of all Ranks of Men in every City and Town, where *his Majeſty's Declaration of War* hath been proclaim'd? Such an unfeigned Zeal for *his Service*, as well as ſuch an Animoſity againſt *our cruel Enemies*, hath been univerſally expreſs'd, that a more vigorous Reſentment againſt *that haughty and faithleſs Nation* could not have appear'd even in the glorious Days of Q. *Elizabeth*.

Many People wiſh that the generous Spirit of Reſentment, which diſcovers itſelf every where, had been indulg'd ſome Years ſooner; being of Opinion that the preſent weak and helpleſs Condition of *Spain* ſhews how eaſily ſhe might have been brought to Terms, when ſhe had no Reaſon to hope for the

Assistance of *France*, and before *France* was arriv'd at her present Height of Power.

It is not my Business to say, by whose wise Advice *Britain* is at last in a Posture to avenge her Wrongs; nor by whose Counsels the Power of her Fleets hath been so long restrain'd; nor whether the *Assogue Ships*, as well as the *Carraccas*, might not have been taken by proper Orders.—Those Points, and many others, will receive a full and impartial Examination in a *Place*, where no Tenderness to explore, and no Backwardness to discover *hidden Mysteries* of any Sort will be found; and where all Matters concerning the State of the Nation will be thoroughly search'd to the Bottom.

Then will all Hearts and Hands unite with Emulation to support a War, so necessary to the Honour of our *King*, and the Happiness of *our Country*; whether we should be forc'd to carry it on singly against *united Crowns*, or in Conjunction with our *old Allies*.

When they see the ancient Valour of *England* vigorously exerted, and the Counsels of it resolutely and steadily pursued, they will, no doubt, return to their former Confidence in us.——If they should ask what is become of *some brave Generals*, with whose Courage and Honour they were so well acquainted in the *last War*, they will find them ready to return from their Retirement, and resume their Arms in Defence of *their Country*, and the Liberties of *Europe*.

What have been the Effects of all our boasted Wisdom?——Is it not to be wish'd that *Europe* was now in the same Condition, as when the *Spirit of Negotiation* first seiz'd upon us?——That we had never enter'd into that Alliance with *France* against the *Emperor*, to which the present formidable Power of the *former Crown* is owing?——That we had never carried *Don Carlos* and his *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*; and consequently that the *Emperor* had never been engag'd in the *Italian War*; or else that he had been supported in it, so as to have preserv'd his Strength as a Bulwark against *France*, and to have prevented the important Acquisition of *Lorain*?——That the *Emperor* had not been encourag'd to concern himself in the *Polish Election*, which drew him into the War with the *Turk*?—That our Friendship with *France* had not been cultivated so far as to make us connive at the Reparation of *Dunkirk*, which may prove very soon a sharp Thorn in our Sides?

What can be meant by saying, that we have forborne to make *War*, till it hath been forc'd upon us by Necessity, and therefore we need not doubt of Success in it? Would not Success in a *War* have been much less doubtful three or four Years ago, or at any Time sooner? Can any Success attend our Arms without Reproach to *those*, who have tied them up so long? Was it not evident that the *Spaniards* would never relinquish their usurp'd Right of *searching*, till they were compell'd to it by Force; and consequently was not a *War* then as necessary, as it would have been safe and easy?——But did not *our honourable Minister* oppose a *War* to the last?——Did he not call it *another Man's* War?——If therefore it should prove as successful as every good *Englishman* wishes, he will have no Right to the Credit of it; but if it should fail of Success, thro' his own bad Management, he will be certainly answerable for the Consequences of it. He must not think to put the old School-boy's Trick upon us, *Heads I win, and Tails you lose*; or even his *Prelatical Advocate*'s Argument, which is much of the same Cast,

* *that the Judgment from* Events *is not the Judgment of* Reaſon.

It is no new Thing to ſee the whole City of *London* abus'd by a *mercenary Faction*, when any great Exigency, or imminent Danger, hath forc'd them to a publick Declaration againſt the Meaſures of *that Faction's Patron*. It muſt be remember'd that the *Patron* himſelf did the ſame, in the moſt opprobrious Terms, on the Defeat of that execrable Scheme for extending the *Exciſe-Laws*. His Creatures have followed his Example, in a moſt licentious Manner, upon a *late Incident*. The Citizens of *London* judg'd it proper to exert their known, acknowledg'd Right, at the laſt Election of a *Lord-Mayor*. (See p. 499.) They rejected, almoſt unanimouſly, the Pretenſions of *one*, whoſe Conduct was ſo ſuddenly and ſurprizingly chang'd. At the ſame Time, they return'd Thanks to *their Repreſentatives* for voting againſt the *late Convention*. They likewiſe recommended to *their Repreſentatives* the Repeal of a Clauſe in that Act, which gives to the *Court of Aldermen* what is call'd the *Negative*. Can it be ſaid, with any Colour of Truth, that they acted illegally, or that they have ſo much as *gone out of their Way*, in ſo doing? Yet have we ſeen a Pack of *infamous Hirelings* preſuming to threaten this great Corporation with the *Weight of Parliamentary Puniſhment*, for Actions juſtly and naturally flowing from a *Charter of Liberties*, more often and more ſolemnly confirm'd than, perhaps, any other Right in the Kingdom.

Common Senſe, Nov. 17. N° 146.

CAUTIONS *againſt chuſing a Parliament of* PLACEMEN.

SHAKESPEAR compares ſome Misfortunes to a Toad, which, tho' a Creature ugly and hideous, yet ſometimes a precious Jewel is found in its Head.

I think the ſame Simile will fit our late Convention, which, with all its Deformities, hath alſo carried a Jewel in its Head. What I mean is, that it hath put our Placemen under a Neceſſity of taking off the Maſk.

When other unpopular Meaſures have been taken, they vouchſafed to offer ſome bad Reaſons in their Defence. If they found they could not impoſe upon us, they hoped to make us believe that they themſelves had been impoſed upon;—but now they ſeem weary of diſſembling.

They have frankly declared, they have nothing to do with the Merit of any publick Meaſure; they are to defend their Leader, and their Leader is to protect them.—King and Country are out of the Caſe with them,—they are neither *Guelphs* nor *Ghibelines*:—They are neither of the *Patrician* nor *Plebeian* Party; but, like *Catiline* and his Conſpirators, they are to ſtick by one another, that they may riot in the Spoils of the Commonwealth.

Talk to a Placeman of ſuch a Man's robbing the Publick at home, and ruining its Intereſts by his Blunders abroad, he will anſwer like the *French* Surgeon, who viſiting the Abby of St. *Denis*, fell upon his Knees before the Tomb of *Lewis* XI. which one of the Monks obſerving, told him, that was not the Tomb of a Saint.—He may not be your Saint, good Father, anſwer'd the Surgeon, but he is mine; for it was he firſt brought the Pox into *France*, by which I have gain'd 150,000 *Livres*. Juſt ſo do Placemen reaſon upon a Miniſter's Merits.—Is he corrupt? Then he is our Saint; we ſhall gain 150,000 *Livres* apiece by it; for he muſt protect the like Practices in others.

Give a Man all the Employments in a large Empire, and let him have an

* *See the Defence of the Enquiry, publiſh'd in the Year* 1730.

an immenſe ſecret Service Money without Account, and he may be able to remove all the Terrors that threaten guilty Men. Impunity (ſays *Cicero*) hath tempted many a Man to Crimes, which he would not otherwiſe have thought of.—Here will be Wealth and Power to tempt him on one Side, and Security on the other; ſo that, in the Space of a few Years, he may fortify himſelf in Corruption, and grow impregnable in Roguery.

It is a true Obſervation, that what is got by Rapine, is often ſpent in Luxury; and when I ſee the expenſive Bluildings of one of theſe Placemen, and obſerve how the Houſes of the neighbouring Gentry are goiug to Ruin, it puts me in Mind of the Plant, call'd the Ill-Neighbour, that draws all the Nouriſhment away from other Plants, grows vaſtly high itſelf, and ſtarves every Thing about it: A ſtrong Example of which may be ſeen a little *Northward*, where the whole Revenue of a Country is run into one Houſe; and a better Eſtate crowded into a Cloſet, than the Owner was born to;——at the ſame Time that Trade and Manufactures are declining, and a growing Poverty ſpreads around the Neighbourhood.

Tho' we are at more than a Year's Diſtance from a new Election, I do not think it too ſoon to give the Electors ſome Cautions againſt chuſing a Placeman.

Numerous Employments have already occaſion'd ſtrange Revolutions in this Kingdom: The Son of a Peaſant, who has the good Fortune to be admitted a low Domeſtick in ſome Placeman's Family, and afterwards made Clerk in ſome Office thro' which the publick Money paſſes, hath return'd, in a few Years, a great Man into his Country, and bribed the Country Gentleman out of his own Borough; perhaps the very Gentleman to whoſe Bounty our Candidate's poor Forefathers were beholden for their Bread:——This is one mortifying Effect of the great Profit of Places, of which more Inſtances than one may be given within theſe forty Years.

How are Eſtates made in Offices? By Perquiſites, which is but another Name for ſo many Frauds; for tho' their Salaries are larger than they ought to be, ſuch great Eſtates cannot be rais'd out of the Savings of a Salary, conſidering that Placemen are the People of Expence, and that give the Example of all Kinds of Luxury.

Will a Repreſentative of Placemen pay off the publick Debts, and redeem ſome of the Taxes? Whereby ſeveral Employments muſt fall, and the Perquiſites of others be leſſened.

It is a melancholy Truth, that, as a Country grows poor, Employments make Men more conſiderable in their Country; they are thereby ſet higher above their Neighbours, and the People are more eaſily ſubdued and govern'd when poor; which Conſideration alone ſhould make this Nation dread a Parliament of Placemen. It will be no Falſhood to ſay, that Trade hath declined, that the Gentry and common People have paid heavy Taxes, that the Merchants have ſuffer'd by Depredations, that all People have felt the Weight of the Times, except Placemen.—Will a Parliament of Placemen mend the Matter? I will tell how far it will mend it: When any Calamity falls upon the Country, and every Man is lamenting his Loſs, the Nation will have the Mortification to ſee the Authors of the Miſchief the only Perſons in Plenty and Joy.

Parliaments are to puniſh all the Miſmanagements and Corruptions that can enter into any Part of Government, otherwiſe they are of no Uſe to the People; ſo that a Parliament

ment of Placemen is a Contradiction to common Senſe; it is, without any Thing elſe, a Change in the Conſtitution, and turns the Government into a Commonwealth; nay, the worſt Kind of Commonwealth, a ſcandalous Democracy of the loweſt and the moſt worthleſs of the People. Chuſe a Parliament of Placemen, and you become the Slaves of your own Servants: The Places will then make all the Laws of the Country; nay, they will make the very Religion of the Country: They will not only make the Laws, but they will execute the Laws. The Places will impoſe all Taxes, and the Places will apply the Money. In a Word, the Fortunes of all the People of *England* will lie at the Mercy Placemen.

Of all Kinds of Government, the moſt unnatural as well as grievous, is that which Writers upon Government call *Imperium in Imperio*; and ſuch muſt a Parliament of Placemen produce. On one Side, it muſt render the People weak and without Weight; on the other, make the Crown appear a Cypher, a mere Pageant for Shew, a Thing without Power or Authority.

Cicero tells us, that wiſe Men are inſtructed by Reaſon; Men of leſs Underſtanding, by Experience; the moſt Ignorant, by Neceſſity, and Beaſts by Nature.

To apply which to the Subject before us, we may ſay, that Reaſon, Experiences, Neceſſity, and Nature's firſt Law, which is Self-Defence, oblige the People of this Nation to take ſome legal Meaſures to prevent a Parliament of Placemen.

From the Gazetteer, Nov. 19.

Deſiſtite Tumultuari, Conſultandum eſt.

THE ſage Advice, in my Motto, given by *Flaminius* to the *Ætolians*, could not have been more neceſſary to that diſunited People, than to *Britons* at this Time, amongſt whom, I am ſorry to ſay it, *Faction* has found Means to ſcatter with too great Profuſion the baleful Seeds of Diſcord and Diſſenſion.

The *Romans*, tho' their Commonwealth was frequently agitated by domeſtick Broils, yet preſerved themſelves for a long Time, partly by the Gravity and Wiſdom of the *Patricians*, and partly by the Moderation and Temper of the *Commons*: But when afterwards, both Sides went into Extremes, and gave a Looſe to Violence and Enmity, the State ſoon became a Sacrifice to their mutual Animoſities.

Thus it will and muſt neceſſarily happen in all States, where all Parties don't give their mutual Aid towards rooting up that national Evil, *Faction*, which breaks in upon that general Confidence and Concord that ſhould cement a People in order to bear down the common Enemy.

There are frequent Inſtances in the Hiſtory of that wiſe People, that when they had a foreign War upon their Hands, they poſtponed to a more tranquil Interval, all publick Inquiries and Accuſations; nay, even Puniſhments of the higheſt Nature were poſtponed on theſe intereſting Occaſions.

A grave Author and a good Patriot, ſpeaking of the unhappy Feuds that were but too conſpicuous amongſt his Countrymen at the Time that we enter'd into the laſt War againſt *France*, expreſſes himſelf on the preſent Subject as follows. "In like Manner, perhaps, it would be happy for this Nation, if the Diſputes that are among us, ſhould be for a While poſtpon'd. A Claim of Right is very far from being loſt or yielded up, becauſe it is for the preſent ſuſpended. Whoever looks over our Hiſtories, will find that the People have held to this very Day ſuch Rights, as they aſſerted in

Times

Times of Peace and Quiet; whereas ſuch have been wreſted from them afterwards, which they claim'd and obtain'd at other Seaſons. And indeed one Part of the State will have a remaining Pretenſion to what the other Part ſeems to have extorted, at a Juncture, when Neceſſity may be thought to have forced Compliance."

The War we are now engaged in, is by the concurrent Conſent of all Parties: Should not then all Parties wave for a While all Claims or Pretenſions that might prevent, or even ſlacken the Proſecution of a War, ſo generally ſought and aſſented to? Moſt undoubtedly. And yet as eligible as ſo prudent a Precedure would ſeem, there are, I am ſorry to ſay it, ſome reſtleſs Men amongſt us, that ſeem inclin'd to ſwerve from this ſo ſalutary a Maxim.

I ſhall conclude, as I begun, with the wiſe *Roman*'s ſalutary Advice to the *Ætolians*: *Lay aſide Tumult and Animoſity, where Conſultation is needful.* HALES.

THE *Gazetteer* of the 20th is upon the laſt *Craftſman* and *Common Senſe*. To follow the Complaint *(ſays he)* of the undue Influence of the Counſels of *one ſingle Perſon*, while ſo many other People *think themſelves* full as *wiſe*, would be paying this miſerable Scribbler more Notice then he merits at preſent: But I would, on this Occaſion, be ſo far Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Friend as to remind him, that ancient Hiſtory and modern Experience have furniſh'd Examples, which give Room for paying the greateſt Regard to the Counſels of a *ſingle Perſon*: *France* raiſed herſelf to the Splendor with which ſhe has lately ſhone, by a happy *Succeſſion* of able, and (at leaſt to her Intereſts) *faithful* Miniſters: The Completion of the late ambitious Views of *Spain* has generally been attributed to the Counſels of *one Head*; and the glorious Figure *England* made againſt the Attempts of *Spain* under Q. *Elizabeth*, was evidently owing to the ſteady Counſels of *one Miniſter*;—and by an unfortunate Change, and the haſty Removal of a *great* and *generous Miniſter*, the *latter Part* of the Reign of her late Majeſty Q. *Anne* was overcaſt by ſuch a *Cloud*, as almoſt ſcreens the many glorious Events with which the former Part of her Reign was diſtinguiſhed.

Then as to *Common Senſe*: From Premiſes of his own, *(ſays he)* he deduces a Conſequence he fancies will frighten his Readers; but it muſt be the Unwary only he can ſcare, by ſaying, that *if ſuch and ſuch Things* ſhould ever happen, *the Fortunes of all the People of* England *will lie at the Mercy of Placemen*;—ſuch a Suppoſition being wholy unneceſſary, there never being a happy Nation in the Univerſe where it was otherwiſe: For all who are, *according to the Conſtitution of a Country*, entruſted with the Government of the People, are certainly *Placemen*; and longer than *ſuch Placemen* have the Authority belonging to their reſpective Poſts, the Government cannot be continued, nor the People preſerved in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Fortunes. Nay, it is abſolutely impoſſible for a Man *out of Place*, let his Intentions be ever ſo generous, to ſerve a People ſo much, and with ſuch *Safety* and *Effect*, as if he were in *Place*.

Common Senſe, Nov. 24, N° 147.

Whether this is a proper Time for deſiring a PLACE-BILL.

OUR Placemen, who (as we obſerv'd in our laſt, ſee p. 608.) have taken off the Maſk, and are become the bare-faced Advocates of Slavery, think fit to declare, that the publick Affairs are in a moſt diſtracted Condition; and there-

therefore it is their modeſt Opinion, that it is very unreaſonable in the People at preſent, to deſire a Place-Bill:—They aſk, is this a proper Time to demand a thing of that Nature?

Tho' their Writings are ſo little read that it is ſcarce worth while to take Notice of them, yet, as we know very well who dictated this Queſtion, we ſhall give it an Anſwer; and our Anſwer is, that no Time can be improper.

If they think the Point is no leſs than Security, whether they are to continue a free People or not, they are to make the Demand when it is moſt likely to be obtain'd. It cannot be ſtrange, therefore, that it is aſk'd for now; tho' it may be a Wonder, that it hath not been obtain'd before.

The *Romans* laid hold of ſuch Opportunities to obtain Securities againſt the Tyranny of the *Patricians*, when their Aſſiſtance was moſt wanted for the Defence of the Commonwealth: They were wiſe enough to know, that a Victory Abroad would do them no Service, if they were to be oppreſs'd at Home; nay, it might increaſe the Power of thoſe who were aiming at being Tyrants; therefore they inſiſted upon Securities, before they would contribute to a War.

If the Nation is under Difficulties, every Man knows who brought it into thoſe Difficulties; and the People know that, let who will occaſion them, their Purſes muſt pay for extracting the Nation out of them. If the People apprehend Danger, from the Uſe which a Miniſter may make of an Army of Placemen, muſt theſe very Placemen aſk, if this be a proper Time! —Yes! tho' *Hannibal* were at the Gates, it is a proper Time; for one *Catiline* in the City may do more Miſchief than ten *Hannibals* in the Field.

I would fain know, what it is that hath made this an improper Time? Does any Body believe that our Seamen will not fight, unleſs there ſhould be 2 or 300 Placemen in the next Houſe of Commons? Will a Place-Bill raiſe a Miſt upon the Sea, by Favour of which the Galloons will eſcape under the Stern of one of our Admirals? Will a Place-Bill encreaſe the Practice of Bribery in Elections? Or will it not, above any other Expedient, contribute to check a Species of Corruption, which threatens the very Fundamentals of our Conſtitution?

Let me aſk a Queſtion in my Turn. Is this a Time to refuſe ſuch a Demand? Will thoſe that refuſe, or ſo much as diſpute a Security ſo reaſonable, at a Time the Aſſiſtance of the People is moſt wanted, freely grant it when their Hands ſhall be diſengaged, and they ſhall be at full Leiſure to employ their whole Strength to do what they pleaſe at Home? No! I fancy no Man is ſo weak to be put off with a Queſtion that is ſo eaſily anſwer'd.

I mention'd how the *Romans* behaved in the like Circumſtances; I will now prove it by an Example.

The *Samnites* made an Incurſion into the *Roman* Territories at the Time the People were under the greateſt Uneaſineſs, occaſioned by the Abuſe of Power exerciſed by the *Decemvirs*. This Storm from Abroad was an unlucky Stroke upon them, juſt at the Time that they thought of nothing but eſtabliſhing their own tyrannical Power at Home. The People were wiſe enough to make a proper Uſe of it, for, when the *Decemvirs* were for diverting them from the Conſideration of paſt Meaſures, by magnifying the preſent Danger from the *Samnites*, the Anſwer was, that they would contribute nothing to the War, till the *Decemvirate* had diveſted themſelves of

of their Offices, and ſtood a fair Trial. One *Q. Horatius Barbatus* ſaid, in a Speech to the People, "We are call'd upon to arm againſt the *Samnites*, at a Time that we have much more dangerous Enemies to engage in *Rome*; what we muſt ſuffer from theſe is much worſe, than any Thing we have to fear from the *Samnites*: Shall we that would not endure the Pride of one Man, but baniſh'd a lawful King and his whole Family, now ſuffer ſo many *Tarquins* in *Rome*?"

This *Decemvirate* was a certain Number of worthleſs Fellows that, having taſted the Sweets of living upon the publick Revenue, were reſolv'd to keep that Power which enabled them to do ſo. They were a Gang of Placemen under a Chief: This Chief was named *Appius Claudius*, a bold, buſy Man, who, under Hypocriſy, conceal'd a great many other Vices: This *Appius*, with the reſt, being elected for a Year to collect Laws for the Government of the People, behaved very well at firſt; they expoſed their Laws on ten Tables to be fairly examin'd, which were approv'd of by the People. When their Year was near expired, *Appius* gave out, that there ſtill wanted two Tables more, to make a compleat Body of Laws; and that it would be neceſſary to continue the ſame Kinds of Magiſtracy another Year, to fill up theſe two Tables; which the People being inclined to do, he ſhew'd ſuch a furious Deſire of being again elected, that there was no Kind of Artifice left untried for that Purpoſe; but, as it was not cuſtomary for a Man to poſſeſs the ſame Magiſtracy two Years together, to reward *Appius* for the Pains he had taken, the People gave him a Power of naming the *Decemvirate* for the ſecond Year, not thinking he would name himſelf.

Appius made Choice of Men of the meaneſt Underſtandings, and the worſt Characters; but he knew their Vices would fit them for his Deſigns, and their Want of Parts ſecure him from their being his Rivals in Power; and laſt of all, as if he had loſt all Senſe of Shame, he named himſelf.

Here was a hopeful Crew of Placemen, who, as they ow'd their Preferment to *Appius*, were to obey him and ſtand by him at all Events: He now took off the Maſk, and was reſolv'd, by the Help of theſe Tools, to keep his Power whether the People would or not.——Such was the Condition of *Rome* when the *Samnites* fell upon them.

If I could ſuſpect our preſent Placemen of ſo much Learning as to have read *Livy*, or *Hooke*'s *Roman* Hiſtory, I ſhould have ſworn they had borrow'd all their preſent Arguments from *Appius Claudius*, and his Mercenaries; for, when they found that the People would give no Aſſiſtance to the War till they had ſecured themſelves at Home, *Appius* made a great Clamour, that they were legally choſen, and were not accountable to the Mob; that thoſe who cenſured their Conduct were a Parcel of ſeditious Male-contents, in the Intereſt of the *Samnites*; that they wanted to be in Power themſelves, or to bring all Things into Confuſion; that if they meant the publick Good, they would let all Diſputes alone till the Republick had Peace with the *Samnites*, &c. But the *Romans* had too much good Senſe to give up the Defence of their Liberties to Noiſe and Clamour;—they began the War in the right Place, demoliſh'd the *Decemvirate* firſt, and then beat the *Samnites*.

Let it be conſider'd, whether we have not a much greater Number of Placemen, than *Rome* had, not only at the Time of *Appius*, but even when its Territories were 20 Times as large as ours. Let them conſider

next, that if any one Man ſhould have the Power of chuſing and naming to all Employments, whether he might not eaſily bring about here, what *Appius* loſt his Life for attempting in *Rome*:—The People deſire ſome Security againſt the Conſequence of ſuch an Event.

As long as Liberty ſubſiſts, the Parliament will check the Miniſtry, and the People be a Check upon the Parliament: Therefore it is a Happineſs, that the Placemen have declared themſelves at a Time there is a Parliament under no Influence. If ever the Repreſentatives of the People ſhould appear to be no more than the *Guard du Corps* of a Miniſter, and, at the ſame Time, ſet up for Tyrants againſt thoſe by whoſe Authority they act, it would be Nonſenſe to ſay, that the Nation is govern'd by its own Conſent.

To prevent ſo ſcandalous a Degree of Servitude hereafter, or even the Fear of falling into it, the People deſire a legal Security:—They think, that the Preſervation of that Conſtitution which, within a little more than 40 Years, hath coſt them above 200 Millions Sterling, depends upon it.—No Advantage over an Enemy, no not the conquering all the Dominions of *Spain*, can ſtand in Competition with ſuch a Point.

If therefore the People cannot obtain a Security ſo eſſential to their Liberties, thoſe that oppoſe it are anſwerable for all the Conſequences.

Craftſman, Nov. 24. N° 698

Practices of the Miniſterial Writers.

THE *Miniſterial Drudges* are ſo dull, when they pretend to be witty, and ſo trifling when they endeavour to reaſon, ſo ſuperficial when they attempt to be learned, and always ſo aſſuming and abandon'd, that their own Productions, whether in Writing or Diſcourſe, are full Teſtimonies of their Folly, Ignorance, and profligate Principles. But let their Arguments be ever ſo wicked, weak, or inconcluſive, they are conſtantly back'd by the *Faction*, and loudly applauded by *Exciſe-Officers*, *Penſioners*, *Courtiers*, and *Placemen*. I would not therefore have the *ſcribbling Tribe*, or the *low Scouts of the Party*, exult upon the Honour I may do them, in obſerving upon their Behaviour; as a ſilly, impudent Fellow once bragg'd, for being taken Notice of by *Charles* II. who favour'd him with a Cut croſs the Shoulders, and bid him ſtand out of his Way; for, indeed, all the Notice I deſign to take of them, is to give them a Kick out of my Way, that I may the more eaſily come at *their Betters*. By the Word *Betters*, I would have it here underſtood, *Perſons of better Eſtates* and *higher Stations*. I don't mean a bit *honeſter Men*. *Theſe Hierlings* think themſelves as much concern'd in the Cauſe of Truth and Honeſty, as *their Patron* is in the Intereſt of the Nation. He firſt ſet out on another Principle, and never can be convinc'd that the *Good of the Publick* and his *own private Welfare* are compatible; and tho' at laſt lugg'd in to do what every Body thinks ought to have been done many Years ago, he will probably go thro' it with much as good a Grace as an *Ape* eats Muſtard. In the ſame Manner, his *ſcribbling Advocates* ſhift from Falſhood to Falſhood. For theſe many Years paſt, they have been forſwearing *Corruption*, and calling every Body, who imputed it to their Faction, *ſcandalous Libellers*, *falſe Patriots*, and *Diſturbers of the publick Quiet*; till ſome *certain Evidences* have lately appear'd, and put the Matter quiet out of Diſpute; and now, when it can be no more deny'd than that Guineas are Gold, *theſe worthy Gentlemen* openly juſtify the *Fact*, and declare it to be a *wholeſome Meaſure*, for which they quote *Precedents* to ſanctify the Uſage of it. At the ſame Time, they

they exult very much upon the preſent Number of *publick-ſpirited Gentlemen*, who, to preſerve their Country from being ruin'd by the obſtinate Temper of the *Oppoſition*, will virtuouſly condeſcend to receive the *laudable Wages of Corruption*.—The *late Liſts* and *Seceſſion* have put ſome Affairs in ſo forcible a Light, that they thought it better to avow than deny their Guilt.—If *Corruption* cannot be ſupported, their *Pay-Maſter* is ruin'd, and conſequently *themſelves*.

Theſe Tools of the Faction, whoſe Works are diſpers'd throughout the Kingdom, at the publick Expence, ought to know more of *miniſterial Affairs*, and the *ſecret Springs of Action*, than I pretend to do.—Let every Man therefore conſider, how well the Buſineſs of the Nation hath been conducted for ſome Years paſt; let it be conſider'd how conſiſtent we have been abroad in the Multiplicity of our *Treaties*, and how ſteady to our *natural Allies*; how frugal we have been at home during this long Time of *Peace*, and how conſiderably the *Debts of the Nation* have been reduc'd; how watchful we have been over our *ambitious Neighbours*, and how jealous of the *leaſt Diſgrace*, offer'd to the Credit and Glory of the Kingdom; how much the *Trade* and *Commerce* of the Nation have been extended, and how ſtrenuouſly protected.

The general Anſwer of the *Faction* to all this, is founded on the *Oppoſition*, and the *Peace of Utrecht*.—Then they fall to reviling *thoſe impracticable Men*, who refuſe to be brib'd; that they are *covetous*, becauſe they have behaved ſo as to *loſe their Employments*; *ambitious*, for they deſire to leſſen the *Number of Placemen* in a certain Aſſembly; Enemies to *our Conſtitution*, having attempted to ſecure the *future Independency of Parliaments*; and Enemies to *Trade*, becauſe they endeavour'd to throw out the *Convention* with Ignominy—They are either *open* or *ſecret Jacobites*, for they have conſtantly been againſt a *large ſtanding Army*, in Time of *Peace*; and *notorious Republicans*, ſince they affirm that the *three Eſtates of Parliament* ought to be independent, and that the *elected Members* ought to be accountable to *their Conſtituents*. They are alſo *ungrateful*; for they will not be brib'd by an *old Acquaintance* to hold their Tongues, whenever they apprehend *their Country* in Danger. And, laſtly, they are very *malicious*, for when they find they cannot get into *Places* themſelves, they are for abridging the *Salaries* and *Perquiſites* of them in ſuch a Manner, that they would be ſcarce worth the keeping of *thoſe diſintereſted Place-Patriots*, who ſo well know the *preſent Value of them*.

I muſt here obſerve, that it is but a melancholy Reflection, to think how much is paid for receiving and diſburſing the *publick Money*; and that in moſt of the Places in the *Exchequer*, and in ſeveral *other Offices*, the Profits of the *Place* multiply in Proportion to the *Diſtreſſes of the People*, the *Perquiſites* ariſing from the Increaſe of *Taxes* and *Diſburſements*. I am inform'd there is a *certain ſine-cure Place*, which if dropt, and the *preſent Income* funded out, would, at 4 *per Cent.* raiſe 170,000*l.* and, in Time of *War*, by the increaſing Perquiſites, would produce a *ſinking Fund* for itſelf.—I ſhould be glad to know whether a *Place*, now officiated by a *Deputy*, would not be of more Service to the Nation, if the *Deputy* was made *principal Officer*, and the Salary, or Profits of the *preſent Premier*, converted to the Uſe of the *Publick*.

The next great Source whence all our preſent Misfortunes flow, according to *theſe Scribblers*, is the Treaty of *Utrecht*.—If the *Convention* was not better, to what can it be aſcrib'd but to the Treaty of *Utrecht?* I preſume however that

the Treaty of *Utrecht* will be discharg'd from any Imputation of making the Treaty with the *Emperor* in 1716, the *Quadruple Alliance* in 1718, or any other Act in Favour of the House of *Austria*. But the Treaty of *Utrecht* having rested for about a Dozen Years, it redoubled its Influence, and visibly began to operate in 1725, in Favour of the House of *Bourbon*. To it was owing the last Siege of *Gibraltar*, and suffering the *Spaniards* to erect Works close to it; for, not having secur'd a sufficient Territory by *that Peace*, we had no Right to interrupt them in carrying on their *Trenches* and *Fortifications*. But was it owing to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that when the glorious Treaty of *Seville* was made, we oblig'd ourselves to effectuate the Introduction of *Don Carlos* and his *Forces*, with an *English Fleet*, and at our own Expence? If so, the *King of the two Sicilies* is oblig'd to the Treaty of *Utrecht* for those Crowns; tho' *Naples* was given to the *Emperor* by *that Treaty*, and he gain'd *Sicily* by the Assistance of the *English*, long since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and might have kept them still, as well as *Lorain*, if the Treaty of *Utrecht* had not oblig'd us to make the Treaties of *Hanover* and *Seville*; and tho' we had guaranty'd the *two Sicilies* to the *Emperor*, yet the Treaty of *Utrecht* oblig'd us to stand neuter, when he was attack'd and drove out of them.—But when we were doing such eminent Service for *Spain*, in Consequence of the Treaty of *Seville*, did the Treaty of *Utrecht* restrain us from insisting on a proper Territory round *Gibraltar*, or better Security for our *Trade?*—To the Treaty of *Utrecht* was owing the *Bank-Contract*, and the Loss of the *Hawkers and Pedlars Office*. The Treaty of *Utrecht* hath made it necessary not to diminish the *Debt of the Nation*, or to reduce our *Taxes*. It made it necessary to enlarge the *Civil-List*, to revive the *Salt-Duty*, and now and then to make a little free with the *sinking Fund*.—But let us not give the Glory of our *Spithead Expedition*, our *Baltick*, our *Mediterranean*, or our *West-India Fleets*, to the Treaty of *Utrecht:* Tho' the Death of Admiral *Hosier*, our ill Success at the *Bastimentos*, at that Time, our missing the *Assogue* Ships this Season, and our not declaring War till *Summer*, was undoubtedly owing to that fatal Peace concluded at *Utrecht*, *Anno Domini* 1713.

This political Retrospection into the Treaty of *Utrecht* puts me in Mind of a Story, with which I shall conclude this Paper. It is of an *Hobnail*; which, as an old Woman was cleaning her House, she swept with the *Dust* into her Shovel; so away went the *Dust* and the *Hobnail* both into the Street together. A Groom came presently riding by, who was going to air his *Horses*, one of which happen'd to strike *this Nail* into his Foot; and *this Horse* was a charging Horse of one of the Generals in the *Christian Camp* against the *Turks*. The next Day was fought a decisive Battle between the *Infidels* and the *Christians*; when all Things went on very well in Favour of the *latter*, till *this Horse* fell lame. The *General*, having no other *Horse* left, could not do his Duty, and ride from Squadron to Squadron, in order to animate his Men. In short, the *Mahometans* made the first Impression upon his Quarter, which was follow'd by a general Rout. This Overthrow gave the *Enemies of Christianity* Time and Opportunity to besiege and take several Places, and at last *Constantinople* itself; to which was owing the Loss of *Turkey* in *Europe*.—To *this Hobnail* is likewise imputed the ill Success of the late fatal Battle of *Crotzca*, and the Loss of *Belgrade*, which it is suppos'd Veldt-Marshal *Wallis*, and Count *Neuperg*, will plead in their Defence for having made *so precipitate a Peace*

The renowned QUACK DOCTOR's *Advice to his* POETASTER *in ordinary.*

THO' I am no politician,
Courtier, fidler or phyſician,
Poet or painter, connoiſſeur,
Beau, critick, witch, or conjurer;
But only have this mean pretence,
Which thouſands have not, common ſenſe:
Tho' I ne'er improv'd this knowledge,
By ſeeing th' inſide of a college,
Or vainly boaſted o'er a bottle,
Of *Newton*, *Locke*, or *Ariſtotle*;
Tho' I cou'd ne'er preſume to quote
Old ſcraps of verſes learnt by rote;
Tho' I ne'er ſtrutted in a bar-gown,
Or thunder'd out a deal of jargon,
Or bawl'd on trifles in a fury,
My lord, and gentlemen o'th' jury;
Or look'd in court prodigious wiſe,
With ſolemn phyz and rueful eyes;
Or ſtrok'd my beard, or toſs'd my wig,
And all to look a little big;
Or loudly pleaded at th' aſſizes,
And kiſs'd th' attornies wives for prizes:
Tho' I never cry'd out *culprit*,
Or ran againſt a bar or pulpit;
Or ſpoil'd my eyes by reading books,
Such as your *Littletons* and *Cokes*:
Yet ſure I know a title page,
As well as moſt men of my age;
Nay further know what text and note is;
Thus learned, *fungar vice cotis.*
Wilt thou, my boy, learn how to rhyme,
Whether in or out of time?
Chuſe a theme, no matter what,
All is good that comes to pot.
Never fear, but boldly enter,
Hit or miſs, 'tis all a venture.
Dreſs it up, be ſure, like mine,
Then 'twill grace the *Magazine*.
Neatly patch up what ſeems beſt,
Mind the rhymes, neglect the reſt.
Taſtes in cook'ry often vary,
In verſifying why not, *quære*.
Many men, as many minds;
This likes blank, another rhymes.
For ſuch diverſity of noſes,
Get thou variety of roſes.
Slily * ſteal from this or that,
Any thing, be it but pat;
Whether verſe, or whether proſe,
If 'tis good, I'll ſwear 'tis yours:
Never mind the conſequence,
We've enough, if we've the pence.
Nay, for any thing I'm willing,
If it comes to price one ſhilling.
Better 'tis for us, no doubt,
To play at ſmall game, than ſtand out.
Borrow then from *Swift* or *Pope*,
This a figure, that a trope.
Filch from philoſophick ſtrings,
Grubſtreet ſongs, or ſome ſuch things.
Whate'er you finger, as of old
Midas did, convert to gold.
An ounce of wit from *Oxford* jokes,
As fit for you as other folks:
Tho' not for poetick *norma*,
Yet 'twill ſerve at leaſt *pro forma*.
Take it, whether right or no,
If it fills, 'tis *apropos*.
If my readers ſay they find
Nothing elſe but ſtuff, they're blind.
Qualities occult we ſee
In nature, as in poetry;
As a man may be a poet,
Tho' he ha'n't the face to ſhow it.
Value not the critick-crew,
They always ſnarl at what is new.
Hang 'em for a pack of fools,
I hate their perſons, ſcorn their rules,
Rules for pedants, not for us,
D-mn 'em, they a'n't worth a curſe.
Let 'em dictate, and go ſh-te;
As freely as we live, we'll write.
Let 'em ſay 'tis proſe run mad,
Theirs is worſe, at leaſt as bad.
Call it in their wiſdom follies,
'Tis as good as *Duck*'s or *Colley*'s.
Nay 'twill paſs off *alamode*
For a ſong or new year's ode.
When hungry, any thing will do;
They're as bad as I or you.
For whate'er theſe fools pretend,
Spoil they may, but cannot mend.
Boggle not to ſtretch a point,
Take hence a limb, and thence a joint.
Double entendres not a few,
Smut a pound—it gives a *gout*.
'Tis approv'd throughout the nation
The life and ſoul of converſation,
The very quinteſſence of wit
I'th' boxes, galleries and pit,
Balls, aſſemblies, maſquerades,
Evening tea, and night parades.
'Tis the coxcomb's grand pretence,
Nay his only one, to ſenſe.
Hence he ſmiles and looks alert,
The prude demure, the coquet pert.
Thus by various ways they ſhow
It pleaſes all, both belle and beau.
Then to make the whole complete,
Fuſtain add a pennyweight,
Bombaſt a dram—of puns a ſtore,
Nonſenſe a thouſand weight or more;
Senſe a ſcruple, that's enough:
Then for innuendo's, ſtuff
Detraction, ſlander—*quantum ſuff.*
Let your compoſition be
An univerſal rhapſody.
After all, if fancy fails,
Call thy muſe, or bite thy nails.
At a non-plus, never ſtay,
Put here an *eke*, and there an *ay*:
Theſe with art will ſerve thy cauſe,
Juſt as lawyers *hums* and *ha's*.

If

* *As uſual from the* London Magazine.

Take for endings *Byſhe*'s reference,
As ſome diſtinctions where's no difference.
If it happens there's a place
Which can't be fill'd up, leave a ſpace:
Tho' nothing's in't, 'twill cut a flaſh,
And paſs for ſatyr with a ———
As ſome things may be conſtru'd treaſon,
Tho' there's neither rhime nor reaſon.
If you can't make, yet you can buy
Like others, ready cut and dry,
Crambo's, all ſorts, without fail,
Either at wholeſale or ratail.
But if all ſhou'd not do yet,
Spare thy nails as well as pate.
We'll with part or whole diſpenſe,
Rhime will do as well as ſenſe.
Let it then be finely clear,
Gently ſtealing on the ear;
Let the rhimes flow ſweetly eaſy,
Jingling rhimes will always pleaſe ye.
Rhime's the prettieſt thing alive,
You can't a better thing contrive.
If ſenſe won t hit, don't b'in a paſſion,
'Tis good for nought, 'tis out o'faſhion.
Fluent nonſenſe pleaſes beſt,
Sooths the ear, and luls to reſt.
Still if that and noiſe combine,
Happy ſir, 'tis true ſublime;
The vehicle of nonſenſe ſound,
Proves the ſpeaker is profound.
This the learned in the laws,
Grant good pleading in a cauſe;
This with ſome for wiſdom paſſes,
As thiſtles do for corn with aſſes.
Hence the ſqueaking eunuch's art
Steals the paſſions, purſe and heart:
This our brethren of the pill,
Find is pence and wit at will;
And our m–th–d–ſts will tell ye,
Is a *recip.* for the belly:
Let the people take their fill,
Vox they'll catch, *præterea nil.*
Yours then, never fear, will paſs,
'Twill eaſe, if not the mind, the a—
However dull, it may perhap
Cauſe, if not a ſtool, a nap.
Whilſt your readers, pleas'd and ſpent,
Gently droop, and nod aſſent.
Hence it is, that mine does ſell,
Pr'ythee why mayn't yours as well.

St. *John*'s Gate,
Sept. 20, 1739.

To Miſs H—— *on her Poem on* Corby, *not yet publiſh'd.*

BLESS me! when firſt *Ituna*'s ſtreams I croſt,
Not more I was in admiration loſt!
Smooth glides the glaſſy ſurface in the ſong,
And ſwift the whirling eddy darts along.
Still ruſtling branches feel the balmy breeze,
Still the gay concert warbles on the trees.
Here ſinks the grot, there antick ſtructures riſe,
And real *Corby* meets my wondering eyes.
Thus raptur'd while imagination ſtrays,
And all the wild romantick ſcene ſurveys,
*Tow'rds a fair dome (the temple ſure of love)
Methinks I ſee a beauteous creature move;
How croud the *graces* round her as ſhe goes!
On *Ida*'s top thus *Cytherea* glows.
Such majeſty yet in that ſoftneſs dwells,
As far, ought told by ancient tale, excels.
Hark, now her fingers gently touch the ſtrings,
Hark, echo to the heav'nly muſick ſings.
Good gods! whence can theſe excellencies flow,
Thoſe gifts on clay cou'd nature e'er beſtow?
Yes, yes, 'tis ſhe, O eceſtaſy! I find,
So form'd, ſo faſhioned to command mankind.
She, whoſe ſweet numbers charm the liſt'ning *hours*,
Reclin'd at eaſe in *Corby*'s happy bow'rs!
Oh! you, whom fame ſhall to thoſe ſhades convey,
Beware——ſoon *ſirens* ſteal the heart away.
Sure nigh, 'twere vain the magick to controul,
When diſtance ſprings ſuch tranſports in the ſoul.

SYLVIUS.

* *A curious Summer-Houſe at the End of the long Walk.*

To a certain Gentleman upon his SATIRES. *By Mr.* Brenan.

BY me, his ſervant, *Phœbus* doth impart
These lines, O *Perſius*, to commend your art;
And by preventing *Envy* ſave your fame
From the rude claws of that injurious dame.
Thus ſays the god,—ye *Britons!* hark and know,
How much your joys to my indulgence owe.
This day do I a noble *wit* create,
Bright as my rays, and friendly as their heat,
Whoſe *genius* ſhall ſupport your ſinking ſtate.
Fair *liberty* (the greateſt bliſs of men)
Shall owe her riſe to his victorious pen.
Wit ſhall he rev'rence, nor ſhall *virtue* leſs
His pow'r to help her, than his love, confeſs.
Keen as my arrows ſhall his *ſatires* pierce,
And thoſe who fear not death, ſhall dread his *verſe.*
Time ſhall the works of other bards devour,
But o'er his honour'd *writings* have no pow'r;
Taught by reſpect the happy page to ſpare,
In which my ſpirit holds ſo great a ſhare.
All, but the taſtleſs, ſhall his wit approve,
The old reſpect it, and the youthful love;
And none to damn his merits ſhall conſpire,
But ſuch, whoſe cenſures will exalt them higher.
Riſe! riſe! ye owls, who hoot at ſacred lays,
And with your friendly ſpite, augment his praiſe;
Call that his malice, which is but your ſhame;
'Tis all that's wanting to compleat his fame.

APOLLO.

HEALTH

HEALTH *and* CONTENT. A SOLILOQUY.

Continued from p. 461.

THUS 'tis we find the *preſent evil world*
(O dire effect of man's firſt diſobedience!)
Full of diſaſters, ſickneſs, diſcontent,
Of vanity and vice—of ſin and ſorrow.
Yet, let us not audaciouſly repine
At this our fate; ſince we full well do know,
That all the woful ills, we ſadly ſhare,
Fall infinitely ſhort of our deſert.
Beſides, (as hourly inſtances remind us,)
Theſe *light afflictions are but for a moment:*
The preſent ſinful, vain, vexatious life,
With all its various ills of ev'ry kind,
Shall quickly have an end——
Soon ſhall th' unclogg'd, unfetter'd *ſoul* eſcape
From her contagious, cumberſome confinement,—
(This poor, infectious, periſhable priſon!
This tott'ring fabric of frail fleſh and blood!)—
And ſweetly wing her ſwift, unwearied flight
To yon rejoicing realms,—yon glorious manſions
Of perfect pleaſure, and unbounded bliſs!
Soon ſhall *this mortal put on immortality:*
This morbid maſs,—theſe groſs and earthly *bodies,* [*ſoul,*)
(Which, now, in grievous ſort, preſs down the
With their great multiplicity of organs,—
Of muſcles, tendons, art'ries, veins, and nerves,
Shall be advanc'd, e'er long, to vaſt perfection;—
And, (if *in them* we *glorify* our *God,*)
Bear the bright *image of the ſecond* Adam.
E'er long, the Almighty *Lord from Heav'n,* himſelf,
Theſe vile, corrupting carcaſſes *ſhall change*
Into the likeneſs of his glorious body.
Sad, *ſorrowing ſighs ſhall* then for ever *vaniſh,*
And, *from our eyes,* all *tears be wip'd away:*
The ranſom'd of the Lord ſhall come with ſongs,
And everlaſting joy upon their heads.
Why art thou then ſo heavy, O my ſoul?
Why art thou ſo diſquieted within me?
O put thy *truſt in God,* and *give him thanks,*
Who has ſuch *joys prepar'd for them, that love him.*
All things ſhall work together for their *good:*
Their gracious God ſhall ſanctify their ſickneſs,
And all the ſeeming ill's, he's pleas'd to ſend.
Nor are *the ſuff'rings of this preſent life,*
Worthy, by any means, *to be compar'd*
With that exceeding *weight of* heav'nly *glory,*
Which ſhall, *in us,* hereafter *be reveal'd.*
What then, if want of health ſtill prove my portion,
And oft-returning illneſſes, e'er long,
To this poor, languid life, ſhou'd put a period?—
I know full well, *that my Redeemer lives,*
And, at the latter day, upon the earth,
Shall ſurely *ſtand:*—why am I then diſmay'd?
After my ſkin, tho' worms deſtroy this body,
Yet, in my very *fleſh, ſhall I ſee God.*
And, *if this earthly dwelling were diſſolv'd,*
Yet *we a building have of God, an houſe*
Not made with hands, eternal in the heav'ns.
What, tho' great loſſes, and repeated wrongs,
From baſe, injurious, ill-deſigning men,
(During my ſhort abode in this vain world,)
Be, for good ends, permitted to befal me?
Yet won't I *caſt away my confidence;*
Much leſs, in impious ſort, repine: But rather
Take joyfully the ſpoiling of my *goods,*
Well *knowing, that in heav'n* I hope to *have*
A better, and a more *enduring ſubſtance;*
Where neither ruſt corrodes, *nor moth* devours,
And crafty *thieves do not break through, nor ſteal.*
What, tho' my barb'rous foes, with cauſeleſs ſpite,
Do all, they can, to blaſt my reputation;
Induſtriouſly diſperſing, up and down,
Their labour'd lies, and politic pretences?—
What, tho' they ſtrive, in moſt ungrateful manner,
Me to bereave, of goods, and credit too, [tune?
Still making free, both with my fame and for-
(For thoſe, that do the wrong, are ſure to rail.
Strange! that a man ſhou'd, in ſuch ſenſeleſs ſort,
Propoſe to compenſate for former crimes
With further faults, and adding ſin to ſin!)
Yet, notwithſtanding this, I will *not fear*
Th' unjuſt *reproach of* diſingenuous *men,*
Nor be at all *afraid of their revilings;*
And, tho' *revil'd,* I'll *not revile again,*
Nor, when I *ſuffer,* uſe unchriſtian *threats;*
But,—after my Redeemer's bleſt example,—
Commit myſelf *to him that judges righteouſly.*
And, O! thou once afflicted, ſuff'ring *Saviour,* [*tempted,*
Who well *know'ſt how to* ſuccour *man,* when
Enable me, with thy moſt bounteous grace,
Still to perſiſt in pious reſolutions,
To put in practice ev'ry good deſign,
And, *both to will, and do, of thy good pleaſure.*
Whatever ills moleſt this *mortal body,*
In patience may I ſtill *poſſeſs* my *ſoul;*
And be *thy gracious help ſufficient for me.*
Or,—if I *fall into the hands of men,* [mur.
Let me not once preſume, dear Lord, to mur-
Ah! *wherefore ſhou'd a living man complain,*
For the ſlight *puniſhment of* grievous *ſins?*
'Tis thy *long-ſuff'ring,* Lord, that lets me live,
And *of thy mercies, that we're not conſum'd.*
Shall ſo much goodneſs therefore be neglected?
Can ſuch forbearance ſuffer me to *tempt*
The Lord my God?——(deſtructive, deſp'rate thought!)
As tho' *thou hadſt forgotten to be gracious.*
O! may I *take* due *care, there be not, in me,*
An evil, abject *heart of unbelief.*
May I, with chearfulneſs, *lay hold on hope,*
(That *anchor of the ſoul both ſure and ſtedfaſt,*)
In all the ſtorms of this tempeſtuous world.

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

S I R,

IF the Sentiments of a *North Britain,* rough as his Climate, and uncultivated as his Country, are not too harſh for the ſoft Ears of

your

your Opera Gentlemen, I wiſh you would inſert the following Ode, in your *Magazine*; and you will oblige ſome who prefer the martial Sound of a Trumpet, before the ſweet Lullabies of a ſqueaking Eunuch, and among the reſt,

Your Humble Servant,
FREEMAN.

A MARTIAL ODE.

Anguſtam, amici, pauperiem pati
Robuſtus acri militia puer
Condiſcat.

TOO long the fopperies of *France*,
O *Britain*, thy brave ſons invade,
Shake off, at length, the ſhameful trance,
And leave the baſe inglorious ſhade.
How art thou fall'n, thou terror of thy foes!
Whoſe nod made tyrants juſt, and gave the world repoſe.

Rouſe thee to action; let the beau
Change for the helm his ſmart tonpee,
With ſtorms and cold familiar grow,
And brave the hoarſe tempeſtuous ſea:
For balls and operas, let him learn to bear
The gripes of want, and rough fatigues of war.

Inſtead of ſnuff-box, take the ſpear;
And for a tender virgin's heart,
A nobler conqueſt let him ſhare,
And bravely ſtorm a *Spaniſh* fort:
Thro' ſlaughter'd heaps his bloody paſſage force,
And where the battle kindles urge his dangerous courſe.

No more the ladies ſhall admire
The fop, who now enjoys their ſmiles;
But praiſe the hero's martial fire,
And with their love reward his toils;
Bleſs that brave man, to whom the *Spaniards* yeild,
Triumphant, in the chamber, and the field.

What coward would not die with joy,
Whene'er his country claims his breath?
The trembling maid, the beardleſs boy,
Are ſnatch'd by unrelenting death:
In vain from war's alarms the fearful flies,
Swift fate purſues, and by baſe wounds he dies.

Britain ne'er doubted which to chuſe,
A glorious death, or ſhameful life;
To ſtoop to her inſulting foes,
Or periſh in the noble ſtrife;
Secure, however fortune ſmile, or frown,
Unſullied honours ſhall her labours crown.

Great in herſelf, ſhe ſcorns to riſe,
By ſhameful ſtratagems; and hates
The vile deceitful policies
Which aggrandize the neighbouring ſtates;
She ſmiles at all the vain deſigns they form,
And knows her thunder can diſperſe the ſtorm.

Of *France*'s ſchemes no dread ſhe knows,
Their cunning is not worth our care;
Let them declare themſelves our foes,
And be (if poſſible) ſincere.
Their frowns we laugh at, and deſpiſe th' ally
Who wears the maſk of friendſhip to deſtroy.

The thefts and inſolence of *Spain*,
Too long the *Britiſh* lion bore,
Dreadful he ſhakes his ſhaggy main,
And nations tremble at his roar.
Tho' villains proſper, and revenge is ſlow,
Juſtice purſues, and will ſtrike home the blow.

A Dialogue between R——LL H——ME, *and* C——R G——LL, *in* A——n M——r, Cumberland.

Invidus alterius rebus macreſcit opimis.
Hor.

R. H. FRiend, gueſs I right that ſullen mien
Betrays a boſom full of ſpleen:
Gods! muſt poor mortals ſtill be croſt!
Is debtor gone, and money loſt?

C. G. No, *Plutus*, thanks, my gold is here,
Plutus, whom I alone revere;
From ſomething elſe theſe pangs I feel——
Who can behold his neighbour's weal?

R. H. In chriſtians dwells there ſuch a thought!
To what a pitch are mankind brought?
Muſt envy over reaſon ſway,
And riches baniſh truth away?

C. G. Be gone!—thy preaching I deteſt;
Thou—thou'rt the raven in my breaſt;
'Tis thou that doſt my will controul,
And damn the ſecrets of my ſoul:
What tho' from thy anceſtors came
My lands? I now diſown the name:
What tho' thy aid has oft reliev'd?
Yet, what are favours, when receiv'd?
Forgot, I give them to the wind,
And break all bonds that friendſhip bind;
If weighty bags can ruin bring,
For this with joy I'll burſt the ſtring. [vain!

R. H. Vain are thy threats! thy thunder
The fates have faſten'd there thy chain;
There mayſt thou feed upon deſpair,
That lonely corner's all thy ſhare;
There mayſt thou blow the poiſ'nous breath
Of malice, diſcord, hate, and death;
All one to me, I ſtand ſecure,
Tho' willing, feeble is thy pow'r:
Wrapt in my virtue, bleſs'd as kings;
Farewel—remember wealth has wings.

SYLVIUS.

An Epiſtle to Mr. S—— G——, *written on the Day of the Declaration of* WAR. *By an honeſt Tar, preſent at the taking of the Ship* St. Joſeph.

TO thee, my countryman, and country's friend,
I write; awhile thy ſtudious thoughts ſuſpend:
Forget thy cares, and upwards raiſe thy ſight,
To meet this joyful morn, this beam of light;
To recollect, in ſolitude and eaſe,
The various incidents, which ſeem to pleaſe.

From

From nether regions lift thy awful head,
And leave, for living monuments, the dead.
For what we us'd to read, confeſt we view,
All th' antient world tranſcribed in the new.
Of *Grecian* chiefs, glowing with generous rage
At *Trojan* inſults, read in *Homer*'s page.
Of *Britons* nobly fighting for their laws;
As often bleeding in their country's cauſe;
Scourging proud tyrants, vanquiſhing their foes,
Subduing rebels, and preventing woes;
In *Engliſh* annals view. But turn, admire!
Our preſent heroes emulate their fire.
With equal vigour, and ſuperior might, [fight;
Behold! they arm, they ſally forth, they
Sailing in triumph on the ſeas, confeſs
Our trade they vindicate, our wrongs redreſs.
'Tis true, in *Cromwell*'s, and *Eliza*'s reign,
None cou'd of foreign injuries complain;
None durſt attempt her *mouth* and none his *ears*,
He bullied *Spaniards*, as he did his *peers*.
But think not ſince in indolence we're dead,
Or, as we've loſt our * *ears*, we'll loſe our *head*.
Think not we live in *Charles*' inglorious days,
When *armies* were for *ſhews*, and *fleets* for *plays*:
Leſs ſkill'd in th' art of fighting, than intrigues,
Accuſtom'd more to pleaſures, than fatigues;
More us'd to camps of *Venus*, than of *Mars*,
Nor quite ſo fit for battle, as for farce:
When beaus were ſent out merely for a *dance*,
To be the fools of *Spain* and ſport of *France*.
Soon to their ſorrow and their coſt they'll know
The *Britiſh* ſquadron's not a *raree-ſhow*. [fate;
Proud *Spain*, from paſt examples learn thy
Submit, and tremble, ere it be too late:
From ſad experience future meaſures take,
Forget not thy *Armada*, and our *Drake*;
Remember valiant *Blake*, remember *Byng*;
What by your *fraud* we loſe, by ſword we win.
England has long the peaceful laurel worn,
And inſults, captures, depredations born
With patience infinite—but now no more;
Its *injur'd* liberties it will reſtore.
Hark! adamantine *Mars* proclaims th' alarms,
Earth, ſea, and ſkies declare, to arms, to arms!
To arms, to arms! men, drums and trumpets ſound;
A war, a war! the bellowing ſtreets rebound.
Tranſported view the gathering crowds ariſe,
With all the *Briton* ſparkling in their eyes.
Lo! zeal indignant animates their frame,
Lo! th' inbred courage kindles to a flame.
Hark! what exulting acclamations riſe, [ſkies.
Mount on the winds, and tremble thro' the
The too long ſtagnant blood now freely flows,
With martial ardour every boſom glows.
Embattled legions open into view,
And *Marlborough*'s wars we ſeem to fight anew.
See! the renowned *Haddock*'s on the main,
At once the terror, and the ſcourge of *Spain*;
Of *Spain* grown powerful in plunder'd gold,
Superbly poor, and impotently bold;
Thro' ſplendid ignorance grown vainly grave,
Thro' want of wiſdom, learned; courage, brave.
But ſee! its little greatneſs now deſcends,
Since *Haddock* valiantly our right defends.
Britain ſhall live when *Spain* ſhall be no more;
Such as *Madrid*, was *Carthage* heretofore.
Its ſtately towers ſhall fall, its grandeur ceaſe,
And with its humbled power, its pride decreaſe.
But *Britain* on a rock ſecurely ſtands,
To thunder out to *Spain* its dread commands.
Diviſions, tumults, diſcontents and jars,
With all the deadly inſtruments of wars;
Fleets, privateers, armada's, nought avail,
Whilſt *Wagers*, *Haddocks*, *Vernons*, never fail.
Trumpets, guns, mortars, cannons will proclaim
A *George*'s counſels, and a *Haddock*'s name.

Don Thomas de la St. Joſeph.

Verſes occaſion'd by the Biſhop of London's *Remarks upon* Whit—d's *Journals.* (ſee p. 391.)

CEASE, pious *Gibſon!* ſince in vain
You have recall'd the erring train,
Back to their former fold,
Which ſwoln with ſuperſtitious pride,
Common degrees of faith deride,
And fatal tenets hold.
High you diſplay'd your paſt'ral rod,
True, faithful to your church and God;
Cou'd mortal force do more?
You knock'd the rebels to the ground,
But ſee! how furious they rebound,
Unconquer'd as before.
Alcides thus (when drench'd in blood
He ſwept from earth the monſter brood)
Laid huge *Antæus* low;
But hear! the fainting *Giant* cries;
Freſh ſpirits mother *Earth* ſupplies,
And ſends him on his foe.
Th' unequal taſk at length decline,
To ſave more thinking ſouls be thine
From ſtains of deadly ſin;
Hope not with reaſon to reclaim,
Such as her gentle ſway contemn,
Led by the light within.
Expect, O church! at leaſt to ſee
Once each returning century,
Proud bigotry revive;
But, oh! may *Britain*'s guardian God
Not truſt with brutes his iron rod;
But freedom grant and life.
For what pernicious practice fail'd,
Whilſt *Nol*'s deſtructive ſword prevail'd,
And mow'd whole armies down;
When to thoſe impious ſons of hell
Our king, a helpleſs victim fell,
His ſceptre and his throne?
For ſee! th' audacious rebels dare
Conſult their God in ſeeming pray'r,
What methods to purſue;
A few, by knowing more than men,
Cheat the deluded, ſenſeleſs train,
With cous'nage never new.
One ſtale, repeated trick, may fools
(Who ſpurn right reaſon's golden rules)
To numerous errors lead;

* *Alluding to the Story of the Captain, that had his Ears cut off by the* Spaniards.

Nay, even the ſly artificer
Was caught at laſt in his own ſnare,
So oft for others ſpread.
Sick *Cromwell* lay; prophetick tribes,
(For their own ſafety, or for bribes,)
Chear their expiring chief,
"Fear not, unerring heav'n declares
"You ſtill engroſs her choiceſt cares,
"And ſoon ſhall find relief."
The fool believ'd, but conqu'ring death,
Correcting ſoon his erring faith,
Prov'd his mortality;
Bigotted troops raiſe hideous cries,
Rend heav'n with horrid blaſphemies,
And give their God the lye.
What tumults then, compar'd with theſe,
Can *Whit—d*, *Weſ—y*, *Ing—m*, raiſe,
Tho' equally profound?
Had they the forces of the *Turk*,
They might compleat the heav'nly work,
And ſpread their tenets round.
A few revolving years will ſee
(As in the former century,)
This ſtorm of doctrine paſt;
A while thus fierce *Volcanos* rear
A firy deluge in the air,
And lay whole countries waſte.
But when the deep the horrid roar
Of ſubterraneous thunders o'er,
Which loud blaſphem'd the ſkies,
New life o'er all, ſee nature ſpread,
Each plant erect its drooping head,
And freſher verdure riſe.
Say, muſe, where ſhines th' unbiaſs'd mind,
Steady, to no extream inclin'd,
Religious, yet not vain;
Whoſe warm devotions we admire,
Pure from enthuſiaſtick fire,
Or wild fanatick ſtrain.
That beſt of chriſtians, and of men,
Who hath improv'd with learned pen
Tully's capacious mind;
O! had the moraliſt been born,
Some chriſtian country to adorn,
Or in theſe ages ſhin'd!
How heav'n our pious wiſh has crown'd!
Oxford a ſecond *Tully* found,
Bleſt with her foſter-ſon!
Had *Britain Rome*'s great genius bore,
He had (what cou'd even *Tully* more?)
Another *Cockman* ſhone.

ANTIMETHODISTES.

CELADON's *Complaint.*

The AIR. *Deſpairing beſide a clear Stream.*

Quid immerentes hoſpites vexas, Canis?
HORAT. Epod.

HOW fooliſh was I, ſilly ſwain!
Unfortunate *Celadon* cry'd!
To leave the calm joys of the plain,
And traverſe the ocean ſo wide!
By tumult oppreſt all the day,
By tempeſts ſurrounded at night;
And like the poor hart drove to bay,
By brutes that in barking delight.
Confin'd by the ocean and ſkies,
Such company how ſhall I ſhun?
How fly the dull ſots I deſpiſe,
Ah! whither muſt *Celadon* run?
If books and my cabbin's the choice,
Yet thither the cry does purſue;
No place can ſecure from the noiſe,
And roar of the *Hottentot* crew.
What lately the muſes inſpir'd,
Their envy endeavour'd to blame:
And hound-like in couples conſpir'd,
To ruin a poor ſingle game.
But *Phœbus*, who ſees all my wrongs,
Kind *Phœbus* did ſend in relief,
A nymph who approv'd of my ſongs;
Adieu then to *Celadon*'s grief.

The FABLE *of the old* LION.

A Lion, who, while vig'rous ſtrength remain'd,
O'er all the beaſts around terrifick reign'd;
Where'er his fierceneſs urg'd him, raging ſtill;
His will his law, and cruelty his will:
Broke down at laſt with the decays of age,
His nervous pow'rs all ſpent, and quench'd his rage,
Himſelf too weak to make the weakeſt fear,
And life's concluding period drawing near;
Th' avengers of his paſt deſtructive ſway,
His barb'rous deeds are haſt'ning to repay.
Attacks him firſt with his ſharp fangs the boar,
And in fierce fury tears and wounds him ſore;
Next to the boar, the bellowing bull ſucceeds;
Gor'd with his piercing horns, the tyrant bleeds.
Then the dull aſs t' inflict his vengeance flies,
And ſpurns th' expiring monarch, as he lies
Lab'ring and groaning under all the pains,
In theſe ſad hours of anguiſh he ſuſtains:
His bitt'reſt anguiſh this, that brought thus low,
He bears ſuch inſults from ſo mean a foe.

The MORAL.

LET all in pow'r, how pow'r they uſe, reflect,
And not oppreſs their people, but protect;
For once that time arriv'd, when pow'r is loſt,
The lawleſs tyrant finds it to his coſt,
That all combine t'expreſs their dire diſlike,
And not one hand's ſo mean but haſtes to ſtrike.

The two following are inſerted at the particular Deſire of one of our Correſpondents.

ADVICE *to a* LADY *in* AUTUMN. *By a noble* LORD.

ASSES milk, half a pint, take at ſeven, or before;
Then ſleep for an hour, or two, and no more.

At

At nine ſtretch your arms, and oh! think, when alone, [my gown:
There's no pleaſure in bed.—*Mary*, bring me
Slip on that e'er you riſe; let your caution be ſuch; [too much.
Keep all cold from your breaſt, there's already
Your pinners ſet right, your twitcher ty'd on,
Your prayers at an end, your breakfaſt quite done;
Retire to ſome author improving and gay,
And with ſenſe like your own, ſet your mind for the day. [the year,
At twelve you may walk, for at this time o'
The ſun, like your wit, is as mild as 'tis clear:
But mark in the meadows, the ruin of time;
Take the hint, and let life be improv'd in its prime.
Return not in haſt, nor of dreſſing take heed;
For beauty like yours, no aſſiſtance can need.
With an appetite, thus, down to dinner you ſit, [your wit:
Where the chief of the feaſt, is the flow of
Let this be indulg'd, and let laughter go round;
As it pleaſes your mind, to your health 'twill redound.
After dinner two glaſſes, at leaſt, I approve;
Name the firſt to the king, the laſt to your love: [gay,
Thus chearful with wiſdom, with innocence
And calm with your joys, gently glide through the day.
The dews of the evening moſt carefully ſhun;
They are tears of the ſky, for the loſs of the ſun. [ſong,
Then chat, or at play, with a dance, or a
Let the night, like the day, paſs with pleaſure along. [mind;
All cares but of love, baniſh far from your
And thoſe you may end, when you pleaſe to be kind.

To a LADY, *upon her reading* Sherlock on Death. *By the ſame Author.*

MISTAKEN fair, lay *Sherlock* by,
His doctrine is deceiving;
For while he teaches us to die,
He cheats us of our living.

To die 's a leſſon we ſhall learn,
Too ſoon without a maſter:
Then let us ſtudy only now,
The art to live the faſter.

To live 's to love, to bleſs, be bleſs'd,
With mutual inclination:
Share then the ardor of my breaſt,
And kindly meet my paſſion.

But if thus bleſs'd I muſt not live,
And pity you deny;
At leaſt to me your *Sherlock* give,
'Tis I muſt learn to die.

FEMALE HEROISM: *Or, the* COCKADED COXCOMB.

YE gods! ſhall *villains* 'ſcape the publick *ſcorn*,
And *L*—'s *impudence* be calmly born?
Lives there no man, forſaken *virtue*'s friend,
To laſh his *vices*, and her cauſe defend?
Shall ſuch a *wretch*, ſprung from a *vile embrace*,
Leud, as his *mother*, as his *father*, baſe,
Born to no *honours*, by no *merit* rais'd,
Proud, *ſaucy*, *vile*, for not one *virtue* prais'd,
Shall ſuch a *wretch!* the mark of juſt *contempt*,
'Scape his *deſerts*, and be from *ſcorn* exempt?
Hear then, ye *fair!* ſince *men* ſo abject grown,
T' admit the ſlave, nor dare his *crimes* diſown,
'Tis *yours* to baniſh *him*;—*deſpiſe* his *rage*,
And ſave the *honour* of a *ſinking age*.

BATH-WATERS.

O*N*–*ſh*! how wond'rous hard's our *fate*,
Who wou'd preſerve our *fame*:
Purſuing *eaſe*, we ſeek this *place*,
But meet a *wounded name*.

Bethesda's *pool* an *angel* bleſt,
Health plum'd his balmy wings;
Infernal ſatyrs Bath moleſt,
And *poiſon* all its *ſprings*.

On the Declaration of WAR *with* SPAIN.

What wou'd not, peace! *the patriot bear for thee?*
For he thy value knows; *thy friendſhip be*
To human nature; *by the better thou*,
The richer of delight, *ſometimes the more*
Inevitable war, *when* ruffian force
Awakes the fury of an injur'd ſtate.
Thomſon's Britannia.

LONG the all right'ous Ruler of the ſkies
Beheld degenerate man with *mercy*'s eyes,
E'er he aveng'd him on the impious foe,
Or bad the fountains of the deep to flow:
So for a time *Britannia*'s monarch choſe
Not to diſturb the world, but give repoſe,
Saw all the inſults, all the pride of *Spain*,
Nor wou'd aſſert his empire o'er the main:
But rous'd to vengeance now for war declares,
Since *juſtice* wou'd complain, if ſtill he ſpares;
Nor longer ſhall our injur'd merchants mourn,
Soon ſhall the ſpoiler all his ſpoils return;
Soon *Europe* ſee *Britannia*'s fame reſtor'd,
Once more the ocean own its ancient lord;
Our fleets unrivall'd ſtear by ev'ry ſtar,
And to each diſtant coaſt their thunder bear:
Once more around *Iberia*'s frighted ſhore,
The pale inhabitant ſhall hear it roar:
Phillip ſhall in his palace fear to dwell,
And leave th' *Eſcurial* for the hermit's cell.
Yet ſome, like * *Iſrael*'s race, too tim'rous are,
They blame their † *Moſes*, and repine at war;
Ceaſe your complaints ye coward, murmuring crew,
What ſons of *Anak* have ye to ſubdue?
Britons, for ſhame, your fooliſh fears give o'er,
Think on the deeds by *Britons* done before:
When *Edward* led your brave fore-fathers on;
When *Henry* fought, and *Agincourt* was won;

* *Numbers* 13.

† *The King*

When *Danube*'s ſtream appear'd a purple flood,
And fam'd *Ramillia*'s field a ſea of blood.
What tho' on *France*, *fortune* may ſmile again,
Flury ſhall plot and *Louis* league in vain:
Let but your *king* his conq'ring ſword unſheath,
Adorn'd with *Audenard*'s ſtill verdant wreath,
Rememb'ring *Audenard* th' aſpiring *Gaul*
Shall tremble on his throne, and fear a greater fall.
So while *Achilles* from the fight retir'd,
New life, and ſtrength the *Dardan* hoſt inſpir'd;
But when the *Greeks* again their hero led,
Strait from the field the *Trojans* trembling fled.

Plymouth, Oct. 27, 1739.

To a young Lady with Muſtapha.—*By a young* Scots *Gentleman.*

WHEN virtue ſtruggles with oppreſſive woe,
When love's ſoft anguiſh prompts the tear to flow,
When the muſe melts with mourning beauty's care,
What nobler ſubject can engage the fair?
Since this her generous aim, nor you refuſe
To ſhare the ſorrows of the tragic muſe;
The tragic muſe in ev'ry age deſign'd,
To mend the paſſions and reform the mind,
Form the ſoft boſom with the gentleſt art;
And pour each human virtue on the heart:
Her well-laid morals teach the proud to know,
Vain's ev'ry care, and each purſuit below.
When one, * in whom each grace and virtue join'd,
The nobleſt pattern of a heav'n-born mind,
In vain his virtues guard from envy's blaſt,
Or ward off fate's unerring blow at laſt;
Not all the charms that warm'd *Emira*'s mein,
Nor all the virtues of her ſoul within,
Cou'd ſave from ſorrow, or protect her heart
From care's ſharp ſtings or love's tormenting ſmart:
Love, which in ev'ry breaſt no power controuls,
The nobleſt failure of heroick ſouls.
Nor you, if mov'd as thickning woes ariſe,
Bluſh that the gen'rous tear o'erflows your eyes.
(Expreſſive tears, that undiſgu'ſ'd by art,
Shew the ſoft nature of the gentle heart.)
For who unmov'd, unfeeling views diſtreſs,
Is more than mortal, or than human leſs.
Let not theſe ſcenes the leſs your fancy hit,
And pleaſe you leſs, becauſe a *Scotſman* writ.
For ev'ry ſtation yields to *Scotſmens* praiſe,
Theirs is the laurel wreath and theirs the bays;
To them the ſenate yields, to them the fair,
Firſt in the field and foremoſt at the bar.
'Tis theſe, 'tis theſe my raptur'd thoughts enflame,
And ſwell my youthful breaſt with love of fame;
Their ſteps to follow, fires my ev'ry ſtrain,
Burns in my breaſt, and beats in ev'ry vein;
"This prompts the ſigh, and ſwells th' impaſſion'd guſh,
"Glows in my warmth, and reddens in my bluſh."
Cou'd I, my *fair*, but equal numbers raiſe,
Then wou'd I ſing—for O! I burſt to praiſe;
Sing how for fame in arms and martial deeds,
Not *Rome* herſelf *Albania*'s ſons exceeds.
Hers is a *Kieth*'s, and hers a *Campbell*'s † flame,
Hers youthful *Crawford*, burning fierce for fame.
How nature to her peaceful ſons imparts,
Each bright'ning glory of politer arts!
For *Mallet*'s numbers all the *nine* inſpire,
And all the *poet* glows in *Thomſon*'s fire.
Sing how not ev'n *Circaſſia*'s daughters vie,
With the bright ſun-ſhine of a *Scottiſh* eye;
More than their charms, while innocence within
Shines in their ſenſe, and brightens in their mien;
And in their gentle boſoms beam confeſt
The jarring attributes of fair, and chaſte.
Bleſt tho' you are with ev'ry human grace,
The ſhape engaging, and bewitching face;
Yet know a nobler beauty claims thy care,
Virtue, the ſweeteſt charm can grace the fair.
This to the ſhape does eaſier air inſpire,
Gives to the lips their bloom, the eyes their fire.
This o'er the cheek with brighter graces ſhows
The lily's whiteneſs, and the bluſhing roſe.
This when your beauty fades will ne'er decay,
But age improve it and confirm its ſway.
Theſe lays forgive of an unpoliſh'd muſe,
Unſkill'd the faſhionable guile to uſe,
Unſkill'd by fulſome praiſe, or flatt'ring art,
Unmanly ſoft, to gain a female heart;
A muſe that ne'er ſhall ſtudy, ne'er ſhall care,
Except by noble means, to pleaſe the fair.

W. D.

* *Muſtapha.*

On reading in the publick Papers, that Sir John Norris *was appointed to cruize the Channel with* 45 *Sail of Men of War.*

RISE, *Norris!* mighty chief! in arms renown'd!
And with thy ſquadrons ſpread the ſeas around:
For lo! thy ſovereign claims it at thy hands,
And who dares diſobey what he commands?
May then kind heav'n, to fill thy ſwelling ſails,
From ev'ry corner ſend propitious gales!
Whilſt our bold youth, whom love of praiſe inſpires,
Whom juſtice actuates, and whom vengeance fires,
Haſte to thy ſide, and rouz'd to wrath diſplay
Their threatning enſigns thro' the watry way.
And ſee! th' inſulting *Spaniard*, from afar,
Already trembles at th' approaching war;
Already learns this certain truth to know,
George and his *Britons* rule the world below.

H. PRICE.

† Duke of *Argyle.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 29th of last Month, an Expreſs arrived from Capt. *Cooper*, of his Majeſty's Ship the *Cheſter*, to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, with Letters from Rear Admiral *Haddock*, dated *Sept.* 26, giving an Account, that on the 23d of *Sept.* a rich *Spaniſh* Ship, called the *St. Joſeph*, bound from the *Carraccas*, and belonging to the *Guipuſcoan* Company, was taken off *Cadiz*. The ſaid Ship arrived at *Spithead* the 28th of *October*, under Convoy of his Majeſty's Ship the *Cheſter*. The Money and Goods on board, as mention'd in the Bill of Lading, were computed to be worth upwards of 100,000*l.* Sterling; beſides Silver and other valuable Effects not expreſs'd in the Bill of Lading. The ſaid Ship is above 800 Tons Burthen. She had on board, as appear'd afterwards, ſome Diamonds, with a Diamond Solitaire, Diamond Necklace, and ſeveral Diamond Rings for her *Spaniſh* Majeſty; and about 70 Men, who are all made Priſoners.

Two Days after, *George Harriot*, Maſter of a Merchant Ship, call'd the *Vigilant*, came to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s Office, and gave an Account, that either on the 2d or 3d of *Oct. O. S.* Rear Admiral *Haddock*, in the *Somerſet*, with three other of his Majeſty's Ships under his Command, came into the Bay of *Gibraltar*, and brought with him a *Spaniſh* Ship of about 250 Ton, and 14 Guns, (the Name unknown) bound from the *Caraccas* to *Cadiz*, which he had taken within Gunſhot of *Cadiz*. Mr. *Harriot* ſaid, that the proper Officers at *Gibraltar* were taking an Account of the Cargo of the ſaid *Spaniſh* Ship, which they had not finiſh'd when he ſail'd from *Gibraltar* on the 7th of that Month, *O. S.* but that it was generally thought the Value was greater than that of the *St. Joſeph*.

On the 30th of *Oct.* was celebrated the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Birth-Day, who then enter'd into the 57th Year of his Age.

The Inſcription on the chief Corner-ſtone of the Manſion-Houſe for the Lord Mayors of this City (which we promis'd in our laſt) is as follows.

This chief Corner-Stone
Was laid the Twenty-fifth Day of October in the Year of our Lord MDCCXXXIX.
And in the 13th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Second,
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,
By the Rt. Hon. MICAJAH PERRY, Eſq;
LORD MAYOR of the City of LONDON.

ALDERMEN,

Sir *Francis Child*, Knt. *John Barber*, Eſq;
Sir *Ed. Bellamy*, Knt. Sir *John Williams*, Knt.
Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. Sir *Rob. Godſcball*, Knt.

COMMONERS,

Mr. Dep. *John Snart*, Mr. Dep. *James Danſie*,
Mr. *William Tims*, Mr. Dep. *Tho. Sandford*,
Mr. *John Everett*, Mr. Dep. *Joſ. Ayliffe*,
Mr. Dep. *R. Farrington*, Mr. Dep. *Benj. Hodges*,
Mr. Dep. *Sam. Tatem*, Mr. Dep. *Tho. Naſh*,
Mr. *Robert Evans*, Mr. *Charles Hartley*.

Being the Committee appointed by Order of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of this City, in Common-Council aſſembled, to erect this Fabrick for a Manſion-Houſe for the Uſe of the Lord Mayor of this City, for the Time being.

George Heathcote, Eſq; } Aldermen, being
Sir *John Lequeſne*, Knt. } Sheriffs.

George Dance, Architect.

MONDAY, *Nov.* 5.

A great Number of Journeymen Weavers aſſembled in *Spital-Square*, near *Shoreditch*, before the Houſe of an eminent Maſter Weaver, and endeavourrd to deſtroy the ſaid Houſe, upon a Report of his endeavouring to bring the reſt of the Maſter Weavers into a Combination, for the Journeymen to wind their Silk in gratis with their Work. A Party of Guards from the *Tower* was ſent for, and the Proclamation read againſt Riots, *&c.* but they not diſperſing within the limited Time, great Numbers of them were taken Priſoners, ſome of whom afterwards eſcaped; but ten of them, being ſtrongly guarded, were carried before the Juſtices *Harwood*, *Peck*, and *Fowke*, who committed them to *Newgate*, but moſt of them were ſoon bail'd out. Several Soldiers that went to ſuppreſs this Riot, were dangerouſly wounded by Bricks and Tiles thrown on them from the Tops of Houſes.

TUESDAY, 6.

Came Advice, that a *French* Privateer with 20 Guns, having *Spaniſh* Colours, fired at a Man of War of 20 Guns, ſuppoſing her to be a Merchant Ship, near the Chops of the Channel, when after exchanging a Broadſide with each other the ſuppoſed *Spaniard* bore away, and hoiſted *French* Colours, but was ſoon taken, and carried by the Man of War into *Plymouth*.

MONDAY, 12.

The *St. Joſeph*, the *Spaniſh* Ship lately taken, being order'd round from *Portſmouth*, arriv'd

arriv'd at *Woolwich*, where ſhe is to be made a Hulk of.

TUESDAY, 13.

Came Advice, that the *Dolphin*, Captain *Rhymes*, bound from *London* to *Barbadoes*, was taken 90 Leagues to the *Weſtward* of the *Lizard*, by a *Spaniſh* Privateer of 10 Guns, and 70 Men, and carried into *St. Sebaſtians*. The ſaid Ship had on board the State Coaches, 12 fine Horſes, and a great Part of the Baggage of his Excellency *Robert Byng*, Eſq; Governor of *Barbadoes*, beſides a large Quantity of very valuable Goods.

THURSDAY, 15.

This Morning, the Money taken on board the *St. Joſeph*, the rich *Carraccas* Ship, was brought to Town from *Portſmouth*, and lodged at the Bank. It was brought in two Waggons, and guarded by the Firſt Troop of Horſe Grenadiers.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and opened the Seſſion of Parliament with the following moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE preſent Poſture of our Affairs has obliged me to call you together, at this Time, ſooner than has been uſual of late Years, that I may have the immediate Advice and Aſſiſtance of my Parliament at this critical and important Conjuncture. I have, in all my Proceedings with the Court of *Spain*, acted agreeably to the Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament; and therefore I can make no doubt, but I ſhall meet with a ready and vigorous Support in this juſt and neceſſary War, which the repeated Injuries, and Violences committed by that Nation upon the Navigation and Commerce of theſe Kingdoms, and their Obſtinacy, and notorious Violation of the moſt ſolemn Engagments, have rendered unavoidable.

I have augmented my Forces by Sea and Land, purſuant to the Power given me by Parliament; which I have done with all the Moderation, that the Security and Defence of my Dominions, the Protection of our Trade, and the neceſſary Means of diſtreſſing and annoying our Enemies in the moſt ſenſible Parts, would admit: But as theſe Services will be various and extenſive, they muſt inevitably be attended with great Expences, and ſome Inconveniencies; which, I aſſure myſelf, will be ſuſtained with Satisfaction and Cheerfulneſs, in purſuing ſuch Meaſures, as the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms, and the general Reſentment of an injured and provoked Nation, have called upon me to undertake.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Officers to lay before you Eſtimates for the Service of the enſuing Year, and likewiſe Accounts of the extraordinary Expences that have been made this Year, in purſuance of the Power given me by Parliament. And as in the Proſecution of this War, a Number of Soldiers, to ſerve on board the Fleet, may be requiſite; I have judged it proper, that a Body of Marines ſhould be raiſed, and have directed the Eſtimates for this purpoſe to be likewiſe prepared, and laid before you: And I cannot doubt, from your known Affection to my Perſon and Government, and your Zeal for the Safety, Proſperity, and Glory of theſe Kingdoms, but you will grant me ſuch effectual Supplies, and with ſuch Diſpatch, as may forward, and give Spirit to our Preparations, and enable me to carry on the War with Vigour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Heats and Animoſities, which, with the greateſt Induſtry, have been fomented throughout the Kingdom, have, I am afraid, been one of the chief Encouragements to the Court of *Spain*, to hold ſuch a Conduct towards us, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to Arms; and the unhappy Diviſions amongſt my Subjects, are the only Hopes of the Enemies to my Government: But whatever Views and Projects they may form upon this Rupture, and what Advantages ſoever *Spain* may vainly promiſe itſelf from any Circumſtances in the preſent Situation of Affairs; it is in your Power, by the Bleſſing of God, to defeat the one, and diſappoint the other. Union among all thoſe, who have nothing at Heart but the true Intereſt of *Great Britain*, and a becoming Zeal in the Defence of my Kingdoms, and in the Support of the common Cauſe of our Country, with as general a Concurrence in carrying on the War, as there has appeared for engaging in it, will make the Court of *Spain* repent the Wrongs they have done us; and convince thoſe, who mean the Subverſion of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, that this Nation is determined, and able, both to vindicate their injured Honour, and to defend themſelves againſt all our open and ſecret Enemies, both at Home and Abroad.

FRIDAY, 16.

The Right Hon. the Houſe of Peers waited on his Majeſty with their Addreſs of Thanks, as follows:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our ſincere and humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

The great Regard, which your Majeſty hath expreſſed for the Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament, in your Proceedings with the Court of *Spain*, is a Continuance of that royal Goodneſs, and Concern for the true Intereſt

tereſt of your People, which we have ſo often experienced; and your Majeſty's Deſire to have the Advice and Aſſiſtance of your Parliament, as early as poſſible, in this important Conjuncture, is a freſh Proof of your real Confidence in your faithful Subjects.

The Juſtice and Neceſſity of the War, which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to declare againſt *Spain*, muſt be as demonſtrable to all the World, as the violent and intolerable Methods practiſed by that Nation, to interrupt and diſtreſs the Navigation and Commerce of theſe Kingdoms, are notorious; and it is the higheſt Aggravation of this offenſive and inexcuſable Conduct, that it has been obſtinately purſued, in breach of the moſt ſolemn Engagements, and in defiance of the higheſt Obligations of Friendſhip and good Offices. But ſince *Great Britain* has been thus unavoidably called forth to Arms, we eſteem it our peculiar Felicity, that we have a Prince upon the Throne, who, with paternal Tenderneſs, joins in the juſt Reſentment of an injured Nation; and whoſe Magnanimity and Steadineſs are equal to the glorious Cauſe, in which he is engaged.

On this Occaſion, the unfeigned Tender of our Lives and Fortunes is no more than is due to your Majeſty, and our Country; and we do, from the Bottom of our Hearts, give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that we will zealouſly concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as may forward your Preparations, and enable you to carry on the War with that Spirit and Vigour, which truly become the *Britiſh* Name.

Your Majeſty's Goodneſs in acquainting us from the Throne, that you have augmented your Forces by Sea and Land, purſuant to the Power given you by Parliament, with all the Moderation that was conſiſtent with thoſe deſirable Ends, which you, in your royal Wiſdom, have pointed out to us, is an Inſtance of your Majeſty's gracious Diſpoſition to avoid bringing any unneceſſary Burdens upon your People: And tho' we cannot flatter ourſelves, that a State of War will not be attended with great Expences, and ſome Inconveniencies; yet, when it is undertaken, not to gratify the Views of reſtleſs Ambition, but to aſſert and maintain the Honour and juſt Rights of your Majeſty's Crown and Kingdoms, we doubt not, but thoſe powerful Motives, will induce all your Subjects to undergo with Cheerfulneſs, whatever is neceſſary in the Proſecution of it.

It gives us inexpreſſible Concern, that there ſhould be any Occaſion for your Majeſty to repeat your gracious Admonitions againſt thoſe Heats and Animoſities, which have been fomented throughout the Kingdom. As we cannot but moſt ſeriouſly lament the unhappy Diviſions thereby occaſioned; ſo nothing ſhall be wanting on our Part to heal them, by promoting that good Harmony and Unanimity, which are ſo neceſſary at this Juncture: And we truſt in God, that any Hopes or Views formed by our Enemies upon ſuch Circumſtances, will be found utterly vain and groundleſs; ſince all your Majeſty's Subjects muſt be convinced, that the Security of our Religion and Liberties, and the Safety and Proſperity of theſe Kingdoms do entirely depend on the Preſervation of your ſacred Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in your royal Houſe.

In this common Cauſe, Intereſt, as well as Duty, will make us unite; and we do with the greateſt Zeal an Firmneſs aſſure your Majeſty, that we are determined, at the Hazard of all that is dear to us, to ſupport it againſt all your Enemies, both at home and abroad; imploring the divine Providence to give Succeſs to your Arms, and make them the happy Means of procuring a ſafe and honourable Peace.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this Addreſs, ſo full of Duty and Affection to me, and of ſeaſonable Aſſurances of your vigorous Support. The Satisfaction you expreſs in the Meaſures I have taken, is very agreeable to me; and you may depend on my Endeavours to carry on the War in ſuch a Manner, as may beſt anſwer the neceſſary Ends propoſed by it, and the juſt Expectations of my People.

SATURDAY, 17.

The Hon. Houſe of Commons waited on his Majeſty with their Addreſs of Thanks for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne. To which his Majeſty was pleas'd to return a moſt gracious Anſwer.

TUESDAY, 20.

Was held at *Somerſet-Houſe* the firſt General Meeting of the Nobility and Gentry, appointed by his Majeſty's Royal Charter *to be Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance and Education of expos'd and deſerted young Children*, to hear their Charter read, and to appoint their Secretary and a Committee.

Previous to the reading of the Charter, *Tho. Coram*, Eſq; the Petitioner for the Charter, addreſs'd his Grace the Duke of *Bedford*, the Preſident, in the following Manner, *viz.*

My Lord Duke of Bedford,

IT is with inexpreſſible Pleaſure I now preſent your Grace, at the Head of this noble and honourable Corporation, with his Majeſty's Royal Charter for eſtabliſhing an Hoſpital for expos'd Children, free of all Expence, thro' the Aſſiſtance of ſome compaſſionate great Ladies, and other good Perſons.

I can, my Lord, ſincerely aver, that nothing would have induc'd me to embark in a Deſign ſo full of Difficulties and Diſcouragements, but a Zeal for the Service of his Majeſty, in preſerving the Lives of great Numbers of his innocent Subjects.

The

The long and melancholy Experience of this Nation, has too demonſtrably ſhewn with what Barbarity tender Infants have been expos'd and deſtroy'd, for Want of proper Means of preventing the Diſgrace, and ſuccouring the Neceſſities of their Parents.

The Charter will diſcloſe the extenſive Nature and End of this Charity, in much ſtronger Terms than I can poſſibly deſcribe them; ſo that I have only to thank your Grace, and many other noble Perſonages, for all that favourable Protection which hath given Life and Spirit to my Endeavours.

My Lord, altho' my declining Years will not permit me to hope for ſeeing the full Accompliſhment of my Wiſhes; yet I can now reſt ſatisfied, and it is what I eſteem an ample Reward of more than ſeventeen Years expenſive Labour, and ſteady Application, that I ſee your Grace at the Head of this charitable Truſt, aſſiſted by ſo many noble and honourable Governors.

Under ſuch powerful Influences and Directions, I am confident of the final Succeſs of my Endeavours; and that the Publick will one Day reap the happy and laſting Fruits of your Grace's and this Corporation's Meaſures; and as long as my Life and poor Abilities endure, I ſhall not abate of my zealous Wiſhes, and moſt active Services for the Good and Proſperity of this truly noble and honourable Corporation.

I am, May it pleaſe your Grace,
Your Grace's and the Corporation's
Moſt obedient Servant,
THOMAS CORAM.

After the Charter was read, Dr. *Mead*, in the moſt pathetick Manner, ſet forth the great Neceſſity of ſuch an Hoſpital, and the vaſt Advantages that muſt accrue to the Nation by this uſeful Eſtabliſhment.

The Court then, purſuant to their Charter, proceeded to the Election of a Secretary, when Mr. *Harman Verelſt* was choſen; and a Committee of 50 of their own Members to carry on the Affairs of the Corporation, till the ſecond *Wedneſday* in *May* next. [Their Names ſhall be inſerted in our next.]

The ſaid Corporation, by the Charter, notwithſtanding the Statute of *Mortmain*, may purchaſe, take, have, receive and enjoy, to them and their Succeſſors, Lands, Tenements, Annuities, Hereditaments, &c. not exceeding the yearly Value of 4000 *l.* And the ſecond *Wedneſday* in *May* yearly, there is to be a General Meeting of the Governors and Guardians of the ſaid Corporation, for electing Preſidents, Vice-Preſidents, Treaſurers, and Committees. And that all Secretaries and Servants ſhall be annually appointed (or oftner, if needful) by the Governors at the General Meeting; and that four General Meetings be in a Year.

FRIDAY 23.

A great Number of Lords and Commons, (among whom were Sir *William Wyndham*, and *William Pulteney*, Eſq;) waited on his Majeſty with the joint Reſolution of both Houſes of Parliament, as follows:

Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, as a dutiful Return to his gracious Deſire of the Advice of his Parliament at this critical and important Conjuncture; and as a farther Teſtimony of our firm Reſolution vigorouſly to ſupport his Majeſty in the Proſecution of the War againſt *Spain*, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, never to admit of any Treaty of Peace with that Crown, unleſs the Acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable Right to navigate in the *American* Seas, to and from any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, without being ſeized, ſearched, viſited, or ſtopped, under any Pretence whatſoever, ſhall have been firſt obtained as a Preliminary thereto.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you for this dutiful Addreſs, which is ſo agreeable to former Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament. Your unanimous and vigorous Support in carrying on the War, will be the beſt Means of procuring ſafe and honourable Terms of Peace; and you may rely on my utmoſt Care and Endeavour, to obtain effectual Security for the juſt Rights of Navigation and Commerce belonging to my Subjects.

MONDAY, 26.

A Proclamation was iſſued for a publick Faſt throughout the Kingdom, on *Wedneſday* the 9th Day of *January* next, for imploring God's Bleſſing and Aſſiſtance on our Arms againſt *Spain*.

There are at preſent 30,000 Men on the Eſtabliſhment of *Great Britain*, 12,000 on the Eſtabliſhment of *Ireland*, and 6000 Marines to be raiſed as faſt as poſſible, and 6000 *Danes* to be taken into our Service, if wanted; which, with 30,000 Men in his Majeſty's Electorate of *Hanover*, will be upwards of 80,000 Troops under his Majeſty, by the Spring, if they are wanted.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

THO. *Slaughter*, of *Aſton Park* in *Cheſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Warburton*.—Rev. Mr. *Rogers*, Rector of *Finchamſtead* in *Berks*, to Miſs *Barefoot*.—*Peter Wyche*, of *Gobey* in *Liceſterſh.* Eſq; to Miſs *Browne*.— — *Miſſing*, of *Portſmouth*, Eſq; to Miſs *Streatfield*.—Mr. *Beal*, Secretary to his Grace the Lord Steward of the Houſhold, to Miſs *Ruſſel*.—Lady *Talbot*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.—Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, of a Daughter.—Counteſs of *Albemarle*, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

WILLIAM *Turner*, Eſq; only Son of *Cholmley Turner*, Eſq; on his Travels.—Sir *William Thomſon*, one of the Barons of the

the *Exchequer*, and Recorder of *London*.—Mr. *John Everett*, Deputy of the Ward of *Farringdon Within*.—*Charles Jervaſe*, Eſq; Principal Painter to his Majeſty.—Lady *Edwards*, Wife of Sir *James Edwards*, Bart.—*Joſeph Cuthbert*, Eſq; Lieut. Col. of the Reg. of Foot, commanded by the Hon. Col. St. *George*.—*William Makepeace*, of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, Eſq; Barriſter at Law.—Mr. *Charles Ireland*, one of the Clerks in the Auditor's Office in the *Exchequer*.—Mr. *Tho. Garnier*, Apothecary to *Chelſea-College*.—Mr. *Paul Vaillant*, an eminent Bookſeller, in the Foreign Way.—Sir *Nicholas Pelham*, Knt.—Rev. Mr. *Samuel Weſley*, Head-Maſter of the Free-School at *Tiverton*, *Devon*.—General *Sabine*, Governor of *Gibralter*.—Right Hon. *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*.—Mr. *Dufour*, Treaſurer to the *French* Hoſpital.—Mr. *Chriſtopher White*, Chemiſt to the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.—*Francis Fernegan*, Eſq; Brother to Sir *George Fernegan*, Bart.—Dr. *Cockburn*, an eminent Phyſician.—Sir *George Walton*, Knt. late Admiral of the Blue.—The Lady of Sir *Jacob Bouverie*, Bart.—Mr. *John Cotton*, only Son of *John Cotton*, Eſq; Grandſon of Sir *Robert Cotton*, of *Huntingdonſhire*, Bart.—Right Hon. *Harry* Earl of *Stamford*.—*George Rook*, Eſq; Son and Heir of the late Sir *George Rook*, Knt. Admiral of *Great Britain*.—Mr. *John Middleton*, an eminent Whalebone-Seller, and Boddice-Maker.—*Rich. Pottinger*, Eſq; Memb. for *Reading*, and one of the *Welſh* Judges.—Rev. Dr. *Drayton Piggot*, Rect. of *Edgmont* in *Shropſh.*

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *John Fludger*, M. A. to the Rectory of St. *Nicholas* in *Abington*, *Berks*.—Mr. *Sanderſon*, M. A. to the Vicarage of St. *Nicholas* in *Leiceſter*.—Mr. *Edmund Parker*, to the Living of *Newington* near *Hythe*.—Mr. *Rob. Harding*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Aſhney*, alias *Aſhton*, in *Northamptonſhire*.—Mr. *Gilbert Wittel*, M. A. to the Rectory of St. *Nicholas* in *Hereford*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

DUKE of *Manchester* made Lord Lieut. and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Huntingdon*; alſo one of the Lords of the Bedchamber.—Earl of *Eſſex* made Capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard.—Mr. Serjeant *Wright*, made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, in the Room of Mr. Baron *Thomſon*, deceas'd.—Mr. *Strange*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor General, choſen by the Court of Aldermen Recorder of *London*.—Lieut. Gen. *Clayton* made Gov. of *Gibraltar*: And Major General *Hargrave* Lieut. Gov. of the ſaid Gariſon.—Hon. Mr. *Wallop* and Mr. *Chamberlaine*, made Pages of Honour to his Majeſty.—*Charles Gore*, Eſq; choſen Member of Parl. for *Cricklade* in *Wilts*.—Col. *Pulteney*, for *Heydon* in *Yorkſhire*.—*Garton Orme*, Eſq; for *Arundel* in *Suſſex*.

The Bankrupts, and other military Promotions in our next.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 95 ¼ a ½	*Afric.* 13 ½
—*Bonds no Price*	*Royal Aſſ.* 88
—*Annu.* 108 ⅜ a ½	*Lon. ditto* 11 ⅛
Bank 138	3 *per C. An.* 97 ½ a ¾
—*Circ.* 2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*	*Salt Tallies* ½ a 1*l.*
Mil. Bank 111 ½	*Emp. Loan* 109¾ a 110
India 157 ½	*Equiv.* 112 ⅛
—*Bonds* 3*l.* 5*s.* a 8*s.*	*Lot. Tick.* 5 4 a 3*s.* 6

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 7 2½	*Bilboa*	39 ⅛
D. Sight	35 4 ½	*Leghorn*	49 ⅛ a ¼
Rotter.	35 9 2½	*Genoa*	52 ⅛
Hamb.	34 4 2 a 2½	*Venice*	50 ⅛
P. Sight	31 5/16 a ⅜	*Lisb.*	5*s* 5*d* ⅛
Bourdx.	31 ¼	*Oport.*	5*s* 4*d* ⅜ a ½
Cadiz	39 ⅝ a ¾	*Antw.*	36 5 a 4
Madrid	39 ¾	*Dublin*	8 ¾

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 35	*Oats*	10 14
Rye	12 19	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 18	*Peaſe*	28 32
H. Beans	19 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 18
P. Malt	19 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Oct.* 23. to *Nov.* 20.

Chriſtned	Males 632	Females 627		1259
Buried	Males 1048	Females 1134		2182
Died under 2 Years old				769
Between 2	and 5			200
5	10			75
10	20			65
20	30			153
30	40			207
40	50			215
50	60			181
60	70			109
70	80			113
80	90			80
90	and upwards			15
				2182

Hay 34 to 47*s.* a Load.

THE following is ſaid to be an Abſtract of the preliminary Articles of Peace ſigned at *Belgrade*, between *Ruſſia* and the *Ottoman Porte*.

1. The Fortreſs of *Aſoph* ſhall be entirely demoliſhed: All its Territory ſhall be laid waſte, and ſerve as a Barrier between *Ruſſia* and the *Grand Seignior*'s Dominions.

2. That Territory being thus laid waſte, *Ruſſia* may build a Fortreſs on their Side of the *Don*, and the *Porte* another on their Side of that River.

3. The City of *Tagonrock*, built on the Sea of *Aſoph* by the *Czar Peter* I. ſhall not be re-eſtabliſhed.

4. The *Ruſſians* ſhall have no Veſſels either in that or the *Euxin* ſea: They ſhall be obliged to freight the *Turkiſh* Ships, if they have a mind to trade in thoſe Seas.

5. As the Regulations of Limits agreed on in the Treaties of 1700 and 1720 are not preciſe enough to prevent Diſputes, it is agreed, that the Limits of the two Empires weſtward of the *Nieper*, ſhall be the ſame as were ſettled by the private Convention of the Year 1705, ſo that the *Kudack* ſhall belong to the *Porte*. The Limits on the Eaſt Side of the *Nieper*, ſhall be regulated by a new Convention.

As the Articles of Peace between theſe two great Powers are now ratified by each, Count *Lacey*, with the *Ruſſian* Army under his Command, is returned to the *Ukraine*, and Count *Munich*, with the other *Ruſſian* Army under his Command, is upon his Return to the ſame Place, thro' the ſouthern Parts of *Poland*: The latter crowned with Victory, becauſe he met with an Enemy to vanquiſh; and if the ſame cannot be ſaid of the former, it is only becauſe he had, in the preceding Campaigns, ſpread ſuch an univerſal Terror thro' the *Crim*, that he could meet with no Enemy to vanquiſh.

But the moſt remarkable Piece of News we have lately had from *Ruſſia*, is the polite as well as political Letter wrote by the *Czarina* to the *Emperor*, in anſwer to that which he had wrote to her, for excuſing his being obliged to approve of the Preliminaries of Peace, ſigned by Count *Neuperg* in the *Turkiſh* Camp before *Belgrade*. That Princeſs, in her Anſwer, was ſo far from finding fault with what had been done, as ſhe juſtly might, that ſhe attributed what had happened to a Number of Fatalities which could not be foreſeen: Aſſured him that ſhe was very far from imputing to his Imperial Majeſty any of the Tranſactions of that Negotiation: Exhorted his Imperial Majeſty to moderate the Grief he teſtified by his Letter upon that Occaſion: Declared, that neither that Event, nor any other of the like Nature, would ever be capable to leſſen the Conſideration and Attachment ſhe had for his Imperial Majeſty; and concluded with Aſſurances of the earneſt Deſire ſhe had to ſtrengthen more and more the Bonds by which they were united.

The *Corſicans* having all ſubmitted, we are now told, that Poſſeſſion has been taken of that Iſland, in the Name of Don *Philip* of *Spain*, juſt married to one of the Princeſſes of *France*, and by way of Conſideration to the *Genoeſe*, for giving up their Right to this Iſland, the King of *Spain* is to renounce, in favour of the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, all Right or Claim to the allodical Eſtate of the Houſe of *Medicis*, on condition that the Grand Duke, on his Part, yield to his Catholick Majeſty, the Territories of *Lunegiana* and *Pontremoli*, which are Dependencies on *Tuſcany*, and which his Catholick Majeſty is to grant to the *Genoeſe*.

Our Letters from *Madrid* ſay, that the Number of *Engliſh* Prizes carried by the *Spaniards* into the Harbour of St. *Sebaſtians* alone, amounted, on the firſt of laſt Month, to 18, excluſive of thoſe carried into other Ports. If this be true, it is really ſurprizing, conſidering that half a Dozen 20 Gun Cruizers ſtationed on the northern and weſtern Coaſts of *Spain*, as ſoon as the Letters of Repriſal were publiſhed, would not only have prevented the *Spaniſh* Privateers from ſtirring out of their Ports, but would have given Warning to our Merchant-ſhips, not to enter the Ports of *Spain*; and if half a Dozen other ſuch Cruizers had been, at the ſame Time, ſtationed in the *Mediterranean*, it would have prevented great Loſs to our Merchants, and would have made the *Spaniards* ſoon weary of the War, when they ſaw they could get nothing, and might loſe a great deal.

By the laſt Accounts from *Paris* we are told, that an Expreſs was arrived there with the King of *Spain*'s Declaration of War againſt *Great Britain*; and that they are extremely buſy in all the Ports of *France*, fitting out their old and building new Ships of War. One may judge for what End theſe Preparations are making; but the Court of *France* have not, as yet, declared in favour of *Spain*, nor will they probably declare, till they have ſufficiently encreaſed their naval Force; and before they can do this, it is to be hoped, we ſhall be able to force *Spain* to agree to reaſonable Terms.

The *Dutch* began to complain of their Merchant-ſhips being ſtopt and viſited upon the Coaſts of *Spain* by our Men of War, which they ſaid we had no Right to do, becauſe there was no War declar'd between the two Nations, and conſequently there could be no ſuch Thing as contraband Goods on board any of their Ships bound to *Spain*, nor any Pretence for our ſtopping or viſiting them; but, the Ground of this Complaint is now removed, by the Declaration of War, and therefore, neither they nor any other Nation

can

can take it amiss, if we endeavour to prevent our Enemies being furnished with any of those Goods or Materials, which, by the Law of Nations, or by Treaty, are to be deemed contraband.

We have lately an Account from *Vienna*, that Couriers have been dispatched to *London*, *Paris*, and *Lisbon*, with the *Emperor*'s Resolution to observe an exact Neutrality in the present War between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, provided no other Powers meddle with that Dispute, and that no Disturbance be given to his Imperial Majesty's hereditary Countries; which is as favourable a Resolution as we could desire; for, if no other Power intermeddles, the Event of the War may be easily foretold.

We have had a confirm'd Account, that the famous *Kouli Kan* has actually taken Possession of the Great *Mogul*'s Country, and has put the *Mogul* and his *prime Minister* into a Castle, and caus'd their Eyes to be put out. The Inhabitants of the City of *Deli* murmur'd at this Treatment, and began to mutiny, upon which *Kouli Kan* order'd his Army to fall upon them, which they did for two days together, and in that Space of Time it is computed near 300,000 Men, Women, and Children, were kill'd. When the Letters came away, they were rising in several Parts of the Empire, in order to make Head against the new Usurper. It is likewise added, that *Kouli Kan* had plac'd his Son on the Throne of *Persia*.

Mr. *Mann*, who has the Care of his *Britannick* Majesty's Affairs at the Court of *Florence*, having complain'd to the great Duke's Minister, that some Persons were concern'd in fitting out Privateers to cruize on the *British* Ships, that Minister thereupon sent to *Legborn* an Order from his Royal Highness, the Contents of which was, that if they did not immediately desist, they, with their Families, would be banish'd, and their Goods confiscated; which put an End to those Proceedings. The Doge and Senate of *Genoa*, upon the Instances of the *British* Consul, have also publish'd a very strict Order to their Subjects, forbidding them to have any Concern in fitting out Privateers.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* November, 1739.

HISTORICAL.

1. THE History of all Religions in the World. By the Rev. Mr. *Broughton*. Vol. II. which compleats the Work. Printed for *S. Austen*, Folio, price *1l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

2. The History and Antiquities of *Essex*. Numb. I. to be compleated in 21 Numbers, price 1*s.* each. Sold by *J. Wilford*.

3. The *Roman* History. By Mr. *Rollin*. Vol. I, II. Printed for Mess. *Knapton*, 8vo, price 10*s.*

4. The *Grecian* History. By *Temple Stanyan*, Esq; In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for Mess. *Tonson*, price 10*s.*

5. The Life and entertaining Adventures of Mrs. *Christian Davies*, commonly called Mother *Ross*. Printed for *R. Montagu*, 8vo, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

6. A Description of the Windward Passage, and the Gulph of *Florida*. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

7. The *Jewish* Spy. Vol. II. Printed for *D. Browne* and *R. Hett*, 12mo, price 3*s.*

8. A Critical and Historical Account of all the celebrated Libraries in foreign Countries. Printed for *R. Amey* and *J. Jollyffe*, price 1*s.* 6*d.* stitch'd.

LAW, POLITICAL.

9. The *Jamaica* Laws, with the Abstracts and Index, from 1681 to 1737. Printed by *J. Basket*, Folio, price *1l.* 1*s.*

10. A Report of select Cases in *Chancery*, the *King*'s-*Bench*, &c. during the Time that Lord *King* was Chancellor, and Lord *Raymond* and *Hardwicke* were Chief Justices. Printed for *J. Worrall*, Folio, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

11. The Students Law Dictionary; or, compleat *English* Law Expositor. Printed for *J. Hodges*, *J. Wilcox*, and *C. Corbet*, 8vo, price 6*s.*

* 12. Cases in Parliament resolved and adjudged. By Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, Knt. The 3d Edition, revised, with many additional Notes, &c. Printed for *H. Lintot*, Folio, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

13. The Dissenters Apology against the Editor of Dr. *Warren*'s Sermons. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 6*d.*

14. Reasons for giving Encouragement to the seafaring People of *Great Britain*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

15. The King of *Spain*'s Reasons for not paying the 95,000*l.* stipulated in the Convention. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

16. An impartial Enquiry into the Reasonableness and Necessity of a Place-Bill. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

17. A Reply to a Pamphlet, entitled, Observations arising from the Declaration of War, &c. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

18. A Dissertation on the present Conjuncture, particularly with Regard to Trade. Printed for *J. Clarke*, price 1*s.*

19. The *British* Sailor's Discovery; or, the *Spanish* Pretensions confuted. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

20. A Word to the good People of *England*, on the present Posture of Affairs. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

PHILOSOPHICAL, PHYSICAL, MISCELLANEOUS.

21. A New Set of Tables, calculated after a plain, easy, and correct Method: In which, by Inspection, are given the true Solid Contents of any Piece of Timber or Stone, &c. The Whole contrived to answer all Questions, that

that can be had in an End of 18 Inches ſquare, to Quarters of Inches in the Scantling, and the true Contents given, without Loſs or Gain, in Feet, Inches, and Parts, &c. (*viz.*) to 5 Places of Figures in Duodecimals. By *John Worgan*, Surveyor. Printed by *C. Ackers* in St. *John's-Street*, for the Author; and ſold by Mr. *Meadows*, Mr. *Clarke*, and Mr. *Miles*, Mathematical Inſtrument-Maker, price 5*s*.

22. Improvements in Navigation and Philoſophy. By *William Comine*, M. A. Vicar of *Whiſſendine* in *Rutland*. Sold by *T. Aſtley*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

23. A Supplement to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, for 1738. By *Alexander Stuart*, M. D. Printed for *T. Woodward* and *C. Davis*, price 2*s*.

24. Annuities for Lives. By *J. Richards*, of *Exon*. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

25. Artis Obſtetricariæ Compendium. Auctore Richardo Manningham, Equite, M. D. Impenſis E. Littleton, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

26. The Uncertainty of Phyſick. A Tranſlation from the *Spaniſh*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

27. Reaſons for altering the preſent Method of letting Church and College Leaſes. Sold by Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 2*s*.

28. A Copy of the Royal Charter for the Hoſpital for Foundlings. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 4*d*.

29. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XIII. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

30. A Vindication of Mr. *Pope*'s Eſſay on Man. By the Author of the Divine Legation of *Moſes*. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

31. Woman not inferior to Man. Printed for *J. Hawkins*, price 1*s*.

32. Man ſuperior to Woman. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

33. An Eſſay for the better Regulation and Improvement of Free-thinking. Printed for *R. Minors*, price 1*s*.

34. A Congratulatory Letter to the Rev. Dr. *Trapp*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s*.

35. A Preſent for an Apprentice. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

36. A Collection of 128 ſelect Obſervations in Surgery, from the *French* of Mr. *Saviard*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

37. A ſhort Account of the Methods made uſe of in laying the Foundation of the Piers of *Weſtminſter-Bridge*. By *Ch. Labelye*, Engineer. Sold by *S. Harding*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

38. A Treatiſe of Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal. Printed for *J. Wood* and *C. Woodward*, price 1*s*.

39. Practical Surgery, illuſtrated and improved. By *W. Becket*, Surgeon, F. R. S. Printed for *E. Curll*, 8vo, price 4*s*.

PLAYS *and* POETRY.

40. The Fatal Retirement. A Tragedy. Printed for *T. Oſborne*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

41. *London*; or, The Progreſs of Commerce. By Mr. *Glover*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

42. The Fear of Death. By the late Duke of *Wharton*. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 6*d*.

43. An Hoſpital for Fools. Printed for *J. Watts*, price 1*s*.

44. The Progreſs of Honeſty. Printed for *J. Brett*, price 1*s*.

45. One Thouſand Seven Hundred Thirty Nine. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

46. An Ode to Sir *Robert Walpole*, on his Majeſty's Birth-Day. By Mr. *Parratt*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

* 47. The Works of *John Sheffield*, late Duke of *Buckingham*. In 2 Vols. 8vo. The 3d Edition, price 10*s*.

48. A Touch of the Times. A new Ballad. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 4*d*.

49. Celibacy; or, Good Advice to young Ladies to keep ſingle. Printed for *T. Read*, price 1*s*.

SERMONS.

50. A Sermon preached at the Pariſh-Churches at *Swale Cliffe* in *Kent*, and St. *Paul's Canterbury*, *Sept.* 27. By *Iſaac Johnſon*, B. A. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

* 51. The Divine Life; or, Chriſt within us. A Sermon on *Rom.* viii. 6. By a Methodiſt. The 2d Edition. Printed for *T. Cox*, price 6*d*.

52. A Sermon in *Monkwell-Street*, *Nov.* 5. By *O. Hughes*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett*, price 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

53. A Paraphraſe and Notes on the Epiſtle of St. *James*, attempted in Imitation of Mr. *Locke*'s Manner. Sold by *J. Davidſon*, 4to, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

54. A Diſcourſe on the Myſtery and Hiſtory of Scripture. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

55. An Epiſtolary Debate between Mr. *Wm. Clark*, a Diſſenting Miniſter, and Mr. *Wm. Richardſon*, a Preſbyter of the Church of *England*, concerning Epiſcopal Ordination. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 3*d*.

56. Uſeful Miſcellanies; or, Serious Reflections. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

57. Enthuſiaſm no Novelty. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

58. The Caſe between Mr. *Whitefield* and Dr. *Stebbing* ſtated. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

59. A plain Addreſs to the Followers of the Methodiſts. Printed for *H. Whitridge*, price 4*d*.

60. A Letter to the Bp. of *London*, occaſioned by his late Paſtoral Letter, &c. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 4*d*.

61. Anti-Methodiſm diſplay'd. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 590.

The Speech of Thucydides Mileſius *in the Debate upon the Queſtion mentioned in our laſt.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,



SHALL agree with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that the beſt Form of Government muſt be attended with ſome Inconveniencies, and that the Vulgar, or what we call the Mob, in order to avoid thoſe Evils they feel, or imagine they feel, are but too apt to run themſelves into the greateſt of all Evils, I mean Anarchy and Confuſion, which is always attended with Licentiouſneſs, Rapine, and Murder, and generally ends in the Eſtabliſhment of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. For this Reaſon, when the Form of Government eſtabliſhed in any Country or Society, is one of the beſt that human Wiſdom can contrive, or human Frailty admit of, every wiſe and every good Man will patiently bear, and ſubmit to thoſe few Inconveniencies, with which ſuch a Government may by Experience be found to be attended, rather than run the Riſk of overturning it, by attempting Innovations or Amendments; and as the Hon. Gentleman has admitted, that the Form of Government eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, is one of the beſt and moſt convenient that human Prudence can invent or contrive, I hope he will allow, that it is dangerous for us to aim at an Innovation of any Kind.

The happy Conſtitution of our Government is, 'tis true, Sir, of a mixt Nature: It is compounded of the three principal Sorts of Government; and its Perfection conſiſts in the Compoſition's being ſo artfully made up, that no one of the three can predominate. While we preſerve our Conſtitution, each of the three Parts, of which our Government is compounded, muſt be a Check upon the other two, and the three together muſt co-operate in rendering the People happy and ſecure. Upon this equal Mixture I ſhall grant, that the Preſervation of

our Conſtitution depends, and therefore I ſhall grant, that when the Crown endeavours to ſtretch its Prerogative beyond thoſe Bounds which are preſcribed by our Conſtitution, the two Houſes of Parliament ought to join together for defeating ſuch Deſigns: When the Houſe of Lords endeavours to extend its Power, or to aſſume any new Powers that are inconſiſtent with the Prerogatives of the Crown, or the Privileges of the People, the Crown and the Houſe of Commons ought to join in oppoſing ſuch Attempts; and when the Houſe of Commons begins to incroach upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, or the Privileges of the Peers, the Crown and Houſe of Lords ought to join in putting a Stop to ſuch Incroachments.

This, Sir, is the Buſineſs, it is the Duty of thoſe who compoſe the three ſeveral Branches of our Government, when they act in their legiſlative, or juriſdictive Capacity; but I am far from thinking, it is the Buſineſs or Duty of any private Man in the Kingdom; whilſt he enjoys the Benefit of the Laws of his Country, whilſt he meets with no real Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, with regard either to his Perſon or Property; his Buſineſs is to mind his own private Affairs, and to behave like a dutiful Subject, by yielding a proper Submiſſion and Reſpect to thoſe who are regularly appointed to preſide over, and take Care of the publick Affairs of the Nation. He is not to judge of or condemn what is done by the Crown, or by either Houſe of Parliament, and much leſs is he to judge of or condemn what is done by the joint Conſent of the three. If he meets with what he thinks Oppreſſion or Injuſtice from any publick Magiſtrate or Officer, the Courts of Juſtice are open, and if he ſhould there be diſappointed of Redreſs, he is ſure of finding it by an Application to the Crown, or to one or other of the Houſes of Parliament; for if upon ſuch Application he ſhould find himſelf diſappointed in what he expected, he ought to conclude himſelf in the wrong: Common Modeſty, as well as that Reſpect and Reſignation which is due by every Subject to the ſupreme Tribunal of his Country, ought to convince him that his Complaints were ill-founded, and that he had met with no real Injuſtice or Oppreſſion; for in all Governments there muſt be a ſupreme Tribunal, a dernier Reſort, which every Man muſt, and ought to ſubmit to, even in all Queſtions of a private Nature, and much more in thoſe which relate to the Publick.

With regard therefore, Sir, to the Preſervation of that Balance between the three conſtituent Parts or Branches of our Government, upon which our Conſtitution depends, I ſhall grant, that each of the three ought to be conſtantly upon the Watch, not to diminiſh the Power of either of the other two, but to prevent any Incroachment or Increaſe; for, I hope, no Man will ſay of our Conſtitution, what *Hudibras* makes ſome People ſay, in his Days, of Religion, *That it was intended, for nothing elſe but to be mended.* Our Conſtitution is now, I believe, in its utmoſt Perfection: The three diſtinct Powers of our Government are ſo equally poiſed, that they may, and I hope always will, unite in Meaſures for rendering this Nation happy and ſecure; but can never, while they continue ſo diſtinct, and ſo well poiſed, as they are at preſent, unite in any Meaſure for oppreſſing or inthralling the People; therefore, it is the Buſineſs of each Branch to endeavour to preſerve that Power, and thoſe Prerogatives or Privileges, which it enjoys, by our Eſtabliſhment, as it ſtands at preſent, without attempting

ing to incroach upon, or allowing itſelf to be incroached on by either of the other two. This, I ſay, is the Duty, and ought to be the Care, of each of the three diſtinct Branches of our Government; but in this Caſe no private Man can, or ought to ſet himſelf up as a Judge; for if every private Member of the Society ſhould take upon him to dictate to his Superiors, and to enter into Combinations and Contrivances for reforming, altering, or amending our Form of Government, the Nation could never long remain in any Sort of Tranquillity: We ſhould every Day have *Utopia*'s and *Oceana*'s ſet on Foot, and the Projectors would employ every popular Art for animating the People againſt our preſent Eſtabliſhment, the Conſequence of which would be the ſame with what happened in the laſt Century. The Projectors might perhaps ſucceed in overthrowing or diſſolving our preſent Form of Government, but ſome one of them, more cunning than the reſt, would probably ſet himſelf at the Head of ſome monſtrous and deformed Sort of Tyranny, under the Cloak of a well regulated Commonwealth.

With regard to the Power of the Crown, Sir, or that Part of our mixt Government which is called the monarchical, as it is generally lodged in the Hands of a few Men, and ſometimes intirely under the Direction of one ſingle Perſon, therefore it muſt be confeſſed to be the moſt dangerous; but as the Prerogatives of the Crown are all now fully aſcertained, and as they have been brought under ſeveral expreſs Regulations and Reſtraints ſince the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. particularly at the Time of the late happy Revolution, I cannot think we have any Thing to fear from that Quarter, eſpecially as the Crown is now under a Neceſſity of having a Seſſion of Parliament at leaſt once a Year; becauſe if the Miniſters of the Crown ſhould ever attempt to extend any of its Prerogatives beyond their juſt Bounds, or to aſſume any new Prerogatives unknown to our Conſtitution, the two Houſes of Parliament would certainly interpoſe, and would not only put a Stop to ſuch Incroachments, but prevent the like in Time to come, either by an expreſs Statute, or by inflicting a condign Puniſhment upon the Offenders. Therefore, whilſt our Parliament aſſembles every Year regularly, and whilſt every Member may give his Sentiments freely, and without any Fear of being made to ſuffer either in his Perſon or Eſtate, by talking or voting againſt a Miniſter or Favourite of the Crown, no Man can have Reaſon to be afraid of the Crown's incroaching upon the Liberties of the People, or the Privileges of the Nobles. Our Houſe of Commons will always watch over and preſerve the former, our Houſe of Lords will watch over and preſerve the latter; and in Caſe of any apparent Danger, both will certainly join for their mutual Preſervation.

As for thoſe Poſts of Honour or Profit, which the Crown has the Diſpoſal of, or thoſe Penſions or Gratuities which the Crown may beſtow, I am far from thinking them of that dangerous Conſequence the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to repreſent. On the contrary, Sir, as long as the Crown makes no Attack upon the Liberties or Privileges of the People, as long as our publick Affairs are managed with Prudence and Diſcretion, and every Man protected in the lawful Enjoyment of what is left to him by his Anceſtors, or what he may acquire by his Induſtry or Frugality, I think thoſe Poſts and Penſions which the Crown has the Power to give, will contribute towards preſerving the Tranquillity of the Nation, by

preventing its being in the Power of the Reſtleſs and Seditious, to oppoſe the Meaſures of the Government, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they are not the Perſons employed in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. I ſhall grant that a Poſt, a Penſion, or Gratuity, or even the Hopes of one, may induce a Man to vote for a Court Candidate at any Election, or may induce a Member to join with the Adminiſtration in Parliament, as long as he thinks that neither the Liberties, nor the publick Good of his Country can ſuffer by his ſo doing; but if the Court or the Adminiſtration were making any Steps towards arbitrary Power, or were apparently ſacrificing or neglecting the publick Welfare, no ſuch Conſideration could induce a Man of any Fortune to join with the Court, either at Elections, or in Parliament. Nothing but Fear or imminent Danger can produce ſuch an Effect. It was the horrid Proſcriptions, the falſe Accuſations, and the cruel Proſecutions, that were practiſed by the Triumvirates at *Rome*, and afterwards by their Emperors, that made the *Roman* Senate ſo obedient to their Commands. About the latter End of that Commonwealth, if any Man but muttered againſt thoſe that were in Power, the Loſs of any Poſt or Office he enjoyed under the Government, was but a ſmall Part of his Puniſhment: His Life and Fortune were immediately ſacrificed to the Reſentment of thoſe in Power, either by a falſe Accuſation's being ſet up againſt him, or by an arbitrary Command, without any Form of Law.

If the Senate and People of *Rome*, Sir, had been under no Inducement but the Hopes of getting, or the Fears of loſing ſome Poſt, Penſion, or Gratuity, they would never have ſacrificed the Liberties of their Country, nor would they ever have ſhewn ſuch a ſlaviſh Submiſſion to thoſe in Power; but by many terrible Examples they knew, that Death and Deſtruction were the certain Conſequences of Oppoſition; nay, that ſometimes they were the certain Conſequences of a Neglect or Delay in teſtifying an Approbation. From the Example of this brave People, we may therefore conclude, that thoſe Poſts, Penſions, or Gratuities, which our Crown may diſpoſe of, can never of themſelves endanger our Liberties. Indeed, if we ſhould ſee Gentlemen murdered without any Form of Law, or proſecuted to Death by means of falſe Accuſations, for no other Reaſon but that of their having oppoſed our Court or Adminiſtration at Elections or in Parliament, we ſhould then have Reaſon to fear an Overthrow of our Conſtitution; but of this we have of late ſeen no Examples, we can have no preſent Apprehenſions; and if ever we ſhould have any Ground for ſuch, I truſt in God! that not only our two Houſes of Parliament, but the whole Nation would join in bringing upon the Heads of ſuch Miniſters, that Deſtruction which they were endeavouring to bring upon the Liberties of their Country.

Such Practices I ſhall grant, Sir, if they were allowed to be carried on for any Time, might at laſt render our People and Parliament, as obedient to the Dictates of our King or his favourite Miniſter, as ever the People and Senate of *Rome* were to their Emperors, or the favourite Slave of any of their Emperors; but till we ſee ſome Examples of this Kind, we need be under no Apprehenſion that ever ſuch an Effect can be produced by thoſe Poſts, Penſions, or Gratuities, which the Crown has now at its Diſpoſal. The Diſpoſal of ſuch in a prudent Manner may ſerve for preſerving the Tranquillity of the People, they can never be ſuppoſed effectual for de-

deſtroying the Liberties of the People. In all Countries the Ambitious, the Avaritious, and the Luxurious, will be ever aiming at getting into Power. In abſolute Governments they can aim at it only by Flattery, and by making their Court to thoſe that are in Poſſeſſion; but in free Countries they have another Method: They may endeavour to force themſelves into Power, by ſetting themſelves up at the Head of a Faction or Combination, which always raiſes Sedition, and ſometimes a civil War among the People. For preventing this fatal Effect, thoſe Poſts, Penſions, and Gratuities, which are at the Diſpoſal of the Crown, may be of great Service; becauſe they will prevent Multitudes from joining in thoſe Combinations, and may ſometimes contribute towards rendering them abortive, after they have become formidable; which will of courſe diſcourage ſuch Men from attempting to gain their Ends by oppoſing the Government, and diſturbing the Tranquillity of their Country; and as ſuch Men can never make good Magiſtrates, the People will reap a great additional Benefit, by preventing their Acceſſion to the Magiſtracy.

With regard, Sir, to the ſecond Branch which makes the ariſtocratical Part of our Government, we are certainly in no preſent Danger of too great an Increaſe of Power in that Branch; therefore, I ſhall proceed to conſider the third Branch, which forms the popular Part of our Conſtitution or Form of Government; and as to this Branch I muſt obſerve, that if every Man of the Community were a proper Judge of Merit, if popular Elections were influenced by nothing but Merit, and if ſuch Elections could be carried on without Diſturbance, or diverting the People from their uſual Employments, I ſhould be for having all Magiſtrates and Officers choſen, and frequently choſen, by thoſe People over whom they are to bear Rule. But it muſt be granted, that but very few of any Community are proper Judges of Merit, and ſtill fewer are influenced by nothing but Merit. The People are ſo far from being Judges of Merit, that the moſt noiſy, the moſt impudent, the moſt ſeditious Candidate, is generally their greateſt Favourite; and theſe are Qualities which, inſtead of recommending him, ought to make the People reject him, and certainly would do ſo, if they had a due Regard to their own Intereſt, or to their future Eaſe and Quiet. From Experience we find, that in all popular Elections, the far greateſt Part of the Electors are directed in their Choice, not by the real Merit of the contending Candidates, but by ſome artificial Merit, or by ſome falſe Pretence to Merit, and often by Motives that are in themſelves corrupt, tho' they are not uſually called ſo; for if a Tradeſman gives his Vote for a Candidate, becauſe of his having been employed by him, or becauſe he expects to be employed by him, or if a Man gives his Vote for a Candidate, becauſe of his being his Relation or intimate Friend, and thereby prefers him to a Candidate whom he knows to be a Man of greater Capacity, and more able to ſerve his Country in that Poſt or Employment, I muſt ſay, that ſuch an Elector is directed in his Choice by corrupt Motives, tho' he does not actually receive any Bribe in ready Money.

This, Sir, is with me a ſtrong Argument againſt popular Elections, with regard to thoſe Poſts or Offices that require great Capacity, and many Qualifications; and another very ſtrong Argument, I think, ariſes from thoſe Diſturbances that are occaſioned by popular Elections, eſpecially where the Electors are numerous,

merous, and the Magiſtrate or Officer to be choſen, of a ſuperior or high Degree; for by Experience, in all Countries it has been found, that ſuch Elections cannot be carried on without tumultuary and ſeditious Mobbings; nay, ſometimes they raiſe ſuch Feuds and Diviſions among the People as break out at laſt into an open War; and the leaſt fatal Conſequence they can be attended with, is that of diverting the People for ſeveral Days or Weeks from their uſual induſtrious Employments, and leading them into Idleneſs, Extravagance and Debauchery, which is not only a Loſs, but a Misfortune to the Society; for every Day a labouring Man ſpends in Idleneſs, is a Loſs to the Society, as well as himſelf, and every Shilling he ſpends in Extravagance is loſt to the Society as well as him; beſides the Misfortune the Society is expoſed to, of having the Morals of its People corrupted and depraved.

From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I cannot but admire the Wiſdom and Beauty of our happy Conſtitution, which has lodged in the Crown the Power of nominating or appointing all the great Magiſtrates and Officers of the Kingdom, leaving to the Election of the People, only a few of thoſe inferior Officers, whoſe neceſſary Qualifications the People may be pretty good Judges of, and whoſe Election can never occaſion any great Diſturbance. As this wiſe Regulation has been introduced by Degrees, and proceeded in every Step from an Experience of the many Inconveniencies that were occaſioned by popular Elections, we have the leſs Reaſon to alter it; but if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to alter it in any Reſpect, it would be Madneſs in us to return to that antient Method, which we were obliged to depart from, on Account of the many bad Conſequences with which it was, by Experience, found to be attended.

Thus, Sir, I have conſidered the three conſtituent Parts of our Conſtitution or Form of Government, and from the Obſervations I have made, I believe, it will appear, that we have no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger to our Liberties from the Poſts, Penſions, or Gratuities, the Crown has to beſtow; and conſequently we can have no Reaſon for ſubjecting ourſelves to the Inconveniencies of many and frequent popular Elections, for the Sake of avoiding that Danger.

Whilſt the Crown is purſuing no Meaſures that are inconſiſtent with the Liberties or publick Welfare of the Nation, a Poſt, a Penſion, or a Gratuity, may do Service both to the Nation and the City of *London*, by preventing a Magiſtrate of that City, from joining with the Turbulent or Seditious, in Meaſures for diſturbing the Government, or for oppoſing the Adminiſtration, for no Reaſon, but becauſe they are not employed in it. But if the Adminiſtration were incroaching upon the Liberties of the People, or making any Steps towards arbitrary Power, 'tis impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that a Man of 10 or 20000*l.* private Eſtate would, for any Penſion, or any Sum in ready Money, join with the Miniſters of the Crown in ſuch Meaſures, as would render the Poſſeſſion not only of what he then received, but alſo of the private Fortune he had before acquired, abſolutely precarious. Nothing but the Fear of immediate Death, or the Fear of having his private Fortune taken away from him, can ever make a Man of any tolerable Fortune, join with an Adminiſtration in ſuch Meaſures.

Therefore, Sir, if the Fear of the Crown's gaining any dangerous Influence over the Lord Mayor, or any of the Magiſtrates of the City of *London*, was the chief Reaſon that prevailed with the Citizens, at the laſt Election of a Lord Mayor, to de-

deviate from that ſalutary Cuſtom of returning the two Aldermen next the Chair, it was ſubjecting themſelves to a real, for the ſake of avoiding an imaginary Danger; but if they had no Intention to depart from that Cuſtom, nor any other Reaſon for ſetting aſide the ſenior Alderman next the Chair, ſave that of his having given his Vote in Parliament for addreſſing his Majeſty upon the late Convention with *Spain*, I muſt think, it was meddling with what they had no Right to meddle with: It was eſtabliſhing a Precedent that may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Freedom of Parliament; and I will take upon me to ſay, that it was in ſome Meaſure doing an Act of Injuſtice to the Gentleman ſo ſet aſide.

When a Gentleman, Sir, has the Honour to be choſen a Member of Parliament, from the Moment he takes his Seat in the Houſe, he becomes a Repreſentative, not of the Place that choſe him, but of the People of *Great Britain* in general; and he has not only a Right, but is in Duty bound to give his Vote upon that Side of every Queſtion that occurs, which he thinks the moſt reaſonable, or the beſt calculated for the publick Good of the Nation in general. No Man, nor any Body of Men in the Kingdom, not even the King himſelf, has a Right to enquire into, and much leſs to reſent any Thing he ſays or does in that Houſe. He is anſwerable to the Houſe only: It is not poſſible he can be made anſwerable to any other Tribunal of the Kingdom; becauſe, no other Tribunal can have any proper Evidence of what he either does or ſays. Therefore, whether the Gentleman voted for or againſt the Convention, was a Queſtion the Citizens of *London* could not have any Buſineſs to meddle with, becauſe it depended upon a Fact, as to which they could have no proper or authentick Knowledge.

As to the Precedent, Sir, it may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Freedom of Parliament; for if Gentlemen are to be condemned or puniſhed any where out of the Houſe, for what they ſay or do in the Houſe, it cannot be ſaid they enjoy that Freedom which has been perpetually contended for, by all thoſe who thoroughly underſtood our Conſtitution. The Crown has formerly, by the Advice of evil Counſellors, aſſumed a Power to puniſh Members for what they ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, which was then, and has ever ſince been deemed an Incroachment upon the Privileges of that Houſe; but if the People, or any Part of the People, ſhould aſſume ſuch a Power, it may revive this antient Pretenſion of the Crown. If the People ſhould, on Account of a Gentleman's Behaviour in Parliament, refuſe him thoſe Favours or Honours they have to beſtow, and which he has a Title, either from his Services, or from Law or Cuſtom, to expect, why may not the Crown do the ſame? And if either the King or People ſhould, on ſuch an Account, begin to refuſe what a Gentleman has a Title to expect, the next Step would probably be, to take from him what he is in Poſſeſſion of, as often as it can be done by Law; which of courſe would lay many Members under ſome Sort of Reſtraint, and would therefore be a great Incroachment upon the Freedom of Parliament.

In the laſt Place, Sir, I took upon me to ſay, that it was in ſome Meaſure a Piece of Injuſtice done to the Gentleman they ſet aſide. I do not pretend, Sir, that he had any legal Title to their Choice; but as the Cuſtom of chuſing the ſenior Alderman next the Chair, has been ſo long obſerved, he had a cuſtomary Title to their Choice, which he could not forfeit but by ſome Crime, or by ſome Miſbehaviour as a Magiſtrate

giſtrate or Citizen of the City of *London*. He had the ſame Title to the Mayoralty, that an Officer of the Army has to the next Preferment; and if the Crown ſhould, by the Advice of a wicked Miniſter, diſappoint that Officer of his Preferment, on Account of his Behaviour in Parliament, without his being guilty of the leaſt Miſbehaviour in his military Capacity, I believe the whole Nation would ſay, the Officer had met with Injuſtice, I believe the Citizens of *London* themſelves would ſay, that the Miniſter ought to be puniſhed for giving ſuch Advice to his Sovereign.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to think, that the Citizens of *London*, at the laſt Election, had no Occaſion for departing from that Cuſtom, which has ſo long preſerved Unity and Concord in the City; and that if they did ſo, in order to ſhew their Reſentment againſt a Gentleman's Behaviour in Parliament, it was a Behaviour in them, which can neither be called wiſe, juſt, nor proper.

[*This Journal and Debate to be continued in our next.*]

Craftſman, Dec. 1. N° 699.

What is neceſſary to a thorough UNION *in the Nation.*

IF the *Mercenaries of the Quill* have any Grains of Modeſty left, they muſt bluſh at their long-continued Abuſes of our *Merchants*, and Apologies for the *Spaniards*. His Majeſty's *Declaration of War*, and his *laſt Speech to his Parliament*, with the *general Voice of the People*, both within Doors and without, are full Confutations of them. How will they now juſtify all their unnatuaal Arguments for the *Spaniards ſearching our Ships? His Majeſty* declares againſt them: The *Nation* declares againſt them: And *both Houſes of Parliament* have declar'd againſt them, in their late joint Addreſs to the Throne, (ſee p. 628.) *This Addreſs* was preſented to his Majeſty by the greateſt Number of *Lords* and *Commons*, that was ever known on the like Occaſion; when his Majeſty was again pleas'd to aſſure them, that he would exert his utmoſt Care and Endeavours for the Security of their *Navigation* and *Commerce*.

What Foundation therefore is there for ſo many Complaints of our *Diſtinctions* and *Diviſions?* (See p. 610.) I can ſee *no other Diſtinction* at preſent amongſt us, as a *noble Lord* lately obſerv'd, than between the *whole Nation* and a *few odious Men*, conſiderable only for their *Power*, who have long us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to obſtruct the ſo much deſir'd *Coalition of Parties*, and purſued their own ſelfiſh Intereſt by fomenting *domeſtick Diviſions* and *Animoſities*, inſtead of encouraging the antient Spirit, and employing the Strength of the Nation againſt our *foreign Enemies*. —As to that Part of his *Majeſty's Speech*, which was at firſt thought to carry a Reflection againſt the *Majority of the Nation*, we are aſſur'd by a *very great Authority*, that it was not intended as a *Reproach*, but only a *paternal Exhortation to Unity and Concord*; that is, to *ſuch a Coalition* as the *mercenary Scribblers* have taken ſo much pains to explode.

What hath already contributed very much to this deſirable End, is his Majeſty's late vigorous Meaſures againſt *Spain*; and nothing elſe ſeems to be wanting to comp'eat it than a ſteady Proſecution of ſo juſt a War, and an Act to preſerve our *Liberties* at home, by limiting the Number of *Placemen*, for the future, in the *Houſe of Commons*: — For, whatever *the miniſterial Puffs* may alledge, a *War* cannot poſſibly be carried on with ſo much Effect, both for the Honour of the *Crown*, and the Intereſt of the *Nation*, as by *ſuch a Bill*. This would effectually cure all *Jealouſies* and *Suſpicions*, which may have been entertain'd, of an *undue Influence*, and quiet the Minds of the People, upon that Account: This would give a double Terror to our Enemies *abroad*, by finding that we are united *at home*.

I ſay, therefore, (and I ſay it with great Pleaſure) that the Voice of the *King*, the Voice of the *Parliament*, and the Voice of the *People*, are for once happily united; and nothing can be a better Omen of Succeſs to our Arms.

That the Voice of the *King* and the Voice of *Parliament* are united, is evident from his *Majeſty's Speech*, at the Beginning of the Seſſion, and the joint Addreſſes of *both Houſes*, with *his Majeſty's Anſwers* before mentioned. That the Voice of the *People* co-operates with them is evident, not only from their univerſal Diſpoſition, but from the particular Applications and Inſtructions of their reſpective Conſtituents.

The City of *London* began this laudable Work, (ſee p. 500) which hath been follow'd by ſeveral *great trading Towns* and *Corporations*, in both Parts of the united Kingdom; and I can make no Doubt that moſt of the *Counties* would do the ſame, if there was a proper Opportunity;

portunity; not excepting even the County of *Norfolk* itſelf; tho' we cannot expect the ſame publick-ſpirited Zeal from the ruling Magiſtrates of *Norwich*, *Lynn*, or *Yarmouth*, however the Majority of Inhabitants may be privately diſpos'd. Even his Majeſty's Declaration of War was proclaim'd, in *one of theſe Towns*, with viſible Marks of Contempt, and not without Menaces to *thoſe*, who expreſs'd their Loyalty upon that Occaſion.—Let us therefore turn our Obſervations to the Conduct of *ſome other Places*.

The Inſtructions of the Citizens of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, to the Hon. *John Maul*, Eſq; their Repreſentative, are almoſt a Tranſcript from the *London Inſtructions*, and therefore I ſhall not trouble the Reader with any Extracts from them.

Thoſe from the County of *Haddington* to the Hon. *John Cockburn*, Eſq; their Repreſentative, go farther, and not only inſtruct him to make a *Place-Bill* a previous Step to giving his Conſent to any *Money-Bill* whatſoever, but likewiſe to oppoſe *all Votes or Bills of Credit and Confidence*, unleſs in Caſe of *ſudden and unforeſeen Accidents*, and the *moſt cogent Neceſſity*; and even then to take care that *ſuch Votes*, or *Bills*, be limited to a *certain Sum*, being apprehenſive, as they obſerve, *that the frequent Uſe of them have a moſt dangerous Tendency to undermine the very being and Conſtitution of Parliaments, and to ſubvert our Liberties and Properties, by transferring from* Parliament *the Power of raiſing Men and Money to the* Crown, *or rather to the* Miniſter, *having the greateſt Confidence in the good Intentions of* his Majeſty, *and his Affection to his* People. They likewiſe obſerve, *that the long Duration of Parliaments is one great Mean to withdraw Repreſentatives from the Duty they owe to their Conſtituents and the Nation; and therefore inſiſt that they would give their Aſſiſtance to promote any Bill, that may be brought into Parliament, for bringing Parliaments to their true and antient Conſtitution, which they are of Opinion would prove an happy and a juſt Expedient to obtain a fair, true, and uncorrupted Repreſentation of the People in Parliament, whereby the Spirit and Dignity thereof would be reſtored, and the antient Reputation and Credit thereof would be vindicated and re-eſtabliſh'd.*

The Inſtructions from the Shire of *Lanark*, and the Shire of *Edinburg* are much to the ſame Purpoſe; and therefore I ſhall conclude this Paper with another Inſtruction from the Mayor and Corporation of *Sarum*, to their Repreſentatives in Parliament, on the ſame Occaſion, as it is tranſcrib'd verbatim from the *Saliſbury Journal* of *Tueſ.* Nov. 20. 1739.

To PETER BATHURST *and* HENRY HOARE, *Eſqrs. Repreſentatives in Parliament for the City of* NEW SARUM.

THE Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *New Sarum*, in Common-Council aſſembled, conceive they have an undoubted Right to offer their Sentiments to their Members on all important Occaſions wherein the Liberty, Safety, Honour and Proſperity of the Kingdom are concern'd, in which their own is included.

Nothing can more fatally and almoſt neceſſarily tend to deprive us of theſe valuable Bleſſings, than a falſe and undue Repreſentation of the People through Bribery and Corruption.

If the Electors who receive, and the Elected who give Bribes to procure a Seat in Parliament, did, by ſuch infamous Practices, bring Ruin on themſelves only, they would, like other Miſcreants, juſtly ſuffer for the Crimes they have committed; but ſince they cannot periſh alone, but muſt involve the Innocent in the Sufferings of the Guilty, ſince Venality is become a Branch of Trade in the *Britiſh* Nation (a Trade that will ſoon make us Bankrupts and Beggars) we cannot but think it calls aloud upon the Wiſdom of the *Britiſh* Parliament to put a ſtop to a Miſchief big with ſuch amazing and deſolating Conſequences.

The great Cauſe of this Evil they take to be the Number of *Placemen* ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, whereby the Freedom of Debating and Voting is interrupted, and the fundamental Deſign, and eſſential Part of a *Britiſh* Parliament is turned into mere Shadow, not conſidering that the very Derivation of the Word *Parliament* is taken from ſpeaking the Mind, which deſerves the Attention of every honeſt true-hearted *Briton*.

They do therefore earneſtly recommend it to you, that as you laudably oppoſed the late pernicious *Exciſe Scheme*, and *Spaniſh Convention*, ſo you would, to the utmoſt, exert yourſelves in getting an Act paſſed more effectually to put a Stop to Bribery and Corruption, and for the Limitation of the Number of *Placemen* in the Houſe of Commons, and for ſecuring the Freedom of Parliament.

Be pleas'd, Gentlemen, to look into the Succeſſion-Act (to which we owe the happy Eſtabliſhment under our preſent gracious Sovereign and his Royal Houſe) and you will find *Placemen* and *Penſioners* excluded from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons. That wiſe and auguſt Body of Men, rightly judg'd that a Perſon, delegated by the People, who comes free and unprejudic'd into ſuch an Aſſembly, is more likely to diſcharge his Truſt faithfully and uprightly, than he that comes with his Eyes blinded, his Judgment darken'd by Self-Intereſt, and graſps at unjuſt Profits ariſing from the Sale of his Country, for which himſelf will at laſt receive the Reward of Iniquity. Certainly that Parliament could not be ſuſpected of favouring the *Pretender*; and therefore to charge any one with Diſaffection for having the ſame Views, muſt be vile Calumny and Falſhood.

By anſwering their Deſires, you will deſerve the Thanks of the preſent Age, and tranſmit your Names with Honour to Poſterity.

Dated at the Council-Chamber, under the Common Seal, the 14th of *Nov.* 1739.

Weekly Miſcellany, Dec. 1. N° 362.

A CAUTION *againſt indulging any particular* HABITS.

SIR,

I WAS the other Day at a Country Fair, where, while I was walking about to obſerve the different Manners of the People, my Thoughts were interrupted by the Noiſineſs of two Boys, who had entered into a Converſation with one another. I ſoon found their Diſcourſe was ſo plentifully interſperſed with Oaths, that, if it had any Meaning, it was ſmothered and loſt by the Multitude of them. I was both ſurprized and grieved at the ſhocking Conference of two ſuch ruſtick Youths: And that led me to reflect upon the Prevalence of that impious Vice, and lament that no Method has been found to ſuppreſs it.

That profane Cuſtom has ſpread itſelf into all Parts of the Nation, notwithſtanding the Ordinances of the Legiſlature, the Proclamations of our Kings, the Perſuaſiveneſs of our Sermons, and the Endeavours of many good Men in a more private Way to reſtrain it. This Vice is indeed happily baniſhed from the moſt polite Societies, in which Swearing and Tobacco ſeem to have been laid aſide together; but it miſerably prevails among the Vulgar, who ſeem to have learned it as early as their Language, ſo that in the Converſation of many of them, half the Diſcourſe is generally made up of Oaths and Imprecations. That ſome Way might be found to ſtop this Cuſtom is the earneſt Wiſh of all good Men: But as I had no Hopes of propoſing any, I turn'd my Thoughts to conſider the Power of Habits in general, the great Sway they have on the Manners of Mankind, the Tyranny they exerciſe over the Mind when they have been once eſtabliſhed, and therefore the Caution Men ſhou'd uſe in not giving Way to them.

I will ſay nothing of vicious Habits, becauſe the ill Conſequences of them are ſufficiently ſeen by all thinking and wiſe Men: But it is not enough conſidered how thoſe Things, which are in themſelves innocent and even uſeful, do, by becoming habitual, leſſen or deſtroy the Felicity of Life. What Slaves have ſome Men made themſelves to Trifles, which were at firſt taken up upon ſlight Occaſions, and then continued without much Thought or Regard, till at length they became neceſſary to their Eaſe and Happineſs? Snuff and Tobacco may be harmleſs Things moderately taken, perhaps uſeful to ſome Conſtitutions: Yet what Vaſſals are Men made by too frequent an Uſe of them, when one Man cannot ride without a Pipe, nor another dine without his Snuff-box? What unnatural Cravings are produced by the Habit of whetting in a Morning? When a certain Hour comes there is no Eaſe without the uſual Draught; and yet the Appetite is often ſuppreſs'd by that very Thing, which was intended to excite it. The Stomach is not eaſy without it; and by the Repetition of it, it is impair'd and deſtroy'd. Some People who received Benefit by *Laudanum*, upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion, have indulged themſelves in the Uſe of it, till at length by gradually encreaſing the Doſes, they have made it a Poiſon inſtead of a Remedy: Their Health cannot be preſerved without it, nor their Life long with it. But above all, what Deſtruction has the Habit of Dram-drinking made in Mens Conſtitutions and Morals; it being doubtful whether it has done moſt Miſchief to the Health of the Body, or the Faculties of the Mind?

There are other Habits, which, tho' they have not ſuch ill Conſequences to attend them, have nevertheleſs Power enough to cauſe Uneaſineſs and Spleen. Men are apt to run into little Peculiarities of Dreſs and Converſation, ſet Times of eating and drinking, Hours of going to Bed and riſing, a Confinement which is unbecoming a wiſe Man: And yet we find the very wiſeſt are not exempt from an Attachment to them. The Earl of *Clarendon* obſerves of the learned Mr. *Selden*, when it was debated whether the Great Seal ſhou'd be given him, that he wou'd not have lain out of his Bed for the greateſt Preferment. A conſtant and regular Courſe of Living, which has been thought to contribute much to Health and the Felicity of Life, does, I think, purſued too ſtrictly, rather obſtruct both. Some Men have been ſo fanciful as to eat and drink by Weight and Meaſure, which is a Confinement fit only for them who have nothing elſe to do.

The habituating one's ſelf to ſome particular Sorts of Eatables or Liquors, has likewiſe in a leſs Proportion its Inconveniencies; for the Veſſels of the Body accommodating themſelves to the Kind and Quantity of Juices they have been long accuſtomed to, they will not bear a ſudden Alteration without ſome Pains and Uneaſineſs. Even that Regularity in Meals, which contributes ſo much to the good Order of a Family, may not be the beſt Conduct for the Continuance of Health. There are great Reaſons, indeed, for preſerving it; but yet a wiſe Man will not ſo ſtrictly and conſtantly ſubject himſelf to any one Method, as to ſuffer any Uneaſineſs in a Deviation from it. *Diogenes* was an aukward and ſlovenly Philoſopher; and yet ſeems to have followed Nature moſt, who eat when he was hungry, and drank when he was dry. Men

of

of Buſineſs, whoſe Minds are employed in a great Variety of Affairs, are not ſo liable to thoſe Singularities, as ſtudious and contemplative Men; and therefore there is required in them a greater Diligence to guard againſt them; for it is a Shame to wiſe Men to be much concern'd about thoſe Triſles, which, if they enjoy them, make them no better; if they are taken from them, leave them not the worſe.

I remember to have read ſomewhere, I think in the Works of Monſieur *St. Evremond*, that, as a great Prince in *France* took much Delight in obſerving the *Foibles* of his Acquaintance, the Converſation turning on that Point, one of the Company propoſed to enquire what was the Prince's own *Foible*. But he who took ſuch Pleaſure in ſearching after the Peculiarities of others, was diſpleaſed that an Enquiry ſhould be made after his own. And this, Mr. *Hooker*, may be the Caſe of you and me. We have doubtleſs our *Foibles* and Singularities as well as other Men; and if, perhaps, we do not perceive them ourſelves, yet th re are thoſe who ſee and obſerve them. It is our Buſineſs, while we are animadverting upon the Singularities of others, to correct our own. Thoſe Men are the moſt generally uſeful who are freeſt from all particular Habits; and to avoid a Confinement to any, is the Way to be always prepared to ſerve our God, our Country, and our Friends. I therefore call upon young Perſons, I call upon all thoſe, who are now free from any Prepoſſeſſions upon their Minds, to keep themſelves from being ſubject to any Habit whatſoever, and eſpecially from *Gaming*, which is the moſt prevalent Cuſtom in this Age. If they do ſo, they will find by Experience, that they will be more eaſy in themſelves, and more uſeful to others.

Common Senſe, Dec. 1. N° 148.

Concerning a new PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

SEVERAL Gentlemen, who have had the Honour to repreſent their Country in Parliament, obſerving that their Houſe was become very crazy, thought proper to move for an humble Addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleas'd to give Orders for pulling down this old Houſe, and erecting a new one.

If I am not much miſtaken, the Motion made laſt Seſſions was the ſecond, if not the third, that hath been made to that Purpoſe; and yet we ſee no Preparations for beginning the Work.

The World imputes it to a certain Perſon in Power, that Orders have not been given according to his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer, and it hath made them very inquiſitive to find out, what it is that hath made him ſo fond of this old Houſe.—Some People have a Notion, that he is grown ſuperſtitious, and that he is poſſeſs'd with a ſtrange Fancy, that building a new Houſe would be pulling an old Houſe over his own Head. If he ſhould reſolve to let it ſtand at all Events, he places his own Safety in a Circumſtance which other People look upon as dangerous; for many are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with an Opinion that the Houſe is rotten, that the Court of Requeſts and Places adjacent have been of late deſerted by Perſons, who formerly were the moſt inquiſitive and anixous about publick Affairs, as if they were apprehenſive of being buried under its Ruins; and, among other Reaſons for the late Seceſſion, I heard one of the Gentlemen of that Number declare, that he did not think it ſafe to ſit there longer.—As to thoſe who ſtood their Ground upon that Occaſion (however they may counterfeit the Brave) to my Knowledge, ſome of them are frighten'd out of their Wits about the Decay of this old Houſe.

In *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time it was obſerv'd, that the Houſe was become rotten, and tho' Nobody ever call'd his Courage in Queſtion, he was very apprehenſive of ſome miſchievous Conſequences from it. It is true, he did not order a new Houſe to be built, but he went himſelf and turn'd the Members out of the old Houſe, and put a Bill upon the Door, to let it; but it had ſuch a bad Reputation, that Nobody would venture to take it.

As I make no doubt but this deſirable Work will be ſet on Foot, as ſoon as the preſent Seſſion ſhall be ended, I ſhall, with humble Submiſſion to better Judgments, offer ſome Inſtructions, which I think very proper to be given to the Architect.

In the firſt Place, I would not have the Model taken either from *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, which Nations, with all their delicate Taſte, and Improvement in Architecture, have, in my Opinion, quite deſtroy'd the Idea of the antient Senate Houſes, not leaving ſo much as the Form. It is therefore to be hoped, that the Conſtruction of this new Houſe will be intirely in the antient *Gothick* Stile, after one of thoſe excellent Plans left us by our *Saxon* Anceſtors.

We read that, in antient Times, the Temple of *Virtue*, and the Temple of *Honour* were built contiguous to each other, and were ſo contriv'd, that there was no Paſſage into the Temple of *Honour* without going thro' the Temple of *Virtue*. I ſhould recommend it to the Architect to copy this Hint, and raiſe a Temple to *Virtue* at the ſame Time with this new Houſe, and to take particular Care that there may be no Poſſibility of getting into the laſt without paſſing thro' the firſt.

I am ſenſible that a certain Perſon, and his Adherents, will ſtand up as one Man againſt this Part of my Plan, having already made

one of their own, for building it close to the Treasury.—I hope this Scheme will never take Place:—On the contrary, I should be for having it built at a greater Distance from that Spot of Ground than the old House, for Reasons which I need not enumerate.

I should be for carrying this Matter a little farther, and having a particular Order given to the Architect, that there shall not be so much as a Window in this new House with a Prospect towards the Treasury, lest the Members, by looking too earnestly toward that Place, may have their Attention diverted from the Consideration of what was doing in the House.

I would propose, that the Seats for the Members should be divided into Stalls, after the Manner of our Cathedrals: That the Name of each Member be written over his Stall, with that of the County, Town, or Borough for which he serves.

As to the Placemen, their Stalls may be distinguish'd by the Denominations of their Employments, not forgetting their respective Salaries, which I would have engraved in Letters of Brass, to be read by the whole Nation.

As I bar all Jests upon so serious a Subject, I think fit to premise, that when the Employment of any Member is read, it shall not be call'd the Place for which he serves.

What I propose by this Improvement is, that it may be seen, by the empty Stalls, what particular Members are absent; also, who attends upon national, and who upon ministerial Points.

If any Member should affront the House, by asserting a Falshood, his Stall may be black'd.

It hath been complain'd of as a great Fault in the old House, that it hath a Back-Door into the Exchequer. I would have the Architect hang'd in the Court of Requests, if there should be any such Thing in this new House.—Back-Doors, and By-Ways are dangerous Things.—Corruption may creep in at a very little Hole.

If there are any Persons that expect to creep into the House by a Back-Door, they will cry out against this Part of my Proposal, as an Absurdity; but I will appeal to all good Criticks in Architecture, and Politicks, whether it is not *secundum Artem*.

I object, likewise, against a whispering Gallery, which I look upon as a scandalous Contrivance for a Senate-House, and which naturally leads me to give a Caution against *Solomon*'s Porch.—When this shall be pull'd down, I hope no such profane Apartment will be made in the new House, where (according to the scandalous Chronicle) most corrupt Bargains have, in former Reigns, been made in the middle of a Debate.

When it is finish'd, it will be highly necessary that a proper Officer, with a competent Salary, and also a reasonable Allowance for a constant Supply of new Brooms, be appointed to sweep it clean; for Want of which in the old House, it hath sometimes prov'd a Harbour for Vermin.

The Speaker's Chair, I think, ought to be placed upon a little Eminence, that it may appear to maintain a certain Superiority over the other Seats; otherwise, if some bulky, puft up Member should over-top the Speaker, it may look as if he dictated to the Chair.

I would have the Chair stand upon an exact *Equilibre*, that the Speaker may be able to hear both Sides.—I should even wish that, in the Choice of a Speaker, some Regard might be had to his Person; for, as a crooked Speaker might bend the Chair on one Side, I would have none but a streight Man elected to that Honour: At worst, if he should bend a little out of the Chair, he should feel himself quite another Thing, and appear an erect Man in it.

If any Speaker should hereafter be observ'd to lean in his Seat, the House may, by an Order, direct some good Artist to contrive a Machine to peg him up tight in the Chair, like a Child in a Go-Cart, and so keep him straight whether he will or not.

I hope a particular Command will be given the Architect, not to imitate the Work lately done in the Courts below, by erecting Blinds, which look like Skreens. A Skreen would be such a detestable Thing in an Edifice of this Kind, that if any Thing like it should be seen in this new House, it ought to be pull'd down to the Ground again the Minute it is finish'd.

I hope the new Chair will be strong, plain, and beautiful, without Gilding, or any other tawdry Decoration, which may make it look like a Court Piece of Furniture. I would have it made of right *English Oak*, if possible, of true *Heart* of *Oak*, that it may always preserve its Strength, and look as fresh as the first Day.

I have taken all these Pains, upon a full Persuasion, that this old House, which is become so crazy, that timorous People are afraid of coming near it, will, in a short Time, be pull'd down, and another more to the Taste of the best Judges be built in its Place.

Craftsman, Dec. 8. N° 700.

OBSERVATIONS *on the* WAR, *with* REMARKS *on some late* GAZETTEERS.

Mr. D'Anvers,

WE have lately proclaim'd a *War*, with as much Justice as *War* was ever engag'd in, and after as much Forbearance, as a brave People ever suffer'd. No *Prince* ever did an Act of greater Popularity; nor did ever any Kingdom shew more Earnestness to support

port a *Prince*, than what hath been discover'd on this great and memorable Occasion. No Brow hath appear'd clouded but on the Faces of those People, * whose Care and Industry have been employ'd, without Regard to the Honour of their *Prince*, the Credit of their *Country*, or the Miseries of their *Fellow Subjects*, to impute Injustice to the *Innocent*; Cruelty to the *Sufferers*; and Sufferance to the cruel and merciless *Spaniards*.

A Nation, which subsists by *Trade*, and is over-loaded with *Taxes*, cannot be suppos'd to chuse and wantonly enter into a *War*; which however successfully carried on, must be attended with many and great Inconveniencies. Necessity and Self-defence have forc'd us into it; and the best Way to shorten it, with Honour, is to carry it on with Vigour and Unanimity, which can be only done by Prudence and Oeconomy.—We see, we feel, that, during this long Interval of *Peace*, no *Taxes* have been lessen'd, and very little, if any, of the *publick Debt* hath been discharg'd. What makes this the more grievous is, that whilst the Nation hath been groaning under the Burthen of *Debts* and *Taxes*, *private Persons*, who have been concern'd in the *publick Receipts*, have rais'd great Estates, and aggrandiz'd their Families from very low Beginnings.—*Past Events* are well known; and it is no Secret that *England*, as well as all other Nations, have at various Times fallen under the Management of *Ministers*, who have been rapacious, self-interested, cowardly, weak, treacherous, and abandon'd. What will happen hereafter the wisest Man cannot possibly foretel; but Heaven defend us from ever falling under the Management of any *Minister*, or *Ministers*, who shall be endow'd with the above mention'd Enormities, or Weaknesses!— The *Curtain* is drawn up, and let who will be the *Actors* upon the *ministerial Stage*, in this *new Scene*, one Thing is certain; that Misconduct in *War* may be more immediately attended with fatal Consequences than Mismanagement in *Peace*; and that any *Minister*, who hath shewn a Deficiency, in Time of *Peace*, either as to Integrity, Oeconomy, Wisdom, or Resolution, must, in Time of *War*, bring on many more Disasters upon his Country. A flourishing Nation, in Time of *Peace*, like a robust Constitution, may bear a great deal of Quacking, before it is reduc'd to a total Consumption. But *War*, like a Fever, at once destroys the Patient. Would any Trader trust a Ship to make a long Voyage, in a rough Season, to a *Crew*, who, in a mild Sea, and with gentle Winds, had stranded a Vessel, and pillag'd the Cargoe? Or would a Man bind his Son Apprentice to a *Surgeon*, if the Lad had always fainted at the Sight of Blood? The granting of *Supplies* therefore, in the most liberal Manner, is not the only Thing necessary to carry on a *War* with Success; for it is equally necessary that the *Supplies* should be wisely manag'd, and apply'd to proper Uses; which cannot be done but by Persons, who either know what *War* is, or are not terrify'd at the Approach of it, be it either from a Consciousness of Guilt, or a timorous Disposition. I am sure there is not one Man in this Island, who must not in his Heart join with me in the highest Encomiums upon the *Royal Person*, who now sits upon the Throne of *Great Britain*, whose Bravery hath been prov'd, and whose Justice is universally known. But *Princes* must act by their *Ministers*; and the noblest Natures are commonly most subject and open to the Practices of artful Men. Such a Deception must be as prejudicial to the *Crown* as the *State*; and I hope will never prevail in the *British* Empire.—I am appriz'd that there is a *Set of Writers*, who are always giving malicious Turns to the most disinterested Expressions; and perhaps they may accuse *me* of an Intent to glance Reflections upon *some eminent Person*, or *Persons*, in the State. I do therefore assure them beforehand of one Point; that if any thing I have thus far said, can be brought fairly to tally with any of the *present Administration*, whatever Fate they may come to, I heartily wish it may not be that of conducting the *War*. I do not write with any *Resentment*; I am not excited by *Malice*; and should be very sorry to foment *Uneasinesses*. But I must take the Liberty to say, that where *Grievances* are felt, or *Dangers* apprehended, Complaints and Remonstrances to any Branch of the *three Estates of Parliament* are very consistent with the Duty of the calmest *Briton*; and every Man is not only barely justifiable to use his utmost Endeavours for the Service of his Country, but highly culpable for any Omission.—*Legal Processes* and *Punishments* are the Province of our *delegated Courts of Justice*, and *other Assembles*. But *Approbation* and *Disapprobation*, *Complaints* and *Information*, either by *Petition*, *Instruction*, or *Remonstrance*, are the natural Rights of every *Freeman*. If this should be denied, I beg to know what is *Freedom*, or where is *Liberty*?

And yet this is actually deny'd in Papers distributed *gratis* from the *Post-Office* thro' all Corners of the Kingdom. I look upon the *Writers* of them only as the *Dunghil Hens*, who are set to hatch Eggs brought from *other Nests*; and therefore, however mischievous the *Principles*, which they avow, may be, I don't impute them so much to the *poor Creatures*, who bring them to Light, as to *those*, who pay and employ them.

In the *Gazetteer* of *Nov.* 9. *one of these worthy Penmen*, addressing himself to the *most opulent and knowing trading Corporation* in the World, begins his third Paragraph thus—— " But besides invading the *Royal Prerogative*, by

* *See the ministerial Pamphlets of last Year.*

by avowedly cenſuring what it was great Preſumption ſo much as to meddle with, (*meaning the* Convention) you have likewiſe thought fit to ſtrike at the *Majority of both Houſes of Parliament.*"

He begins the next Paragraph thus—"But, *Gentlemen*, let me put you in Mind, that by the ſame Rule you have gone out of your Way, in order to cenſure the *Proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament*, the *Houſes* may alſo, even without going out of their Way, take Notice of *your Proceedings.*"

This Paragraph, with ſome Lines of the next, will explain one another, and ſhew the *Author*'s favourable Regard for a *Corporation*, *the Bulk of which he declares are certainly as* well-affected Subjects *as any in his Majeſty's Dominions.*

In the next Paragraph, ſpeaking of the *Independency of the Houſe of Commons*, he ſays, "For *this abſolute Independency* cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt, if *Members are accountable, or* (which is the ſame Thing) *puniſhable for their Conduct in Parliament, in any other Place.*"

Now would not any Body, who took his Information only from *this Scribbler*, reaſonably conclude, that ſome violent Outrage had been committed by *this Corporation* againſt the *Royal Prerogative*; or that they had fined, or impriſon'd, or ſet in the Stocks, or at leaſt expell'd a *Member of their Society*, for ſome Action done in *one of the Houſes of Parliament?* And will not any Body be ſurprized to hear that all this *Menacing*, and endeavouring to call down the *Cenſure of Parliament* upon them, hath no other Foundation, than becauſe the greateſt Part of *this Corporation*, apprehending that if the late *Convention* had taken Place, it would have very much injur'd their *Trade*, they for that Reaſon return'd Thanks to *their Repreſentatives* for oppoſing it; and that *one of their Society*, whoſe Conduct in publick they did not like, ſtood Candidate for an *Office*, of the higheſt Dignity and the greateſt Truſt in *their Corporation*, which they did not care to beſtow upon *him*; and that this is call'd *Puniſhment?*——Are theſe the Lenitives ſent from the *publick Offices* to reconcile our Animoſities? Are theſe proper Bandages to bind up our Wounds; or Balſams to heal our Sores? Whatever fictitious Names may be put to the different Letters in the *Gazetteer*, as they are all diſtributed *gratis* from the *ſame Offices*, they muſt be look'd upon as coming from the ſame *Authority*, and, *ab Origine*, the Works of the *ſame Hand.* It is therefore very juſt to compare them with one another, in order to judge with what View they are written, and to find out the great Advantages, which the Nation will reap, ſhould they gain their Point. ——I ſhall therefore now leave *this angry Paper*, and make a Quotation from one of a different Sort; which is an *Emollient*, ſign'd *Nales*, and dated *Nov.* 19. with this Motto, *Deſiſtite tumultuari, conſultandum eſt.* (See p. 610.)

This Author gives us his Sentiments, concerning our Behaviour in *Times of War.* "It ſhould be, *ſays he*, a conſtant Maxim with us, on *theſe Occaſions*, to imitate the Example of the wiſe, the virtuous and triumphant *Romans*, whilſt they were warm'd by the *Amor Patriæ*, to uſe every Effort for cheriſhing and cultivating *Harmony at home.*" Is not this very peaceably and honeſtly ſaid? And, as *Shakeſpear* obſerves, *Men ſhould be what they ſeem.* But the gentle Reproofs, with which this Paper abounds, are fully explain'd in the *Gazetteer* of the Day following, where he ſays, "But I would, on this Occaſion, be ſo far Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Friend as to remind him, that antient Hiſtory and modern Experience have furniſh'd Examples, which give Room for paying the greateſt Regard for the Counſels of a *ſingle Perſon*. *France* rais'd herſelf to the Splendor, with which ſhe hath lately ſhone, by an happy Succeſſion of *able*, and (at leaſt to her Intereſts) *faithful Miniſters.*" (See p. 611.) Let us take a ſhort View of what mighty Things were done by *three of the greateſt Miniſters*, that ever appear'd in *France*, before the *preſent Cardinal*; I mean *Richelieu*, *Mazarine*, and the *late Regent.* Why, they hang'd or baniſh'd all Perſons, who would not renounce the *Proteſtant Religion*, to which *England* owes the Introduction of many uſeful Manufactures, and the Improvement of others. They have eſtabliſh'd *abſolute Government*, and ſuppreſs'd the Power and Rights of *Parliament* by an *armed Force*—From hence it is evident what the *Patron of the* Gazetteers would be at, by endeavouring to diſcountenance the *Inſtructions* or *Petitions of the People*——Thoſe Eyes muſt have efficacious Duſt, indeed, thrown into them, which can't perceive the Tendency of ſuch open and bold Avowments. It is now come to this plain Point; that the Conduct of a *certain ſingle Perſon* muſt be ſupported, that he may be able to do as much for *us* as *Richelieu*, *Mazarine*, and the *late Regent* have done for *France*; and if any Body oppoſes *this Scheme*, the Reply is,

Deſiſtite tumultuari, conſultandum eſt.

I will conclude with only one ſhort Quotation more from the *ſame Paper*, where the Author prudently tells us, "That it hath been the Misfortune of *thoſe*, who have cry'd loudeſt for the *Service of the People*, while *out of Power*, to have moſt neglected their Intereſt, when they have *got into Poſſeſſion of it.*" Tho' Nobody can deny that this hath been too often the Caſe, I think it does not become any *mercenary Scribbler* to abuſe his *Benefactor* and *Pay-maſter*, in this Manner; but *Fools* and *Knaves* are apt to blab out the Truth, when they ought to be moſt upon their Guard.

I am, Sir, &c.

Cato

Copy of the Inſtructions ſent by the Burgh of Cupar, *in the County of* Fife, *to Mr.* John Drummond *of* Quarrel, *their Repreſentative in Parliament.*

SIR,

IT ſeems to be the general Opinion of the Nation as well as it is our own, that the great Number of *Placemen in Parliament*, *the long Continuance of Parliaments* for the Space of *ſeven Years*, and the frequent Uſe of *Votes of Credit*, are of very dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; and therefore the Town-Council of this Burgh, having this Day met, think it their indiſpenſable Duty to inſtruct you, their Repreſentative, that you would uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to promote, or concur in promoting, effectual Laws for *limiting the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons*, and for *reducing the Time of ſitting of Parliament* to the antient Form of *one*, or at moſt *three Years*; and that you will oppoſe all *Votes of Credit*, except on the moſt urgent Occaſions, and even then, unleſs *theſe Votes* be reſtricted in the moſt cautious Manner.—This we do, not from any factious Principles, which we abhor; but as we judge it the moſt effectual Method for bringing all Perſons to concur in vigorous Meaſures for carrying on the *War*, which hath moſt juſtly been declared againſt the *Spaniards*, who have ſo long infeſted us by repeated Depredations on our Traders by Sea. We expect and require your Compliance with theſe Inſtructions, and are, *Sir*,

Your moſt humble Servants.

Cupar, 23*d* Nov. 1739. *Sign'd by Order of the Council.*

Common Senſe, Dec. 8. N° 149.

Of the Backwardneſs of the Merchants to accept of LETTERS *of* REPRISALS.

SIR,

I HAVE a Book at home, call'd *the Athenian Oracle*, which is my great Fund of Inſtruction for Times paſt; for whenever our Parſon cannot give me a Solution of any Difficulty, ten to one but I find it there. It ſurprizes me, that ſo good a Plan has not been continued in the preſent Times. I look'd, at firſt, upon the *Gazetteer*, as a Paper calculated to anſwer Political Queſtions; but, after all my Endeavours to underſtand what it would be at, I find it is like an Univerſity Lecture, ſomething muſt be ſaid for the Salary.

I muſt then have Recourſe to you; and as you ſatisfy me in anſwering one Queſtion, I may, or may not, trouble you with more. My Queſtion is not upon Futurity, for I ſuppoſe you do not deal with the Devil. I do not aſk you, how long the War with *Spain* will laſt, nor when we ſhall have another Convention or two. I only aſk, from what Cauſe this Perverſeneſs of our Merchants can proceed, that Letters of Repriſals being offer'd, ſo few ſhould accept of them? As if nothing but downright War would ſerve them, however inconſiſtent with the Repoſe of that indefatigable M—r who, for many Years, hath rock'd the publick Cradle, and endeavoured to lull that froward Babe the Nation to Reſt.

I ought not to anticipate an Oracle (for, as ſuch, I conſult you) but I muſt give my Excluſion to two Anſwers, which not even the *Pythia* of *Delphi* ſhould make me believe. The firſt is, that our Merchants have not that implicit Confidence in our unſtain'd Adminiſtration, which their prudent and firm Counſels deſerve: And the other, that we are ſo miſerably torn with Party, that we are not in a Condition to proſecute a War.

As to the firſt, I cannot attribute our preſent Slackneſs to a Want of Confidence in our Miniſtry, which I verily think exceeds, *in its Kind*, any Miniſtry on Record. On the contrary; we have ample Funds already laid on, and the Sinking Fund at Hand. We have a noble Fleet, partly at Sea, partly getting ready. Admirals we have, and to ſpare. The Trifle due to this Nation from our ancient Friends the *Spaniards* was, by the Benevolence of our Commiſſaries, eſtimated only at 155000*l*. *Don Benjamin*, with as much Complaiſance, gave up his Maſters of the *S. S.* Company: But ſay, that the Commiſſaries *Condeſcenſion* (I had almoſt call'd it, *Preſent*) of 45,000*l*. for prompt Payment, and the *Don*'s tipping the Wink for 68,000*l*. ſhould be diſavow'd by their ungrateful Conſtituents; and that to theſe ſhould be added the Chriſtian Article of Reſtitution for the *Spaniſh* Fleet at *Cape Paſſaro*. Add, if you will, the other 140,000*l*. which our impartial Commiſſaries have ſtruck off from our Claim, and about 300,000*l*. more confeſſedly due, by the Crown of *Spain*, to the *S. S.* Company; nay, if you pleaſe, add twice as much, or more, for Loſſes which our *Weſt-India* Dealers have patiently ſubmitted to, rather than run the expenſive Courſe of Sollicitation and *Acknowledgment* to our diſintereſted Governors in thoſe Countries, for Letters and Memorials *never to be open'd*. All this is leſs than a *poor deſpicable Million and half of Money*.

His Majeſty's Ships (God give them Succeſs) are not put to the Trouble of finding high Security to do no Miſchief: Security for 3000*l*. may puzzle a Trader that has loſt the beſt Part of his Stock by Depredations; and other Clauſes may be thrown into his Letters of Repriſals, apt to ſtumble honeſt City Sureties. How much more proper is it, therefore, to leave Repriſals to the Ships of War?

War? Two or three Galleons would do it; and by the Behaviour of the King's Ships, in acting vigorously, it will be soon seen, whether we are in Earnest or not. It is very hard if 100 Sail of Men of War at Sea, *properly instructed*, cannot levy *a paltry Million and a half*, with as much more as will pay the Fiddles. We know, that the Hearts of the *British* Fleet, Officers and Sailors, are gallant, sound, and keen to be at Work.

It makes me wonder, therefore, when I hear our Jokers say, that the Minister is *distrusted*. I say, he is *trusted*: The Merchants *trust* their Reprisals to the King's Ships, under the Minister's Direction; and to the Minister himself they *trust*, that he will soon give them another Convention, as good as the last, *&c. &c.* So they save a needless Expence of laying out Money and finding Security!

If Letters of Marque had been granted when the *Spaniards* first began to play their Game, it might, perhaps, have given them a Check; but the Merchants might think they were offer'd something too late now, for the *Spaniards* would have continued taking Ships as well as we, and as they are 20 Years beforehand with us in Captures, we could never be even with them this Way, considering that we have still more trading Vessels to lose than they: There remain'd, therefore, no other Way for us to do ourselves Justice, but by a vigorous War. It was necessary to touch the *Spaniards* to the Quick; the Flotilla, the Galleons, as I hinted before, or the taking a rich Colony in *America*, would oblige them to give up the Right of Searching, and pay Costs into the Bargain; and it was Time for our Men of War, which the *Spaniards*, in Derision, call'd *Gallinas del Mar*, (the Hens of the Sea) to do something to recover their former Reputation abrood, as well as to satisfy our People at home, that they were of some Use besides eating up the Sinking Fund, and hindering the Payment of the publick Debts.——The Merchants therefore might think it best, to leave Reprisals to the Ships of War.

As to the other Answer, which I hear is made, our intestine Divisions, I am in a Condition to prove the contrary, and therefore deny the Fact. The Nation is not divided; it speaks, and has long spoken, one unalter'd Sense.——There is not a Thief that goes to *Tyburn* but has his Party,—he himself, his Brothers, his near Kindred, all the Gang, are on his Side, and this they would call a powerful Declaration; but ask the Mind of the Crowd of Assistants, and they will tell you, that they came there on Purpose to see him hang'd.

I think that, without Magick, all the Parties in this Nation might be easily and cordially united in the common Defence of their Country by a few Words, the Dismission of one Placeman from all publick Employments whatsoever.

Sure I am, such Dismission could be attended with no Danger.—The whole People out of Employment wish it: So do some of those in Employment, if we may believe what they whisper, for they dare not speak out.—Those who have no Wishes beyond themselves will be the first to say they did.—If there was any Fear of Ill-Blood upon such an Event, have we not an Army? And a new Promotion of general Officers, to supply the laying aside of some useless Theorists?—Never fear: That Stroke may be struck without Danger.

I am not quite so sure that it is altogether without Danger to keep any Man in Employment, with whom the whole Nation is dissatisfied.—I do not know any Instance in History of Good being got by such a Measure, but many of Harm. I shall mention but one from the Chronicles of *Scotland*.

King *James* V. of that Kingdom was led away by a blind Attachment to one *Oliver Sinclair*, a Favourite whose only Merit was, his unbounded Compliance with the King's Schemes for increasing his Power and filling his Coffers. The *English* having invaded that Kingdom, a *Scotch* Army marched to the Borders to meet them, but loudly protesting that the War should not be conducted by *Sinclair* or his Creatures. The Nomination of General was kept in *petto* till the very Day of Battle, when *Sinclair* was declared, of which the Result was, that the whole Army, not for Love to the *English*, not for Want of Bravery, but out of mere Sullenness, surrender'd themselves without striking a Stroke.

Weekly Miscellany, Dec. 8. N° 363.

THIS Writer from Dr. *Delany*, gives the Description of a Storm, first by the Psalmist, and then by *Virgil*, in order to do Honour to the former: For tho' he allows *Virgil*'s Description to be very grand and noble, yet he thinks that of the Psalmist exceeds it. They are as follows.

Psal. xviii. 7—15. The earth trembled and shook, and the foundations of the mountains trembled and were tossed, because he was wroth. Smoke ascended from his nostrils, and fire devoured from his mouth; coals were kindled at it. And he bowed the heavens, and came down; and darkness was under his feet. And he rode upon a cherub, and flew; and flew swift on the wings of the wind. He made darkness his secret place: his pavilion round about him the darkness of waters in the clouds of heaven. At the brightness before him his clouds passed away, hail-stones and coals of fire. And the Lord thundered in the heavens, and the most High gave his voice; hail-stones and coals of fire. And he sent out his

his arrows, and tore and diſperſed them; and multiplied his lightnings, and confounded them. The beds of the waters appeared; the foundations of the world were uncovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord; at the blaſt of the breath of thy noſtrils.

VIRGIL's Georgicks, B. I. L. 322, &c.

Sæpe etiam immenſum cœlo venit agmen aquarum,
Et fœdam glomerant tempeſtatem imbribus atris
Collectæ ex alto nubes. Ruit arduus æther,
Et pulviâ ingenti ſata læta boumque labores
Diluit. Implentur foſſæ, & cava flumina creſcunt
Cum ſonitu, ferveſcitque fretis ſpirantibus æquor.
Ipſe pater, mediâ nimborum in nocte, coruſca
Fulmina molitur dextrâ. Quo maxima motu
Terra tremit: fugêre feræ; & mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis ſtravit pavor. Ille flagranti
Aut Atho, *aut* Rhodopen, *aut alta* Ceraunia *telo*
Dejicit. Ingeminant auſtri, & denſiſſimus imber:
Nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc littora plangunt.

Theſe noble Lines are thus tranſlated by an anonymous Author.

Oft from above deſcends a troop of floods;
Oft gather from the deep the thick'ning clouds;
Down ruſh the ſkies, and with impetuous rain
Waſh out the ox's toil, and ſweep away the grain: [keep;
The dikes are fill'd, no bounds the torrents
And with the breathing ſurges boils the deep:
Amidſt a night of clouds, his glitt'ring fire,
And rattling thunder, hurls th' eternal fire:
Far ſhakes the earth: beaſts fly, and mortal hearts
Pale fear dejects: he with refulgent darts,
Or *Rhodope*, or *Atho*'s lofty crown,
Or ſteep *Ceraunia*'s cliffs ſtrikes headlong down:
The rains condenſe, more furious *Auſter* roars;
Now with vaſt winds, the woods, now * laſhes he the ſhores.

Mr. *Dryden*'s Tranſlation is more diffuſed: But, the Reader will perceive how much he thought ſome of *David*'s Ideas would adorn it.

And oft whole ſheets deſcend of ſlucy rain,
Suck'd by the ſpongy clouds from off the main:
The lofty ſkies at once come pouring down,
The promis'd crop, and golden labours, drown.
The dikes are fill'd, and with a roaring ſound
The riſing rivers float the nether ground;
And rocks the bellowing voice of boiling ſeas rebound.
The father of the gods his glory ſhrouds,
Involv'd in tempeſts, and a night of clouds;
And from the middle darkneſs, flaſhing out
By fits, he deals his fiery bolts about.
Earth feels the motions of her angry god,
Her intrails tremble, and her mountains nod;
And flying beaſts in foreſts ſeek abode:
Deep horror ſeizes ev'ry human breaſt;
Their pride is humbled, and their fear confeſs'd:
While he from high his rolling thunder throws,
And fires the mountains with repeated blows:
The rocks are from their old foundations rent;
The winds redouble, and the rains augment:
The waves on heaps are daſh'd againſt the ſhore,
And now the woods, and now the bellows roar.

A *To* Borlace Warren *and* John Plumptree, *Eſqrs. Members of (and Repreſentatives in) Parliament for the Town and County of the Town of* Nottingham.

Gentlemen,

WE the Burgeſſes at large, and Freeholders of the Town of *Nottingham*, take Leave to remind you, that great and good B Examples ever produce the moſt deſirable End. However eaſy either of you, Gentlemen, may think us in a Situation, whereby many of our ancient Rights and Privileges are viſibly declining and dwindling away, yet be aſſured we are not ſo ſupine as to let go all our valuable Bleſſings; amongſt which, we deem this not the leaſt, that we have an undoubted Right (as your Conſtituents) to give C you Inſtructions; and to open our bleeding Hearts, by giving you an Intimation of (what we think) a national Grievance; and that is, amongſt ſome others, the great, unreaſonable, and unneceſſary Number of Placemen in your Houſe; a dangerous Influence! for the reducing whereof, both now and in all Futurity, we ardently inſiſt upon your utmoſt Aſſiſtance, by the advancing a Bill for that Purpoſe in the preſent Seſſions of Parliament; D and in this we are the more ſanguine and reſolute, by reaſon we conceive ſo great a Number of Placemen to be an inſupportable dead Weight, whenever the Trade and Liberty of the People, and the Intereſt and Prerogative of the Crown, ſhall come in Competition.

E *Gentlemen,*

No Alteration in our preſent happy Conſtitution, either in Church or State, can be agreeable to us, ſave only our antient Native Freedom and Birth-right, of chuſing annual Parliaments; for the Accompliſhment whereof we may one Day require your Aſſiſtance.

It is not a little, low, piratical War, Gentlemen, but a vigorous Proſecution of the F War, conformable to his moſt Gracious Majeſty's late Royal Proclamation, that will encourage us chearfully and willingly to give our Concurrence and Aſſiſtance, to ſupport the Intereſt and Honour, as well of his Majeſty's moſt Sacred Perſon, both at home and abroad, as alſo to maintain and defend our antient Trade, Commerce, and Navigation, ſo eſſential to the Welfare and Proſperity of this G Nation.

Upon the Whole, Gentlemen, your Conduct, in theſe weighty Affairs, and juſt Re-

* *This Tranſlator reads* plangit.

queſts, will make ſuch an Impreſſion upon our Minds and Reſolutions, as ſhall make you an adequate Return both from ourſelves and many Hundreds more of our Neighbours, the Burgeſſes at large and Freeholders of this antient and extenſive trading Town and County of the Town of *Nottingham*.

From the Gazetteer *of* Dec. 10.

IT is notorious, notwithſtanding what the Author of *Common Senſe* aſſerts, that a conſiderable Number of Letters of Repriſals have been granted; and, as he thinks them ſo neceſſary, it is to be preſumed he will preſent his Readers with a Relation of the good Effects theſe produce, before he offers to *blame the Merchants* for not taking out more. (See p. 647.) But if fewer Letters of Repriſals have been deſired than were expected to be applied for, (which I am far from believing) the Reaſon may be eaſily aſſigned: The Cry for thoſe Letters was raiſed and long continued by Gentlemen who were not any Way concerned in *Foreign Traffick*; and thoſe who have actually embraced the Opportunity of having them, are ſuch as made no *Figure* in the *Clamour* raiſed to obtain them; for it is much eaſier to cry, *Let's beat the* Spaniards, than to fit out a Ship for Action at Sea: For Example, Meſſieurs *D'Anvers* and *Common Senſe* called for them loudly, Time after Time; yet their Correſpondences abroad are known to extend no farther than the ſending, every Opportunity, a *ſmall Venture* to *Madrid*.

From the Gazetteer *of* Dec. 12.

THERE is nothing more notorious, than that the *Chiefs* in the *Oppoſition* either take *Pen* in *Hand* ſometimes to help out their worthy *Scribe* Mr. *D'Anvers*, or elſe engage *him* or *one* of his *Journeymen* to attend their *Lectures*, in order to *echo* in his *Paper*, what they are pleaſed to *ſay* in *another Place*. The *Craftſman* of laſt *Saturday* is apparently the Tranſcript of a *certain* Piece, for which its *Author* received the higheſt Applauſe, not only from thoſe who were in his *own Sentiments*, but from *others*, who were in good Hopes that he was really become a *Friend* to *Unanimity* and *domeſtick Peace*. This *Diſcourſe*, I ſay, is ſo apparently a *Tranſcript* of that, *that* I could not help wondering to ſee it publiſh'd with ſuch *trivial Remarks* on the *Gazetteer* annexed, as ſeem to have no farther *Uſe* than to fill up the *Columns*. But I am glad that it is publiſhed; becauſe it gives me an Opportunity of ſetting in a true Light that boaſted *Spirit* of *Union* to which our *modern Patriots* pretend. Their Diſcourſes, and this Paper, abound with ſolemn *Proteſtations* of Duty to the Crown, Zeal for their Country, and an abſolute Want of Prejudice againſt any Set of Men, or againſt any Perſons in Power. After all this we are entertain'd with a general Encomium on *Prudence*, *Oeconomy*, and *Frugality*, eſpecially in *War*, becauſe the Nation is at preſent engaged in one, and this is the Seaſon for Supplies. Laſtly, we are told, that neither *Unanimity* nor *Frugality* will ſave the Nation, if ſomething elſe be not added. And what is that? Why, if Care be not taken that thoſe who were at the Head of Affairs, while the Nation enjoyed Peace, be removed from thence, and not truſted with the Management of the War, all other Cares are thrown away. Whatever Difference therefore there might be between the Beginnings of former Speeches and Papers, and the Beginning of this, they end in the ſame Strain; and, as the Sum total of all Reaſoning on publick Affairs, iſſue in this Piece of good Advice, *Whatever you do, down with the Miniſter*.

Common Senſe, Dec. 15. N° 150.

Of LUXURY *in* BUILDING *and* GARDENING.

I AM far from cenſuring in all Caſes, the Pleaſure and Magnificence of Building and Gardening; it is at leaſt a very pardonable Exceſs in thoſe, whoſe Ranks and Fortunes enable them to raiſe, and entitle them to poſſeſs ſuch noble and ſumptuous Monuments. Much leſs would I deny to Perſons of inferior Rank and ſmaller Fortunes, the real Comfort of convenient Habitations, or the Pleaſure of cultivating and improving of Nature; both will lie in a very narrow Compaſs. But what I mean to remonſtrate againſt, is the Folly of thoſe, who either tempted by Pride, or ſeduc'd by Faſhion, lay out one Half of their Land in Building, and the other Half *literally* in their Gardens, and who, by that Time they have done, in order to be able to live in their own Houſe, are oblig'd *to ſell themſelves in another*.

Every Man now, be his Fortune what it will, is to be *doing ſomething at his Place*, as the faſhionable Phraſe is; and you hardly meet with any Body, who, after the firſt Compliments, does not inform you, that he is *in Mortar* and *moving of Earth*; the modeſt Terms for Building and Gardening. *One large Room*, *a Serpentine River*, and *a Wood*, are become the moſt abſolute Neceſſaries of Life, without which a Gentleman of the ſmalleſt Fortune thinks he makes no Figure in his Country.

To theſe Gentlemen I particularly addreſs myſelf, and beg Leave to aſſure them, that they are not more imprudent in their Expence, than miſtaken in their Views. Is it the Reputation of an elegant Taſte that they would purchaſe? Nineteen Times in twenty, their Works are glaring Proofs of the contrary. Rules miſapplied, Defects imitated, Beau-

ties

ties disfigur'd, ſpeak the undiſtinguiſhing Taſte of theſe *Virtuoſi*. Injudicious Theſts from good Originals, generally compoſe theſe ill aſſerted Edifices; and the noble Owner of *Chiſwick* might replevin moſt of the Rooms that have been built here for theſe 20 Years, but that they are ſo mangled, that he either does not know them again, or does not deſire to recover them. Beſides, I would aſk theſe *Virtuoſi*, if they have any clear and determinate Idea annex'd to this Word *Taſte?* Is it their own Taſte they mean? Or whoſe? And by what Criterion do they decide whoſe Taſte is beſt? For I conceive Taſte to be merely an arbitrary Thing, and of which there can be no ſettled Standard, as appears by its Variations in different Ages, and different Countries. Whereas, all Arts and Sciences have poſitive and fix'd Rules founded in Reaſon, and originally deduc'd from Obſervations made upon Nature; which Truths, when ſtated, every Body feels and muſt aſſent to; as in Buildings, that the Stronger muſt ſupport the Weaker, and that they muſt be calculated to protect you from thoſe Inclemencies of the Weather, to which your Climate and Situation particularly expoſes you. Theſe are plain and ſenſible Rules to go by, and ſhould not, as they generally are, be confounded, and us'd ſynonymouſly with the Word *Taſte*, which can only relate to Things of mere Ornament and Fancy. Many Rules in *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Italian* Buildings, would be very improperly call'd the *Egyptian*, *Greek*, or *Italian* Taſte. They are Rules founded in Nature; thoſe Climates require, and common Senſe ſuggeſts them. But when imitated and applied here, where we are equally free from any Apprehenſions, either of Inundations or Heat; they then indeed become Matter of Taſte, and I'll venture to ſay, of a very abſurd and wrong Taſte. From hence then it appears, that thoſe who impair their Fortunes in this View, ſacrifice a Reality to a Sound, and a Sound too, which they'll find no ten People agree in the Signification of.

Or is it to diſplay their Magnificence, and to give Mankind an Opinion of their Wealth and Opulence? If that be the Motive, they would do well firſt to conſider, whether they can carry that Scheme thro, and have every Thing elſe ſuitable. For otherwiſe they loſe their End by the very Means they take to attain it: Nothing being ſo ſtrong a Proof of Poverty as a half Magnificence; which only ſhews what a Man would do, and can't; and the *one fine Room* I have mention'd, is a Demonſtration that the Maſter of it can't afford another. How many Houſes have been built here of late Years, ſo diſproportion'd to the ſmall Fortunes and Families of the Owners, that they ſeem rather haunted than inhabited?—*Horace*'s Rule holds in every Part of Life, as well as in Poetry,

——*Servetur ad imum*
Qualis ab incepto proceſſerit, & ſibi conſtet.

Let every Thing be conſiſtent and of a Piece, or inſtead of Approbation you excite Laughter. There is ſurely nothing more abſurd than to ſee, as one often does, a *Venetian* Window, and a *Grecian* Portico ſtuck on to an old decaying Manſion Seat; or a dirty Ditch expenſively lengthen'd out, to act as a Serpentine River, where the ſpacious Windings of the Serpent are burleſqu'd by the ridiculous Wriggles of the Worm. One can't help laughing at the ſcanty and abortive Attempts of little Things to equal great Ones; and I recommend, upon this Occaſion, to my Countrymen *of Taſte*, the careful Peruſal of *the Fable of the Frog*, who would ſwell himſelf to the Size of the Ox, and burſt in the Operation.

But independently of the Expence and other ill Conſequences, I am always griev'd to ſee the venerable paternal Caſtle of a Gentleman of an antient Family, and a competent Fortune, *taſted* and dwindled down into an imperfect Imitation of an *Italian Villa*; and the good old profitable Orchard laid out into a Waſte of Green, bounded by fruitleſs Trees. Methinks there was ſomething reſpectable in thoſe old hoſpitable *Gothick* Halls, hung round with the Helmets, Breaſt-Plates, and Swords of our Anceſtors; I entered them with a conſtitutional Sort of Reverence, and look'd upon thoſe Arms with Gratitude, as the Terror of former Miniſters, and the Check of Kings. Nay, I even imagined that I there ſaw ſome of thoſe good Swords, that had procur'd the Confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and humbled *Spencers* and *Gaveſtons*. And when I ſee theſe thrown by, to make Way for ſome tawdry Gilding and Carving, I can't help conſidering ſuch an Alteration as ominous even to our Conſtitution.

My Apprehenſions of this Kind were much increas'd by a Viſit I made this Summer to a Friend in the Country, who one Day told me that he would carry me to a neighbouring Gentleman's, who had *done a great deal to his Place*, and would make it the compleateſt Thing in the County. As we were riding there together, he gave me this Account of the Gentleman.

My Neighbour, ſays he, tho' he is doing ſo much, has a numerous Family, and but a ſmall Eſtate, and that's a good deal dipp'd too by his Elections. It is true, indeed, ſince he has been in Parliament, he has got an Employment, tho' at the rate we go on, that won't do neither, and we ſhall ſoon be out at the Elbows. But to be ſure he has other Helps, for, between you and I, we obſerve, that after hard-run Points Above, there's always ſome fine Thing done here. For Inſtance, that Obeliſk, and that Temple by it,

which you ſee there upon the Top of the Hill, were built the Summer after the *Exciſe*, as you will ſee by the Date upon the Baſe of the Obeliſk; for which Reaſon, you muſt know, we call that Temple his *Exciſe Office*. —When we arrived at the Place, we alighted in a large handſome Court. The Front of the Houſe was very irregular, one Part on't very low and old, but lately vamp'd and ſtucco'd, the other new and lofty, and both agreeing very ill together. After having paſs'd thro' a Room or two of the old Part of the Houſe, we were carried into the great Apartment, which conſiſted of a large Anti-Chamber and Bed-Chamber, expenſively gilt, carv'd, and furniſh'd. Here my Friend whiſper'd me (that the Steward who accompanied us might not hear) this we call *the Prince's Apartment*; what, ſaid I, has his Royal Highneſs ever been here then? No, replied my Friend, but you muſt know, it was built the Year of his Affair in Parliament, which they ſay was a great building Year in many other Counties too. In going from hence into the Garden, I obſerv'd, on my right Hand, a new Building about half up, and upon aſking my Friend what it was, he inform'd me that it was to be a Room of Six and Thirty by Four and Twenty, which was begun this Summer, and which was call'd the *Convention Room*; this, he added, would be the moſt expenſive Thing of all.—I told him I admired this new Manner of Dating, which I hop'd would be of ſingular Uſe to future Antiquaries and Hiſtorians. Why yes, replied my Friend, the *Romans* us'd to date even their Wine by their Conſuls, who I never heard gave it them; and why ſhould not thoſe date by Treaſurers what they receive from them? It ſeems to be but a Return of Gratitude; beſides the univerſal Advantage it will be of, by making every County a Sort of Chronological Table of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory. I ſmil'd at my Friend's Pleaſantry, but went home full of very melancholy Reflexions.—I ſhall conclude with this one Admonition to theſe my unwary Countrymen, That a few more ſuch Acquiſitions will undo them, and that, inſenſibly led on and betray'd by their Pride and their Luxury, they'll find, when too late, that they have only been gilding their own Chains, and carving their own Priſons.

The King of SPAIN's DECLARATION *of* WAR *againſt* GREAT-BRITAIN.

✣

The KING.

I.

WHEREAS my Forbearance can no longer diſſemble the irregular Pretences of *England*, her Breach of Faith, and Treaties, and the Declaration of War proclaim'd lately at *London* againſt this Crown; depending on my known Rights, and ſway'd by what is dictated by a natural Defence, I am reſolv'd likewiſe that in this Court, againſt the *Britiſh* King, his Kingdoms and Subjects, the ſame ſhall be publiſh'd and executed in the like manner in all my Dominions by Sea and Land, laying on Embargoes, and committing all ſorts of Hoſtilities againſt the Subjects of the ſaid Nation; and in conſequence thereof entirely to exclude them from all ſorts of Commerce and Trade in theſe Kingdoms and other Dominions belonging to this Crown. And that at the ſame time all *Engliſh*-born Subjects that are not naturaliz'd ſhall immediately withdraw, only they that are in any mechanick Office may remain. For which purpoſe I do command that this ſhall be complied with, and executed under the following Diſpoſitions and Declarations.

II.

That for the future the Trade and Commerce with all the *Engliſh* Subjects ſhall be illicit and prohibited, and all their Manufactures, Merchandizes and Produce, as likewiſe whatſoever they ſhall treat, negociate, and tranſact in theſe Kingdoms, in ſuch manner as the Prohibition of the ſaid Trade is to be underſtood, as I will and underſtand it, to be abſolutely and really forbidding and hindering the Importation of the ſaid Commodities, Produce, Goods, Merchandizes, and Manufactures of the ſaid Dominions: And farther, the Prohibition which is made, and I do make by virtue of theſe Preſents to all the Vaſſals and Subjects of *England*. And I do Order and Command, that in none of my Ports in theſe Kingdoms ſhall be admitted any Veſſels with the Goods, Manufactures, or Produce of the ſaid Dominions, and that no Entrance ſhall be granted, nor Permiſſion given to introduce the ſame by Land, in what Manner or Form ſoever; and that all the ſaid Produce, Goods, Manufactures, and Merchandizes in theſe Kingdoms, ſhall be deemed illicit and prohibited, whereſoever they may come from, be found, or ſeiz'd in Ships, Veſſels, Exchanges, Shops, or Houſes of Merchants, and any other Particular Perſons whatſoever, whether they be Subjects and Vaſſals of me, or of the Kingdoms, Provinces and States, with whom I am in Peace, Alliance, and in free Commerce; with whom it is my Royal Reſolution at the ſame Time to preſerve the Peace, as alſo the Freedom and Liberty of Trade, which according thereunto are to be preſerv'd in theſe Kingdoms, and the free Admiſſion of their Ships and Traffick in their ſeveral Kinds, properly and privately belonging to their Countries, Provinces and Conqueſts, or manufactur'd in the ſame. And I likewiſe do declare thoſe Merchandizes, Products, and Manufactures to be illicit and forbidden, which have been manufactured

factured or made in my Dominions, or in thoſe of my Friends and Allies, or have been dyed and whitened by, or conſign'd to the *Engliſh*, and which have by them been made up, and have paid the Duties thereof; renewing, as I do renew by this preſent Prohibition, as the ſame concerns the ſaid Dominions belonging to *England*, whatſoever is ordain'd by the Laws, Cedulas and Pragmaticks, iſſued in that reſpect.

III.

And in order to know and ſpecify what are the Produce, Manufactures, and Merchandize belonging to the ſaid Dominions of *England*, and what is illicit and prohibited, in caſe any one Party grounds his Defence thereon; I do Order that the Judge before whom an Information ſhall be laid, or the Goods ſhall be ſeiz'd by way of Enquiry or any ways whatſoever, ſhall appoint a ſkilful Perſon, according to the kind of Goods that are ſeized; and the Perſon in whoſe Poſſeſſion the ſame ſhall be found, and againſt whom any Information is laid, ſhall appoint another, who upon Oath (and under Penalty of Treaſon, which I decree againſt them if they do not well and faithfully perform their Duty) ſhall declare what kind of Merchandizes thoſe are that are laid before them, and of what Manufacture or Produce; and in caſe they are decided to be of the ſaid Dominions, they ſhall be forthwith declar'd forfeited; and in caſe thoſe two ſhould not agree, the Judge ſhall nominate a third Perſon, who ſhall declare in the ſame Form, and under the ſame Penalty; and in caſe the two Referrees do agree, Execution ſhall be granted without any farther Defence in the ſame Cauſe. And to the end that they may be inform'd of thoſe Goods and Merchandizes that they are of the ſaid Manufactures, Produce, and prohibited Goods, proper, and eſpecially belonging to the ſaid *Engliſh* Dominions; it is my Will that Judges ſhall be applied to, who ſhall hear and examine into the minuteſt Articles thereunto belonging.

IV.

And forthwith I declare all thoſe Merchandizes, Produce, and Manufactures of the ſaid Dominions, that ſhall be found in theſe Kingdoms, in the Poſſeſſion of any one of my Subjects, or of any Inhabitant there, tho' he be of the Kingdoms and Eſtates of Allies and Friends, and in any Veſſels, Carriages or Vehicles whereſoever they ſhall be found, to be forfeited in caſe of Contravention, reſerving in this reſpect to the Veſſels and Ships of our Friends and Allies, thoſe Treaties of Peace agreed with them. And I do give the third Part of the ſaid Forfeiture to my Exchequer; one other third Part to the Judge, and the other third to the Informer: Whom I order that as ſoon as Sentence of their Commiſſion is given, they appear, giving a depoſitory Security, both the Judge and the Informer, to refund the ſame in caſe the Sentence ſhould be revers'd. Further, and beſides the ſame Penalty, I inflict the Loſs of all their Goods to be forfeited to my Exchequer, on thoſe that ſhall import, or give any help or aſſiſtance, to the Importation thereof into my Kingdoms, after the ſame Crime ſhall be regularly proved; and againſt thoſe that do not import the ſame, I do inflict the Penalty of the Loſs of the ſaid Merchandizes, which being illicit and prohibited, I give for their ſeveral third Parts in manner aboveſaid. And farther, upon regular Proof, thoſe whom I deem to be the Poſſeſſors of the ſaid prohibited Merchandizes, ſuch as ſhall poſſeſs the ſame fraudulently, knowing them to be prohibited, I condemn'd in the Forfeiture of all their Goods, to be appropriated to my Exchequer; which Perſon, as it is to be underſtood, ſhall declare of whom he has received the ſame, yet in caſe he does not declare the ſame, he ſhall be deem'd the chief Importer, and ſubject to the ſaid Penalties, wherein ſhall be no Mitigation, nor Arbitration of any Judge of what Degree ſoever, nor of any Tribunal, nor Court of Judicature, unleſs they have acquainted me therewith.

V.

And I do Order, that all the Places, Houſes and Shops of Merchants and Traders, at leaſt from four to four Months, (without any fix'd Day being given) ſhall be viſited, and all the Goods found there ſhall be enquired into; and whatſoever ſhall be found to be illicit and prohibited, ſhall be declar'd as ſuch, and forfeited, the Writings being drawn in the uſual Form; and in caſe the Poſſeſſor ſhould deny the ſame to be of the ſaid prohibited Quality, they ſhall proceed to the Proof and Declaration, by naming ſuch ſkilful Perſons as abovementioned, (making the ſaid Enquiries by dint of Office, without any Neceſſity of a preceding Accuſation or Information whatſoever;) however, ſo that they ſhall not have Liberty to do the ſame in any private Houſes, that are not Merchants, unleſs the ſame be notorious by Information, or any other legal Denunciations; importing, that Goods and other Commodities prohibited by this Cedula, are concealed there. And in order to facilitate the ſaid Enquiry, and prove againſt whom it may concern, I do order that all Merchants and Traders of theſe Kingdoms, Natives as well as Strangers, ſhall keep Books of Account and Tranſactions in the *Spaniſh* Language, wherein they ſhall ſet down whatever they buy, and mention it therein, in order to declare and produce the ſame before thoſe Judges that ſhall demand the ſame, as often as it ſhall be required.

And in reſpect thereunto, I do Order that the Sixty-firſt Law, *Tit.* 18. *of the Sixth Book of the Recop.* and the Penalties preſcribed therein, without any Aim to alter any the leaſt Thing mentioned in the ſaid Ordinance,

bs

be adjuſted with thoſe Kings, Princes, States, and Republicks I am in Peace with, and according to their Alliances of a free Trade; which rather are confirmed, and ſhall remain in their full Force, as mentioned in the ſame Ordinance.

VI.

And that no Perſon whatſoever, of what Quality the ſame may be or hold, may be exempted from any Penalty while ſuch prejudicial Crimes may require it; I do Order that no Privilege, nor any Preheminence whatſoever, ſhall relieve them, whether they be of any military Orders, Titular Officers, or thoſe belonging to the Inquiſition, Captains, Soldiers, although they be of my Guard, or any ordinary ones of my Kingdoms, Soldiery and Artillery, my Court-Servants, Regiſters or any others that pretend to be exempted from any Courts of Juſtice.

And that all that ſhall act in Oppoſition to this Ordinance, ſhall be puniſhed by the Penalties appointed for that Purpoſe, and that no Exemption nor Privilege ſhall help 'em to any Mitigation, nor in any Ways whatſoever.

VII.

And whereas for the inviolable Obſervance of what is ordain'd, commanded and prohibited in this preſent Ordinance, it is neceſſary for the Execution thereof, to prohibit the Countries and Dominions of the King of *England*, the Trade to theſe Kingdoms; it is my Will and Pleaſure to grant no Permiſſion nor Licence to import any Produce, Merchandizes, and Manufactures, nor any Goods of the ſaid Dominions, into this Country: And in caſe any is given, I do revoke, annul, and declare the ſame void; commanding my Councils, Viceroys, and all other Tribunals or Magiſtrates with whom formerly the ſame has been conſulted, and with whom the like Licences have been uſually conſulted, that for the future they ſhall not conſult with me on that Account, what Motive, Cauſe, or Reaſons ſoever, for that Purpoſe, they may have.

VIII.

And conſidering it would not be juſt to prohibit the Trade of thoſe Sorts of Goods, which before the breaking out of the War, and in due Time were imported from the *Engliſh* Dominions, as alſo to give no Encouragement to import others, which on Pretence of their Vent may follow; I do Declare, that all the Merchants that ſhall have in their Poſſeſſion, any Goods, Merchandizes, or Produce of the ſaid Dominions, within fifteen Days after the Publication of this my Ordinance, which is fix'd for a peremptory Term, ſhall declare and regiſter the ſame in our Court, before the Miniſter whom I ſhall appoint to decide thoſe Controverſies, and in other Cities, Towns and Places, before the Judges which I ſhall likewiſe nominate.

And in caſe there be none ſuch appointed or nominated, before the ordinary Court (to whom, in defect thereof, I give the ſame Juriſdiction) and thoſe that are not regiſtred before the Term of the ſaid fifteen Days, ſhall be immediately condemned and proceeded againſt according to Order; and for the Conſumption of thoſe which ſhall be regiſtred, and which ſhall be declar'd and mark'd, two Months Time ſhall be given; which being expir'd, the Merchants and Traders ſhall be oblig'd to deliver the ſaid Goods to the Cuſtom-Houſes; and in thoſe Places where there are none, to the publick Halls or Court-Houſes, and that the ſame ſhall be ſold by publick Auction, in the Preſence of the Miniſter or Miniſters deputed for that Purpoſe; and in default thereof, by the Court, who ſhall deliver the Produce thereof to the Owners, without Power to have any of the ſaid prohibited Goods brought again to their Shops or Warehouſes, of what Sort ſoever, according to the Formalities heretofore practiſed.

All which is my Pleaſure, and ſhall be inviolably complied with and executed: And to the End that no Perſon whatſoever may plead Ignorance of what is contain'd in this Ordinance, I do command that the ſame be publiſh'd by my Council of War in this Court, and that they give the neceſſary Orders for the Execution thereof, according to Cuſtom in the like Caſes.

Done at Buen Retiro, *on the* 28*th of* November, 1739.

I the KING.

Don Caſimiro de Uztariz.

Craftſman, Dec. 15. N° 701.

The Views of FRANCE, *with ſeaſonable* REFLEXIONS.

SIR,

A FEW Days ſince, going into my Book-ſeller's Shop, he laid before me, according to Cuſtom, all the new Books and Pamphlets, which he thought I had not ſeen. Amongſt the reſt was a Book, lately tranſlated from the *French*. The Original hath not been publiſh'd above two or three Years; intitled, *Political Reflexions upon the Finances and Commerce of* France. It is a very elaborate, and, as far as I can judge of Figures, a very accurate Performance, which I am inclin'd to think is not done by a common Hand. The Compiler ſpeaks with ſuch an Air of Authority, as I apprehend is not very uſual upon State-Matters in an abſolute Government, without ſome Aſſurances that his Subject and Reaſonings would be agreeable to his Superiors. I cannot blame the Zeal he ſhews for his Country; but, on the contrary, highly commend it; though, at the ſame Time, I cannot forbear lamenting to ſee ſuch ambitious Deſigns ſtirring in *France* at a Time when

moſt of her Neighbours ſeem to be either lull'd aſleep, or diſmay'd from acting.

The greateſt Part of the Book is taken up in Computations upon the *French Coin*. This I ſhall not enter upon, as being foreign to my Purpoſe; which is, by ſome Quotations, to warn ſuch of my Countrymen, into whoſe Hands the Book may never come, of the dangerous Politicks now opening in that ambitious Kingdom; and to ſhew what grateful Returns *we* and our *maritime Neighbour* are to expect from the Houſe of *Bourbon*, for the many *Treaties* and *Alliances* we have made with *that formidable Family*, and our long pacifick Diſpoſition towards it, which now ſeems to be contriving Schemes to impoveriſh, weaken, and ſubjugate all the other Powers of *Europe*.

The firſt Quotation I ſhall make from *this Writer*, is the very laſt Paragraph in the Book, before the Recapitulation, *p.* 287.

"To make *Peace*, in order to procure to ourſelves all the Advantages of an *extenſive Commerce*, is to make War upon *our Enemies*. Let us therefore have no more to do with *thoſe Victories*, which are gain'd by ruinous Means. Let *Glory* ſleep and be at Reſt. It is in the Heart of our Plains, that *Induſtry* ſhall open to us eaſy Paths to *greater Conqueſts*. May propitious Heaven preſerve to us a *Prince*, whoſe Wiſdom meaſures his Glory by the Happineſs of his People, and a *worthy Miniſter*, who ſeconds his Views with ſo much Zeal, and extenſive Diſcernment! *France*, ſuperior by the Advantages of her *Commerce*, ſhall make *neighbouring States* know, that ſhe is as capable of raiſing her Power by *Peace* as by *War*."

Happy, indeed, is that Country which lays hold of all Opportunities to extend its *Commerce*, clear its *Incumbrances*, and enrich the *Subject*; which it is too viſible that *France* hath done, during the Adminiſtration of the *preſent Cardinal*; who hath omitted no Means of encreaſing its *Riches*, *Power*, and *Dominions*. But to return to our Author, whoſe *peaceable Intentions* want a little Explanation.

If the *maritime Powers* will ſuffer *France* to open and enlarge more Ports upon the Northern Coaſt, and own *France* Sovereign of the Ocean, then will ſhe remain in *Peace*; and, in order to bring about ſo neighbourly a Scheme, the *Author* projects a *French* Fleet to be kept on Foot; then after making a Computation what a very conſiderable Navy once coſt *France*, ſays, (*p.* 277.) "that 100 Ships at 10,200,000 Livers *per Annum*, ſuppoſing the whole to be equipt ſix Months of the Year, which never happens every Year; thus we ſay that a Navy of 100 Ships of 60 Guns would not coſt *ten Million* (of *Livres*) *communibus Annis*, all Things included; an Expence not to be laid in the Balance with the Honour and Advantage, which would accure from thence to the Nation." We ſhall ſee, *p.* 281, to what Uſe *this Fleet* is to be apply'd.

"The *Land Forces*, ſays he, coſt much more than *this powerful Navy*; and they are neither capable of bringing us ſo much Honour, or Profit. They can neither make the *French Flag* be reſpected, or fear'd, ſo far. They are no ſort of Protection to our foreign Trade, which is the only Means of aggrandizing and enriching the State. All the Forces we can have by *Land* can never free us from Subjection to *maritime Powers*; nor put us in a Condition to humble the Pride of thoſe haughty Iſlanders, who believe and call themſelves *Kings of the Sea*. This we are only to look for from a *powerful Navy*, able to diſpute that Empire with them, and oblige them to pay the firſt Honour to the *French Flag*."

Before I make any farther Obſervations, I ſhall give the Reader another Quotation from the ſame Author, *p.* 286.

"I have always heard it ſaid, that with a little Expence we might make an excellent one, (meaning a *Port*) at *la Hogue* in *Lower Normandy*. This is the only Place in the World, moſt proper for raiſing an important Fortreſs, either for *Commerce*, or for *Ships*. It will hold a great many of them. There they would lie in Security, and ſhelter'd from any dangerous Winds, by making a Mole of about two or three hundred Toiſes of the great or ſmall Redoubt of *Moſalines*, towards the Fort of *la Hogue*, leaving at the Foot of that Fort a convenient Entrance for the *Port*, and by digging a *Bay*, which the *Mole* would encloſe. We might even cauſe the *Port* * to be cleans'd by the River *Saire*, which is but about the Diſtance of *ſix* or *ſeven Toiſes*, and which might eaſily be turn'd into it. *That Port* would then be very conſiderable, and well ſituated. It has an admirable Road; and all thoſe, who are acquainted with the Affairs of the *Navy* and *Navigation* agree, that we ought to labour at and improve the Advantages of *that Place*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of *our Neighbours*; for the more they ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to it, the more ought we to be ſenſible that it tends to our Advantage. We ought by no Means to be afraid of them. This would do them too much Honour. In a Word, there it is we muſt have a *Port*."

This Scheme, in my Opinion, does not ſeem to be ſent into the World by a *Perſon*, who only wrote in hopes that his Book would ſell well, or by a *Projector*, that was building Caſtles in the Air. Whoever has ſeen a Plan of the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, as it ſtood in the Time of *Lewis* XIV. may find that

Crown

* *I preſume they are convinc'd of the Sufficiency of cleanſing Ports by the Torrent of Upland Waters, from their Succeſs at* Dunkirk.

Crown will ſpare no Coſt, or Trouble, for ſuch a Security to their *Naval Force*, as may render it formidable, or deſtructive to the Commerce of the *maritime Powers*; and as to the *Fleet*, whenever *France* ſhould be pleas'd to reduce her *Land Forces*, ſhe may be very capable to maintain a very powerful Fleet.—From hence it is plain how fatal all Politicks have been, which tended to diſunite the *Emperor* and the *maritime Powers*.

His *Imperial Majeſty* fell the firſt Sacrifice to the ambitious Houſe of *Bourbon*, the *maritime Powers* are to be ſerv'd for the ſecond Courſe.

If it ſhould be thought this *Author*'s Schemes are only the vain and airy Imaginations of a *ſingle Perſon*, let us conſider what has been done theſe few Years paſt in the *Mediterranean*. Hath not the Houſe of *Bourbon* got *the two* Sicilies *and* Corſica. Except our own Port *Mahon* and *Gibraltar*, is there a Port, but *Legborn*, which cannot be ſhut from us by *that powerful Family*; and if *France* ſhould be able to ſet up a conſiderable Fleet, will it not ſtill be worſe? Perhaps it may be urg'd againſt me, that I prove too much, as Truth is not to be ſpoken at all Times, and that by aggrandizing the Power of *France*, and the *Houſe of Bourbon*, I may intimidate, more than excite, the Courage of my Countrymen.

Beſides, as we are now actually in War with a Branch of the *Houſe of Bourbon*, this is not the Time to provoke, or alarm *France*; to which I anſwer, that the beſt and only Way to ſhun Danger is to foreſee and forewarn; and a ſkilful Surgeon firſt probes to the Bottom of the Wound, before he applies Remedies. Thoſe muſt be very ſhallow Politicians indeed, who can think that whenever the Ambition, or Intereſt of *France*, ſhall incite her to act, that ſhe will want Pretences. It is therefore the Duty of every Man, who loves his Country, to conſider as far as his Capacity will extend, from whence have ſprung the Dangers which threaten us.

In order to that, I will put one ſingle Fact in ſuch a Light, that the Truth muſt evidently appear, on one Side or the other.

The Power, which *France*, and the *Houſe of Bourbon*, have been gaining theſe laſt 20 Years, either could or could not have been prevented by *Engliſh Arms*, or *Engliſh Counſels*. If it is ſaid that it cou'd have been prevented, a natural Queſtion follows; Why has it not been prevented? If it is ſaid, that it could not have been prevented, I muſt beg Leave to aſk another Queſtion——Who can tell that? For what Steps have been taken to prevent it? Hath not every Alliance, ſince the *Quadruple Alliance*, tended rather to careſs and cheriſh the *Houſe of Bourbon*, than otherwiſe? Have we not been at great Expences in fitting out our *Fleets*, and hiring *Auxiliaries* upon the Continent, in Purſuance of Treaties made with this formidable Neighbour? Have not the Forces of *our preſent Enemy* been tranſported in our Ships, and at our Expence, which have conquer'd Kingdoms for his Family from our moſt natural Ally? Should his *Imperial Majeſty*'s Aſſiſtance and Aid be now wanting, where are the *Miniſters*, who have conducted theſe Negotiations, and influenc'd their Counſels? Shall they be ſent to him, to put him in mind of his Loſſes of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Lorain*, whilſt all his old Allies were contented to be Spectators only of his Misfortunes? Perhaps it may be ſaid, that our *Party Diviſions* and *inteſtine Feuds*, have inflam'd our home Expences, and made us incapable of obſtructing the ambitious Views of *foreign Enemies*. If any civil Commotions had riſen, ſhould we have expected Aſſiſtance from *French Forces?* Would not the *Miniſter* deſerve to have loſt his Head, who had truſted them?—What civil Commotions have riſen, or what Clamours have been ſpread?—*Engliſhmen* have only reaſoned upon the Actions of the *Miniſtry*; and perhaps more People have diſapprov'd than approv'd of the general Courſe of Proceedings; I apprehend that every Individual in a free State, has as much Right to canvaſs publick Tranſactions as a *Counſellor of State*, or a *Senator of Parliament*—Were Clamours rais'd againſt a *large ſtanding Army* in Times of *Peace*, which prevented paying our *Debts*, leſſening our *Taxes*, as you find the *French* have done, and enlarging our Commerce, as we likewiſe find the *French* have done; if this was the Caſe, reducing Part of our *Army* would have ſtopt the Clamour, and diſincumbering the Nation would have better enabled us to have acted with more Force againſt a foreign Enemy—Was the Clamour rais'd againſt the frequent Equipment of *pacifick Fleets?*—Was it againſt the *Expence*, or the *Inactivity* of them?—If againſt the *Expence*, might they not have been ſpar'd, for the Good they have done? It is now evident that whoever they hurt, were not *our Enemies*; and the *Expence* might have been well ſpar'd, if only ſhewing them has rais'd Envy and Hatred abroad, Clamour at home, and could not at laſt with Honour prevent a *War*, which but few ever thought they could.

If that was the Caſe, it cannot be ſaid that the Clamours at home prevented a vigorous Behaviour abroad. If the People were diſcontented that Force was not employ'd, ſure no Body will ſay, nor can think, that the *publick Treaſure* has been diverted from the publick Service, either in leſſening our *Debt*, paying off *Taxes*, or being employ'd againſt the *foreign Enemy of our Country*, in order to gain *home Auxiliaries* to the Miniſtry; and if this could be imagin'd, it would be evident that the *miniſterial Proceedings* would have been greater,

greater, had the People not been corrupted to act againſt their Conſciences.

Common Senſe, Dec. 22. Nº 151.

THEATRICAL FORCES.

IT gives me the greateſt Pleaſure, to obſerve the Revival of that true *Britiſh* Spirit, which I fear'd Corruption might have tainted, or Deſpair have ſunk. The univerſal Chearfulneſs, with which the Nation at preſent, not only ſubmits to, but ſollicits the heavieſt Burdens, in order to retrieve, at laſt, its Honour, and aſſert its Rights, ſhows that the Genius of this Iſland ſtill riſes ſuperior to the vile Arts made uſe of to depreſs it. Every Man in the Kingdom (except one, or, at moſt, two) heartily concurs in the carrying on of the preſent War. Among the many Inſtances of this generous Spirit, I cannot help mentioning one of a private Perſon, which ſeems to equal any Thing I have read, of any private *Roman*. I mean Mr. *Rich*, who has, on this Occaſion, rais'd at his own Expence, two incomparable Regiments for the Service of his Country. Whoever has lately ſeen that inimitable Comedy, *The Rehearſal*, muſt, doubtleſs, have been ſtruck with the Strength and Beauty of thoſe two Corps. It would be wronging them to call them either Foot, Horſe, or Dragoons, ſince they unite in themſelves the peculiar Excellencies of all three. Conſider'd as Foot, they have all the Cloſeneſs and Firmneſs of the fam'd *Macedonian Phalanx*; while, at the ſame Time, they have the Strength of the Horſe, and the Celerity of the Dragoons. A military Improvement, entirely owing to Mr. *Rich*, and unthought of by *Polybius* or *Chevalier Folard*; notwithſtanding that the authentick Accounts we find in Antiquity, of the Strength, Agility, and Uſefulneſs of the *Centaurs*, might, one ſhould have thought, have ſuggeſted ſomething of this Nature to them.——As Horſe, they muſt be allow'd to exceed even our Life-Guards, being contriv'd ſo as to receive Fire or Bayonets without Confuſion. And their ſerving at the ſame Time on Foot and on Horſeback, gives them manifeſtly the Advantage over our Dragoons, who can do but the one, or the other. Nor can I omit the prudent Oeconomy with which Mr. *Rich* has made his Levies; there being, (I think) but two Officers to each Corps, tho' doubtleſs he was ſollicited by many Members of this Houſe for Commiſſions. And I hear too, that they are paid by the uſual Pay-Maſter, tho' he was extreamly preſs'd to create a new Office for that Purpoſe.

This Army, as I am credibly inform'd, would not have appear'd upon ſo inconſiderable a Theatre, had Mr. *Rich*'s publick-ſpirited Propoſal taken Place; for he firſt offer'd them to the Ad———n for the Uſe of the Publick: But upon Condition, indeed, that they ſhould be employ'd abroad, particularly in the *Weſt-Indies*, where he apprehended that this new and Centaur Army might ſcatter the ſame Terror among the preſent *Spaniards*, as their Fire-Arms did formerly among the *Indians* their Predeceſſors.

Tho' Mr. *Rich* was thank'd for his loyal and generous Offer, he was told at the ſame Time (as the Malecontents give out) that it could not be accepted upon thoſe Conditions, for that there was no Deſign of acting offenſively Abroad, eſpecially in *America*, which would either exaſperate Matters, and retard a wiſh'd for Accommodation, or would procure ſuch a Treaty, as would neceſſarily diſgrace the laſt Convention. Under theſe Diſcouragements, Mr. *Rich* reſolv'd to employ his new rais'd Forces, in the ſame Manner as our n——l Troops are employ'd, and exhibit them as a Show to the Publick. To this Accident, Prince *Volſcius* and Prince *Prettyman* owe thoſe excellent Bodies of Troops, which they now with ſo much Luſtre and Safety command.

I ſhould reproach myſelf, if I did not do Mr. *Fleetwood* the Juſtice to inform the Publick upon this Occaſion, that he was by no Means behind-hand with his Competitor Mr. *Rich*. Nay, I am not ſure, if he did not even go beyond him. For he had raiſed a conſiderable Body of Marines, mounted upon Sea-Horſes, which he offer'd to ſwim to any appointed Place in the *Weſt-Indies*, without the Trouble or Expence of Tranſports. But, I am told, his Offer was declin'd, pretty much in the ſame Manner, and for the ſame Reaſons as the former, with this additional one, that the not wanting of Tranſport-Ships was an Objection, inſtead of a Recommendation; becauſe that in Caſe any Troops were ſent Abroad, the hiring and the victualling of the Tranſports was already promis'd to the Couſin-German of a Brother-in-Law of a Parliament-Man. What Uſe Mr. *Fleetwood* now intends to turn this excellent Body of Marines to, is not yet known. Poſſibly he may exhibit a *Naumachia*, after the Manner of the *Romans*, where theſe Forces may diſtinguiſh themſelves; which indeed is the more to be wiſh'd, that the Annals of theſe Times may at leaſt tranſmit to Poſterity one Naval Action, in which the natural Strength, and true Spirit of this Country may appear.

I confeſs I cannot conceive why the generous Offers of theſe two Gentlemen were refuſed. What Harm would there be in having a good Body of Land-Forces on board our Squadrons in the *Weſt-Indies*? I ſee none. Nay, I'll go further; would there be any great Harm, if, by making a Deſcent in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, we acquir'd ſome uſeful Poſſeſſions there, that would ſecure our Trade to us for the future? I admit it might exaſperate Matters

a little for a Time, but that Acrimony would ſoon ſubſide, and we might poſſibly have a Peace both the better, and the ſooner for it. And that in that Caſe the Peace would be too good a one, and diſgrace the laſt Convention, does not ſeem to me to be a ſolid Objection; for I do not ſee that any Succeſs ties us down to make a better Peace than we have a Mind to, ſince thoſe who have it in their Power to make as good a one as they will, have it, *a Fortiori*, in their Power to make as bad a one as they pleaſe. As for diſgracing the Convention, it is impoſſible; the Convention is invulnerable, it is ſecure in its own Virtue, and will ſtand upon its own Merits, as long as the Records of Time ſhall tranſmit to Poſterity the Memory of Treaties, Conventions, Acts, *Proteſts* and Declarations.

Craftſman, Dec. 22. N° 702.

MR. *D'Anvers*, in this Paper, conſiders a Point, which, he ſays, has often been explain'd before, *viz.* whether the People have not a Right, by our Conſtitution, to petition or inſtruct their Repreſentatives, in Oppoſition to thoſe, who, to ſerve a particular Purpoſe, have reviv'd that vile and corrupt Doctrine, that they have no Right ſo to do, upon any Occaſion whatever. A Repetition of the ſame Objections, he ſays, requires a Repetition of the ſame Anſwers, which muſt be his Apology for troubling the Reader again upon ſo trite a Subject. We ſhall therefore only take Notice of his Concluſion.

I ſhall conclude (ſays he) with recommending *Unanimity* to my Countrymen. May we always be unanimous in eſtabliſhing our *Liberties at home*, and defending our Rights againſt *foreign Invaders!* May *Placemen* concur in making a Law to limit *their own Number* in the *Houſe of Commons*, ſo generally deſired by the Nation! May we all be unanimous in carrying on *this War*, ſo juſtly begun, with Prudence and Vigour! May no ſecret Attempts be ever made to incenſe the *Crown* againſt the *People*, or to alienate the Affections of the *People* from the *Crown!* May *his preſent Majeſty* and *his Poſterity* evermore govern this Iſland, both as *mighty Monarchs* and as *tender Fathers*; and may they meet with grateful Returns from a *dutiful People!* May the Throne be always ſurrounded with *Counſellors*, endow'd with Prudence, Wiſdom, and Fortitude! May they always have in View the *true Intereſt of their Country*, preferably to their *own private Gains!* May the Nation be unanimous to chace *Corruption* from the Kingdom; and may it be as unanimouſly abhorr'd as a *loathſome Leper!* And, laſtly, may the *Arms of* England, both now and for ever, be ſucceſsful, when they have ſo *good a Cauſe* to defend!

P. S. It having been mention'd, in one of laſt *Wedneſday*'s Papers, that there would be a *Call of the Houſe*, towards the Middle of *January*, we are aſſur'd by very good Authority that it is now determin'd to have no *ſuch Call*, according to the *uſual Method*—But as ſome Points, of the greateſt Importance to the *Liberties of this Nation*, are expected to come under Conſideration, ſoon after the *Receſs of Parliament*; it is to be hop'd that the natural Calls of *Juſtice*, *Honour*, and *Conſcience*, will induce every Gentleman, who hath any Regard for the Intereſt of his Country, to come up, and execute the *Truſt* repoſed in him; or if there ſhould be in any ſo negligent of their Duty as to abſent themſelves, they ought to be ferreted out of their *Boroughs* by *thoſe*, who elected them, or not continued again in the *ſame Truſt*. I believe very few of *theſe Gentlemen*, would care to have their *Names* publiſh'd, as hath been frequently done upon the like Occaſions—This is mention'd with no other View than to give a freſh Inſtance of my Loyalty to *his Majeſty*, and Regard for the *preſent moſt excellent Adminiſtration*; for if the *Houſe* ſhould be as thin after the *Holidays*, as it is now (when not much above *one third of the Members* give their Attendance, and thoſe chiefly *Placemen*,) what Sanction can *ſuch a partial Approbation* give to any *publick Meaſures*, relating either to *War* or *Peace?*

Inſtructions to John Drummond, *Eſq*; *Repreſentative in Parliament for* Dundee.

WE the Dean of Guild, Merchants, Incorporations, and other Inhabitants of the Town of *Dundee*, being thoroughly ſenſible of the too great Number of *Placemen* and *Penſioners* at preſent in the Houſe of Commons, which if not timouſly provided againſt, may totally ſubvert our happy Conſtitution, as it intirely depends upon the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament*, deſire you will, in Conjunction with ſuch worthy Patriots as ſhall be willing, uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to promote a *Bill for limiting their Numbers*. And being by Experience convinc'd of the bad Effects of *long Parliaments*, further recommend that you join theſe Patriots in obtaining a Law for bringing them to their *true and antient Conſtitution*. Theſe being Matters of the higheſt Concern to the Nation, we require you to make them previous Steps to the voting for any *Money-Bill whatever*. Hitherto you have knowingly acted in *direct Oppoſition to our Sentiments*, with regard to *Septennial Parliaments*, the pernicious *Exciſe Scheme*, and the *late diſhonourable Convention with* Spain; yet we put it once more in your Power to re-eſtabliſh yourſelf in the good Opinion of *your Conſtituents*. And tho' it is known to us that the *Magiſtrates* and *Town Council* have inſtructed you, ſome Time ago, to the ſame Purpoſe, we ſhould be wanting to ourſelves, if we omitted theſe Means of ſhewing you the general Senſe of the *Place*. DAMON

DAMON *to the* LOOREE. *An* ANACREONTICK ODE. *Inſcrib'd to Mrs.*——

MY pretty bird! who wou'd not be,
By art awhile, transform'd to thee?
Not that I ſo much admire,
Thy neck, and breaſt, ſtuck o'er with fire;
Nor thy wings, of gold and green,
Nor thy eyes, ſo bright and keen.
Charms indeed! but all too weak;
Such exchange I ne'er wou'd make:
Ne'er wou'd loſe man's form for this,
No, 'tis far ſuperior bliſs.
'Tis the nectar that thou ſips,
From the fair *Eliza*'s lips:
'Tis the praiſe by her beſtow'd,
Sweeter ſounds from tongue ne'er flow'd:
'Tis that you're careſs'd and fed,
Made the partner of her bed;
(Scene of all celeſtial joys,
Bliſs divine! that never cloys;)
Treated with the greateſt care,
By the faireſt of the fair:
That makes *Damon* wiſh to be,
O happy bird! transform'd to thee.

ODE *on Miſs* V——'s *Birth-Day.*

ANOTHER year is roll'd away:
Again returns thy natal day;
Thy beauties, now, matur'd by time,
And all thy charms are in their prime.

So in the month of *June*, the roſe,
Brighteſt of all the garden ſhows;
The flowers around, in vain compare:
It blooms, like thee, ſupremely fair.

And long may all thy beauties laſt,
Preſerv'd from every nipping blaſt!
And long may gracious heaven ſhed
Its choiceſt bleſſings on thy head!

O charmer! mayſt thou never know
Tormenting cares, nor weeping woe!
But may each ſmiling hour preſent
Calm happineſs, and rich content.

A length of years, from youth to age,
Exempt from fickle fortune's rage,
In health and pleaſure mayſt thou paſs,
Till time preſents the finiſh'd glaſs.

Durham, Sept. 20. C. CO——E.
1739.

In Imitation of an ODE *in* HORACE.

Nullus Argento Color eſt, &c.

NO beauty is, my friend, in gold,
Or taſte in the rich winy juice;
Unleſs your bowl be free to friends,
And gold refin'd by gen'rous uſe.

Let miſers hoard their ſordid wealth
In mine-like heaps, and wiſh for more;
You ſcorn their ſhrunk-up, ſneaking ſouls,
And hate the hidden golden ore.

Eternity on its ſtrong wing
Shall bear good *Proculeius*' fame;
No time ſhall e'er his act conceal,
Or give to death his glorious name.

Leſs brother by his blood, than deed,
He made a brother's caſe his own;
Becauſe he knew what want might prompt,
And the proud, ſupercilions frown.

Greater's the empire of the ſoul,
Than of the diſtant, ſpicy lands;
The nobleſt hero is the man,
Who his own mod'rate mind commands.

Shou'd you extend your empire wide,
To ſandy *Lybia*'s ſun-burnt ſhore;
You ſtill, by luxury, might be,
Or mean, inſatiate av'rice, poor.

Thus ſhou'd th' hydropic, feav'riſh wretch
Drink up the tempting, cryſtal ſpring;
Not all its purling ſtreams cou'd quench
His thirſt, and healthful pleaſure bring.

Phraates from his country driv'n,
Regain'd his throne by force and guilt;
He valued not, for boundleſs pow'r,
What gen'rous patriot-blood he ſpilt.

But tho' the populace may crown
A tyrant, fool, or bloody knave;
Juſt virtue gives the diadem,
Not to the mad, but good and brave.

That man's a king, a demi-god,
Who can with ſteadineſs deſpiſe,
In virtue's cauſe, the *Spaniſh* mines,
Shou'd all their brightneſs tempt his eyes.

J. DINSDALE.

HEALTH *and* CONTENT. *A* SOLILOQUY.
[*Continued from Page* 619.]

WHatever ills, in this ſhort life, befal me,—
In moſt ſubmiſſive manner may I bear 'em;
Knowing, that tribulation worketh patience,
Patience experience, and experience hope.
As for the good things of this temp'ral life,—
I know, they profit not, when not improv'd:
Not rightly us'd, they rather do us harm.
Godlineſs, with contentment, is great gain:
For, as we nothing brought into the world,
'Tis certain, we can carry nothing out.
Contented minds, a little will ſuffice:
Raiment and *food* is all we really want.
Not who has much,—but he that has enough,
Is rich:—the man is poor that covets more.
I aſk not riches, Lord, *nor wealth, nor honour,*
The life of enemies, nor yet long life.
Wiſdom and knowledge for myſelf I aſk;
And, for my *foes*, thy merciful forgiveneſs:
Of thy great mercy, all our needs ſupply.
O! *give me neither poverty, nor riches*;
But *feed me*, Lord, *with food convenient for me*:
And, *in whatever* low *eſtate, I am*,
May I ſtill *learn therewith to be content.*
How do *the riches of thy grace* exceed,—

How mightily tranſcend all worldly treaſure!
An *inoffenſive conſcience*, how ſurpaſs
The moſt robuſt and vig'rous conſtitution!
In all *the ſorrows* of my downcaſt *heart*,
May *thy* ſweet *comforts* ſtill *refreſh my ſoul*.
For, O! whate'er betides,—*great peace have they*,
That love thy law; *and nothing ſhall offend 'em*.
Yea, *thou wilt keep him, Lord, in perfect peace*,
Whoſe faithful *mind is* ever *ſtay'd on thee*.
Oft *have I ſeen an end of all perfection*:
But thy commandment is exceeding broad.
May I ſtill make theſe *oracles divine*
My ſtudy, my delight, my counſellors;
And *meditate* thereon, both *day and night*.
For, *whatſoever things*, we therein meet with,
All, all, no doubt, *were written for our learning*,
(O good and gracious end!) *that we thro patience*,
And comfort of the ſcriptures, might have hope.
Thus *ſhalt thou guide me*, Lord, *with thy* ſweet *counſel*;
And, after that, receive me into *glory*.
As for my great, and numberleſs tranſgreſſions,—
Blot 'em,—O thou all-good, all-gracious Being!
Out of the fearful *book of thy remembrance*:
And *purify* my *carnal heart by faith*.
In fine,—by ev'ry thing, that now befals me,
Wean me, dear Lord, from this vain, worthleſs world.
Raiſe thou my grov'ling mind; *a conſtant ſpirit*
Renew within me, Lord! and regulate
My wandring thoughts, affections, and deſires.
Thou know'ſt the ſureſt way to make me happy:
I know, that *thou*, my *God*, art *infinite*
In *mercy*, *wiſdom*, and in *loving-kindneſs*.
O! may I therefore make thy bleſſed will,
In ev'ry thing, my choice and ſatisfaction;
And, with a prudent zeal, promote thine honour.
Be this my conſtant care, while this ſhort life
Shall laſt:—and when my death approaches, give
Thy holy angels charge to ſtand about me.
May they receive my *ſoul*, at her departure,—
Guard, and conduct it to the bleſſed regions
Of reſt and peace!—here, there, (eternal *Jeſu!*)
To wait thy coming, Lord!—and then partake of
Th' unutterable glories of thy kingdom!

R. DARWALL.

HAPPINESS *and* GRANDEUR *never* COMPANIONS, *An irregular Ode.*

1.

ALAS! my ſoul ignobly flow'd,
With the ſtrong current of a crowd,
Nar dar'd ſhe call her thoughts her own,
So chain'd were they to grandeur's throne;
For ſure, ſhe cry'd, 'that man's poſſeſt
'Of bliſs! that wears upon his breaſt
'The glitter of a ſtar,
'Or lolling in his car
'Sees a long train (tho' giddy fools,
'And ſteel'd to reaſon's better rules)
'Stand gazing as he thunders by,
'To ſhout his ſwelling honours to the diſtant ſky.

2.

But now I ſpurn the fatal chain,
And aim at *reaſon* once again,
And mounted on its wings,
I ſearch with nice unerring view,
The various ranks of mortals thro',
And find that *happineſs* has rear'd its ſacred ſeat,
On a cold tuft of graſs, or cottage's retreat,
And cautiouſly avoids the pomp, and pageantry of kings.

3.

Not all the guards that crowd the palace-gate,
Or thicken round the gilded coach of ſtate,
Can, either with their arms or liveries, fright
Fear, the pale offſpring of the gloomy night,
From hov'ring round their maſter's breaſt;
When he aſcends his radiant throne,
And calls a bending world his own,
Fear ſtains the radiant ſcene, and bars each thought of reſt.

4.

Over the di'mond's varying rays,
And o'er the ſceptre's awful blaze,
Let *fear* her ſadd'ning ſhade extend,
The dazling glories in a moment end:
Let her but light upon the figur'd roof,
Or let the *fury* bold
Settle upon a buſt of gold;
Not all the violence of arms,
Nor ſweet perſuaſion's gentle charms,
Can court her from her ſeat, or drive the clinging harpy off.

5.

Then while the vital lamp ſhall hold to burn,
And heav'n renews with oil the vital urn,
From grandeur's ſhining ſcenes I'd ſhape my way,
Swift as a morning active ray,
And in ſome unfrequented cave,
Gloomy and awful as the grave,
Waſte out remaining life; nor think it long,
If heav'n ſhou'd ſtretch my ſpan,
To threeſcore years and ten,
If happineſs on each revolving moment hung.

MYRTILLO.

On the late Falling-out at T—y C—ge, D—n.

F—*R*, proceed, and ape *Iſcariot*,
Nor mind, tho' peeviſh wits upbraid,
That each prov'd villain in his claret,
And dipping in the diſh betray'd.
Poor *Judas* for his puniſhment
Relenting dy'd upon a tree;
F—r will hang and ne'er repent,
Nor yet return the informing fee.
Or ſhould the villain e'er reſtore
The bribe, by blackeſt treaſon won,
Our *Caiaphas* would count it o'er,
And buy a field for *Dolly*'s ſon.

D——n, Nov. 24, 1739.

In

In Ducem Marlburienſem, Heroa vehementer deſideratum.

HEnricus potuit Gallorum vincere gentem,
Atque armis merito Gallia clara fuit.
Vincere qui totum bello ſperaverat orbem,
Marlburio Lodoix vindice bella timet.

ODE.

FELIX, potitur numine qui ſuo:
Non pertimeſcit fulmina nubibus
Eliſa magno cum fragore,
Non maris horriſoni tumultum.

Clivum beatum ſcilicet arduæ
Virtutis olim ſcandere non piger,
Ardenſque honeſto, nec labores,
Nobile nec refugit periclum:

Hoſtes ſed audax per medios ruit,
Ad arma cives patria ſi vocat,
Et morte quos ambit, decoros
Degener haud renuit triumphos.

Nam pulchra neſcit pallida funera
Virtus, & udam ſpernit humum fugax,
Chroriſque ſtellarum refulgens
Enitet, haud moritura cœlo.

Fallorne? Bombis quaſſa tonantibus
Iberi an hoſtis littora congemunt,
Uritque naves Mars cruentas,
Fulmineo furit atque nimbo?

Quo te perenni carmine munerem?
Haddoce! cujus commovet efficax
Virtutis exemplum Britannos,
Atque decus renovat duellis.

Si noſtra quidquam, te rutilis choris,
Cantu valebit Pieris, inferam,
Et navis in cœlo coruſcans
Lumine multiplici micabit.

J. DINSDALE.

The RHYTHMICAL RANT. *Or, a frolickſome Introduction to a new Set of* FABLES.

A NEAT, facetious *fable*,
Wrote by a writer able,—
Or merry *tale* well-told, will,
Wiſe *maxims*, not unfold ill.
Great is the force of *jingle*,
If *ſenſe* with *ſound* we mingle;
Or, when both *rhyme* and *reaſon*
Unite in proper ſeaſon.
Grave *dons* may, with wry faces,
And ſcornful, ſour grimaces,
Condemn theſe labour'd *rhymings*,
And *Hudibraſtick chimings*.
But this won't prove,—(I'm in hopes,)
The man is—*mentis inops*,
That proſtitutes his pen thus,
As well t' amuſe, as mend us;
Or, that they're quite gone off it,
Who thus both pleaſe, and profit.
The good *dean* of *St. P—tr—k's*
Oft plays this ſort of mad tricks,
With gen'ral approbation,
From this, and t'other nation.
Gay's pretty, ſhort romances,
And ſweet, fictitious fancies,
Inculcate various virtues,
And charmingly divert us.
Folly we find, and vice, here
Expos'd,—to make us wiſer;
And, leſſons of great prudence,
May learn, in merry mood, hence.
I own, 'tis vaſtly ſhocking,
To ſee *toads axes* mocking.
Well may I, too, be blamed,
And very much aſhamed,
To counterfeit, with coarſe head,
The clever *bards* aforeſaid.
Who mimick ſuch great men, ſure,
Muſt meet with no ſmall cenſure.
When *Hero's* croſs the ſtage, in
A manner moſt engaging;—
Or, when melodious verſes
Some charming voice rehearſes;
No doubt, he wondrous weak is,
Who,—*paſſibus non æquis*,—
Precipitately follows,
And hoarſly whoops, and holla's,
To come thus hobbling after,
Does but occaſion laughter.
How more befitting is it
For ſuch, to be leſs buſy'd;
And learn a courſe more mod'rate,
Than go on, at this odd rate:—
To reſt, in manner humble,
Than riſe, and—down to tumble?
But,—maugre all objections,
And malapert reflexions,—
Tho' better 'twere to ſit ſtill,
Yet *fools* will aim at *wit* ſtill;
Apes will be imitating,
And *ſimpletons* oft prating:
They'll write in ſtrain moſt aukward,
And grin, and laugh, and talk hard;
And *coxcombs*—(come what will on't,)
Scarce ever have their fill on't.
Write then I muſt,—and write will,
Tho' all ſhou'd ſay, I write ill.
Scribendi cacoëthes
Is urgent; and (i'faith!) has
Determin'd me to ſcrattle,
And rhyme, and rave, and rattle.
Upon the ſtage thus enters
My muſe, at all adventures.
Perhaps, ſome formal perſons
May freely throw aſperſions;
Condemn my want of breeding,
And *manner* of proceeding.
Others, my *ſubject-matter*,
With cenſure may beſpatter;—
My method call quite antick,
Too vulgar, wild, and frantick.
But, ſure,—for all this pudder,—
Eſt bonus lucri odor,
From *whatſoe'er* it riſes,
Or *whoſoe'er* deſpiſes.

Your

Your *emp'ricks* find great good in
A quaint, jocoſe *jack-pudding*.
Each *powder*, *pill*, and *plaiſter*
Goes off by much the faſter,
While *pickled-herring* ſhows his
Queer trieks, and *hands* the *doſes*.
And who can tell, but I too
May, in like ſort, invite you?
Tho' I a writer bad am,
Good *ſir!*—or, gracious *madam!*
(For this addreſs both made is
To *gentlemen*, and *ladies*.)
I ſay,—who knows, but I, ſir,
May teach you to be wiſer;
And give to you, ſir,—and you,—
More help, than *merry andrew*,
Thro this my *motley metre*,
Than *pois'nous drug*, much ſweeter.
Such policy were needleſs,
Were readers not ſo heedleſs.
But, if a man ben't giddy,
Farewel, at once, they'll bid ye.
Grave lines—(*expertus loquor*,)
Now grown a perfect joke are.
This ſeems a contradiction:
But, faith! it is no fiction.
The taſte, I grant, is oddiſh;
Howe'er, 'tis vaſtly modiſh.
This point I'm not deceiv'd in,
Kind *criticks!*—by your leave then.
For, tho' my judgment weak is, yet
To *play the fool* ſeems requiſite:
Since wild *extravaganza's*
Pleaſe more than ſacred *ſtanza's*;—
And uſeful things, if ſerious,
Full oft are found to weary us.
'Tis poſſible, ſome one, ſtraight,
May rudely thus remonſtrate,
And cry;—'pray, hold your rattle,
'And ceaſe your ſenſeleſs prattle;
'Nor, with your *bells*, (dear *Jingle*,)
'Make thus our ears to tingle.
'Fie on't!—thou clumſy *chimer*,—
'Thou raw, raſh, *ranting rhimer!*
'Hark ye, my boy!—I tell you,
'(Poor, filthy, fiddling fellow:)
'Your *lyre* is unpoetick,
'Your *ſtrains* downright—*emetick*.
'Nay, prithee now! friend *Sturdy*,
'Scrape not that *hurdy-gurdy* *.
'Suppreſs, for ſhame! thoſe ſounds ill:
'Come! liſten to good counſel.—
'*A fool* may, whilſt he is *dumb*,
'Be thought to have ſome *wiſdom*.'
Sage ſir!—I thank you heartily;
But yet muſt (if I dare,) tell ye,—
Tho' you'll not like this anſwer,—
That I ſhan't hold my hand, ſir.
What!—tho' my *ears* betray me,
Or rueful *voice* bewray me,
May not good luck attend us?—
(No doubt, it now and then does;)
And, my rough verſe adminiſter
Advice, by no means, ſiniſter?
Sometimes the verieſt *elf*,—yea
Such even as *myſelf*, may—
(And why not then my *muſe* too?
Tho' lofty flights not us'd to,
And rhyming ill befits her,)—
Impart to wiſe men,—*wit*, ſir.

P. JINGLE.

VERSES, *occaſion'd by the* Sight *of an ingenious Piece of* moving Machinery; *call'd* MERLIN IN MINIATURE.

INimitable *artiſt!* whoſe *deep* thought
To full perfection this *machine* has brought;
Where hadſt thou ſuch *unfathomable* ſkill,
To make its motion *ſubject* to thy *will?*
How well do *nature's* works and *thine* agree?
In *both* what ſtrange *phænomena* we ſee?
Their *cauſes* hid alike, in dark *obſcurity*.
Come, ye *minute philoſophers*, who well,
From mere *mechanic principles*, can tell
What guides the *planets* courſes in the ſky;
Whence *winds* obtain the wings on which they fly;
What makes the *ſluggiſh earth* its reſt forſake,
And round the ſun an annual *voyage* take;
Whence ev'ry *ſtar* has *force* to dart its rays,
Thro' miles *ten millions* in *one* minute's ſpace;
The *needle's* virtue, and the *magnet's* pow'r;
The *tide's* returning to a ſtated hour;
The eſſence, form and properties of *light*;
The *fire's* expanſive force, and *air's* incumbent weight.
Ye! who ſo many *miracles* unfold,
This *work* of admirable *art* behold;
This *Merlin*; ſee, *he moves*, can you *deviſe*
The *cauſe* from whence the motion muſt *ariſe?*
A *cauſe* from *vulgar* eyes with eaſe conceal'd;
But you have *myſt'ries* more abſtruſe reveal'd;
This *ſecret*, then, why can you not impart?
Are ye who conquer *nature*, pos'd by *art?*
Strange! ye who teach the *origin* of *things*,
Should not *conceive* whence *Merlin's* motion *ſprings?*
How juſtly may we ſmile at your *pretenſe*
To *deeper* knowledge, and *ſublimer* ſenſe;
And bid you learn *humility* from *hence*.
This matchleſs *new machine*, ſo well deſign'd
To *pleaſe*, and *entertain*, the curious mind;
Has this one *uſeful property*, beſide,
To cure *conceit* and humble human *pride*.
But none, we hope, theſe lines will *miſ-explain*,
As tho' we *meant* to make all learning *vain*:
Not ſo; far from us ſuch *intention* be;
We love and honour *true philoſophy*.

THE

* *A certain, plain, unharmonious Inſtrument, conſiſting chiefly of a* Bladder *and* String.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 29th of last Month, the Committee for transacting the Affairs of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of *Exposed and Deserted young Children*, met according to their Notice, and approv'd of a Common Seal for the Use of the Corporation, which was, *Pharaoh*'s Daughter and her Maids finding *Moses* in the Ark of Bulrushes by the Brink of the River, round which is the following Inscription,

Sigillum Hospitii Infantum Expositorum Londinensis.

And after referring to some of their Members to consider and prepare Matters to lay before the next Committee, they adjourn'd to the 13th of *December*.

The said Committee consists of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, *viz.*

Duke of Bedford, *President:* Lord Vere Beauclerk, Sir Joseph Eyles, Micajah Perry, Esq; Martin Folkes, Esq; Peter Burrel, Esq; James Cook, Esq; *Vice Presidents:* Lewis Way, Esq; *Treasurer:* Dukes of Richmond, Montagu and Portland: Earls of Chesterfield, Cholmondeley and Wilmington: Viscounts Lonsdale, and Torrington: Lords Delawar, Gower, and Lovel: Mr. George Arnold, Dr. Benjamin Avery, Hon. James Brudenell, Esq; Mr. Roger Drake, Will. Fawkener, Esq; Sir Jos. Hankey, Tho. Hucks, Ri. Hollings, J. Hollister, Esqs; Mr. Theodore Jacobson, Sam. Lesingham, Esq; Sir James Lowther, Bart. Mr. James Martin, Dr. Mead, John Milner, Esq; Col. John Mordaunt, Dr. Nesbitt, Mr. Nathaniel Newnham, jun. Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq; Nathaniel Paice, Esq; Walter Plummer, Esq; Mr. Peter Sainthill, Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. Harry Spencer, Esq; Hon. James Vernon, Esq; Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wager, Anthony Walburge, Esq; Edward Walpole, Esq; Dr. Willmott, William Wollaston, Esq; and Mr. Thomas Coram.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders of the Shire of *Linlithgow* in *Scotland*, they agreed upon Instructions to be sent to *Alexander Hamilton*, of *Innerwick*, Esq; their Representative in Parliament, to use his utmost Endeavours to promote a Bill to limit the Number of *Placemen* in the House of Commons, and to use the same Endeavours to promote a Bill to shorten the Duration of Parliaments, &c.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 4.

Was held a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company, when it was agreed, that all the Bonds of that Company bearing Interest, which amounts to 95900 *l.* should be paid off at *Christmas*, the Interest to be allow'd on the said Bonds to the 25th of *March* next; and in case of an Emergency, the Court of Directors are empower'd by the said General Court to borrow any Sum or Sums of Money, not exceeding 65000 *l.*

Capt. *de Cara*, Commander of the *St. Joseph* Prize, and Father *Menica*, the *Dominican* Fryar taken on board the said Ship, were sent home to *Spain*.

MONDAY, 10.

The Drawing of the *Westminster* Bridge Lottery began this Day at *Stationers Hall*.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the following receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Susan Broom*, for the Murder of her Husband; *William Barkwith*, an Attorney, for robbing Mr. *Griffin* of 12*s.* on *Hounslow Heath*; *Charles Spinnel*, with *James Shield*, and *Tho. Dent*, his Sons-in-Law, for robbing some Higglers, in their Carts, near *Paddington*; *Joseph Eades*, for Horse-stealing, and a Robbery on the Highway; *Logblin Rennels*, for enlisting two Men into the *French* King's Service; and *Richard Turner*, for stealing Plate to the Value of 53*l.* 10*s.* belonging to *Arthur Barnard*, Esq; out of the Dwelling-House of Mr. *Haslop* in *Fleet-street*.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange* was brought to Bed of a Princess, at *Leewarden* in *Friseland*, who liv'd but half an Hour.

SUNDAY, 16.

Commodore *Faulkingham*, in the *Elizabeth*, with the *Prince of Orange*, *Sunderland*, *Superbe*, *Warwick*, and *Lyon*, and the Store Ships, &c. sail'd from thence to join Admiral *Haddock*.

THURSDAY, 20.

His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to,

An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty by a Land Tax of 4*s.* in the Pound, for the Year 1740.

An Act for continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*; and for granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, for the Service of the Year 1740.

An Act for the better Supply of Mariners and Seamen, to serve in his Majesty's Ships of War, and on board Merchant Ships and other trading Vessels and Privateers.

An Act for naturalizing *John George Liebenrood* and *Bartholomew-Christopher Lutyens*.

After

After which both Houſes of Parliament adjourn'd to *Tueſday*, *Jan.* 8.

FRIDAY, 21.

John Albin, *Edward Goynes*, *Elizabeth Harrard*, and *John Maw*, condemn'd in *September* Seſſions, (ſee p. 464.) and *William Barkwith*, *Suſannah Broom*, *Charles Spinnell*, *James Shield*, *Thomas Dent*, *Joſeph Eades*, and *Richard Turner*, condemn'd the laſt Seſſions, were this Day executed at *Tyburn*; *Suſannah Broom*, for the Murder of her Huſband, being drawn on a Hurdle, and burnt. *Hannings*, for inliſting a Man for the Service of the K. of *Pruſſia* (the only one condemn'd in *October* Seſſions) and *Rennels*, for inliſting two Men for the Service of the *French* King, and *Cardell* for a Street Robbery, were repriev'd for Tranſportation.

The following is an Account of the Number of Ships that are now in Commiſſion in his Majeſty's Service, *viz.*

Ships		Guns		Men
1	of	90	and	780
8		80		4865
12		70		5795
22		60		8815
25		50		7500
10		40		2500
18		20		2340
8	Storeſhips and Fireſhips			470
3	Bomb Sloops			210
14	Sloops			1000
7	Yatchs			257
1	Smack			30
129				34562

A General BILL *of all the Chriſtnings and Burials, from the 12th of* Dec. 1738, *to the 11th of* Dec. 1739. *According to the Report made to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

Chriſtned		Buried	
Males	8228	Males	12416
Females	7953	Females	13016
In all	16181	In all	25432

Decreaſed in the Burials this Year 393.

Died			
Under 2 Years of Age			9687
Between 2	and	5	2302
5	and	10	844
10	and	20	875
20	and	30	1866
30	and	40	2218
40	and	50	2378
50	and	60	2039
60	and	70	1421
70	and	80	1166
80	and	90	547
90	and	100	76

A Hundred 3. A Hundred and Two 4. A Hundred and Three 1. A Hundred and Four 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Eight 1. A Hundred and Ten 1. A Hundred and Thirty-Eight 1.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

THE Hon. *Charles Howard*, of *Greyſtock* in *Cumberland*, Eſq; to Miſs *Brockholes*.

Dr. *William Schaw*, an eminent Phyſician, to Miſs *Baldwin*, a 30,000*l.* Fortune.

Rev. Mr. *Pemberton*, Grandſon of the late Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, to Miſs *Barron*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.

Thomas Margrave, Eſq; of *Howden*, to Mrs. *Atkinſon*.

Samuel Parſons, of *Groſvenor-Street*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Wilſon*.

Rev. Mr. *Meyrick*, Son of *Owen Meyrick*, Eſq; Lieutenant of the County of *Angleſea*, to Mrs. *Jones*.

Rev. Dr. *Sayer*, Archdeacon of *Durham*, to Miſs *Potter*, eldeſt Daughter to his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Lieut. Gen. *Colombine* at *Gibraltar*, to Miſs *Maſters*, Daughter to the Judge Advocate in that Gariſon.

Rev. Mr. *William Pottle*, Rector of *Rygate*, and Minor Canon of St. *Paul*'s, to Miſs *Buſh* of *Eton*.

Capt. *Peters*, Sub-Brigadier of the third Troop of Horſe Guards, to Miſs *Drummond*, Daughter of Mr. *Drummond*, an eminent Banker at *Charing-Croſs*.

Henry Barker, of the *Grove* in *Chiſwick*, Eſq; to Miſs *Coventry*, Niece to the Earl of *Coventry*.

Counteſs of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

Hon. Mrs. *Temple*, Daughter of Sir *John Barnard*, and Wife to the Hon. Mr. *Temple*, Son and Heir to the Lord Viſcount *Palmerſton*, of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir *James Daſhwood*, Bart. Siſter to the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*, of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of *John Evelyn*, Eſq; of a Daughter.

Lady *Beauclerk*, Wife to Lord *Sidney Beauclerk*, Brother to the Duke of St. *Albans*, of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

JAMES, Lord *Compton*, only Son and Heir to the Earl of *Northampton*.

Maſter *Pelham*, (aged about 12) eldeſt Son to the Rt. Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; Brother to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; and the next Day his ſecond, and then only Son.

John Smith, Eſq; Rober to his Majeſty at the Houſe of Peers, and one of the chief Clerks in the New *Pell Office*.

At *Brampton*, Mr. *King*, Maſter of the *Vineyard* there, well known for having yearly made ſeveral Hogſheads of Wine.

Dr. *Robert Foulkes*, Dr. of the Civil Law.

In *Cheſhire*, Col. *Tho. Leigh*, of *Adlington*.

Lieut. Gen. *Nappier*, Commander in Chief

of the Forces in *Ireland*, under the Lord Visc. *Shannon*.

Mr. *Lethieullier*, formerly a great *Turky* Merchant; suddenly.

Paul Foley. Esq; Barrister at Law, second Son of *Paul Foley*, Esq; Speaker of the H. of Commons in K. *William*'s Reign.

The Lady of Sir *William Clayton*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Bletchingly* in *Surry*.

In *Scotland*, the Rt. Hon. *Francis* Earl of *Murray*, succeeded in Dignity and Estate by *James* Lord *Down*, his eldest Son.

Mr. *Gordon*, Professor of Musick at *Gresham-College*.

Master *George Lumley*, youngest Son of the Hon. Sir *Thomas Lumley Saunderson*, Knt. of the *Bath*.

Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Sterling*, a Peer of *Scotl.*

Mr. *Solomon Merritt*, one of the most considerable Merchants in the *Spanish* and *Straits* Trade.

Lady *Susan Hay*, Sister to the Marquess of *Tweedale*.

At *Dalkeith*, the Rt. Hon. *William Ramsay*, Earl of *Dalhousie*.

William Aspin, of *Bedfordshire*, Esq;

William Spincks, Esq; Son of the late Rev. Mr. *Spincks*, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

Capt. *Hall*, who behav'd with great Courage and Reputation in the Wars in the Reigns of K. *William* and Q. *Anne*; at the Battle of *Blenheim* he lost his Right Arm, and at the Battle of *Almanza* was found among the Slain, (almost expiring with his Wounds) by the Care of his Footman, who, as soon as the Battle was over, missing his Master, went in diligent Search of him; for which Capt. *Hall* settled 20*l*. a Year upon him.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *John Andrews*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Jeffryston* in *Pembrokeshire*.

Mr. *William Piggot*, to the Rectory of *Edgemont* in *Shropshire*, in the Room of his Father, deceas'd.

Mr. *Tunstall*, B. D. and Fellow of St. *John*'s *College*, *Cambridge*, to the Rectory of *Sturmer* in *Essex*.

Thomas Chamberlayne, D. D. made Dean of *Bristol*, void by the Resignation of Dr. *Crefwicke*.

Mr. *Barnston*, M. A. Prebendary of *Chester*, appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

Mr. *Cookfey* and Mr. *Lane*, chosen Morning Lecturers of St. *Antholin*'s.

Mr. *John Kirkby*, to the Vicarage of *Warder-share*.

Mr. *Samuel Yates*, to the Rectory of *Clowne* in *Derbyshire*.

Mr. *Gregory Synderfome*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Symondsbury* in *Dorsetshire*.

Mr. *Villiers*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Sunbury* in *Middlesex*.

Mr. *Francis Squire*, Rector of *Exford* and Vicar of *Cutcombe* and *Luxborough*, in *Somersetshire*, admitted Chancellor and Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Wells*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

RIGHT Hon. *John* Earl of *Crawford* made Colonel of a Regiment of Foot to be forthwith raised for his Majesty's Service.

Charles Hanbury-Williams, Esq; made Paymaster of the Marine Regiments.

Right Hon. *Thomas* Viscount *Weymouth* made Keeper of *Hyde-Park*, in the room of the Earl of *Essex*.

Right Hon. *John* Lord *Hobart* made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Norfolk*, and of the City of *Norwich* and County of the same, and also Custos Rotulorum for the said County and City.

John Arscott, Esq; made Commissary General of the Marine Regiments and Companies raised or to be raised for his Majesty's Service.

John Aldercron made Major to the Royal Regiment of Fuzileers, commanded by Major General *William Hargrave*.

Right Hon. the Earl of *Pomfret* declar'd Constable of the *Tower* of *London*.

Charles Clarke, Esq; chose Knight of the Shire for the County of *Huntington*.

Penyston Powney, Esq; unanimously elected Knight of the Shire for the County of *Berks*.

—— *Blagrave*, Esq; chose a Representative for *Reading* in the County of *Berks*.

Right Hon. *Edward Southwell*, Esq; for the City of *Bristol*, by a Majority of 443 Votes of Mr. *Combe*, the other Candidate.

The following is a LIST of the several Field-Officers and Captains in the Six New Regiments of Marines.

First Regiment. Col. Wolf, Lieut. Col. Cotterel, Major Watson: Tho. Keene, —— Dawson, Henry Harris, —— Mc. Lean, —— Burrard, —— Howard, —— Baldwyn, *Captains*: —— Corbet, Captain Lieutenant.

Second Regiment. Col. Robinson, Lieut. Col. Thompson, Major Gregg: —— Gwynn, —— Norray, John Aston, —— Gascoigne, —— Hutchinson, —— Ellison, —— Gibson, *Captains*: —— Caterlawdey, Capt. Lieut.

Third Regiment, Col. Lowther, Lieut. Col. Frazer, Major Edmondson: Henry Robinson, —— Kinaston, —— Hinks, —— Tryan, —— Gwynn, —— Floyd, —— Whitwick, *Captains*: —— John Stewart, Capt. Lieut.

Fourth Regiment. Col. Wynyard, Lieut. Col. Lord Elibank, Major Hulk: —— Meyrick, James Urquhart, —— Aston, —— England, —— St. Maurice, Lord Maitland, —— Reade, *Captains*: —— Boyle, Capt. Lieut.

Fifth Regiment. Col. Douglas, Lieut. Col. Cochran, Major Druroure: Alex. Balfour, — Chambers, John Lee, — Adair, — Griffith, — Killigrew, — Wentworth, *Captains*: William Brathwayt, Capt. Lieut.

Sixth Regiment. Col. Morton, Lieut. Col. Blagrave, Major Mc. Laud: Peter Donaif,—Adair, George Jackson, John Lind, John Hay,—Leighton, *Captains*:—Brown, Capt. Lieut.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Ireland*, of *Lambeth*, Victualler.—*Will. Roper*, of the Parish of St. *Luke*, *Middlesex*, Taylor.—*Tho. Harding*, of *East Greenwich*, Tanner.—*Rob. Blundell*, of *Bishopsgate-street*, Grocer.—*John Parr*, of St. *Paul Covent-Garden*, Victualler.——*Norton Bowles*, of *Friday-street*, Sugar-Baker.—*Joseph Hambleton*, of *Lambeth*, Refiner.—*John Brettell* the Elder, of *Halesowen*, in *Salop*, Malster.—*Claudius Passavant*, and *John Ulric Passavant*, of *Exon*, Merchants and Partners.—*John Moore*, of *Nightingale-lane*, Brewer.—*Geo. Else*, late of *Threadneedle-street*, Cabinet-maker.—*Benj. Hammatt*, of *Wivelscombe*, *Somersetshire*, Mercer.—*Rich. Leach*, of *Whitechapel*, Victualler.—*Dan. Quare*, of *Goodman's-fields*, Merchant.—*Will. Hilder*, of St. *Michael*, *Cornhill*, Goldsmith.—*John Wingfield*, of *Tooting* in *Surry*, Callico Printer.—*John Seager*, late of *Bewdley*, Grocer.—*Sam. Lane*, of the *Strand*, Haberdasher of Hats.—*Fra. Button*, of *Grub-street*, Grocer.—*James Todd*, of *Amersham*, Linen-Draper.—*James Hobson*, late of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, Cabinet-maker.—*Anne Drake*, of *Snow-hill*, Widow, Tobacconist.—*John Hunt*, late of *London-Bridge*, Cutler.—*Will. Swindells*, the Younger, late of *Disley-Stanley*, *Cheshire*, Innholder.—*John Mackubin*, of St. *Bartholomew the Great*, *London*, Dealer.—*Moore Doughty*, of *Fish-street Hill*, Apothecary.—*Vallesius Walker* of St. *James*, *Westminster*, Chapman and Dealer.—*John Hewlett*, of St. *Giles in the Fields*, Carpenter.—*John Derway*, of *Abbingdon*, *Berks*, Mercer and Warehouseman.—*Tho. Bourne*, of *Ludgate-street*, Vintner.—*Wilkinson Brathwaite*, of *Thames-street*, Wine-Cooper.—*Will. Rogers*, late of *Basinghall-street*, Carpenter.—*John Millson*, late of St. *Mary-le-Bone*, Brewer and Victualler.—*Rob. Finch*, of *Castle-Alley*, *London*, Haberdasher of Hats.—*Will. Williams*, of *Poole*, Rope-maker.—*Edward Coulthard*, of *Carlisle*, Merchant and Grocer.—*Asabel Mason*, of St. *Thomas the Apostle*, *London*, Jeweller.—*James Phillips*, of *Gournall*, *Staffordshire*, Ironmonger.—*Tho. Gardner*, now or late of *Bridgewater*, Mercer and Linendraper.—*Rob. Hardcastle*, of St. *Mary Le bone*, *Middlesex*, Mason.—*John Grover*, of St. *Clement's Danes*, Vintner.—*Cha. Roy*, otherwise *King*, of the *Old Artillery Ground*, *London*, Weaver.—*John Lomax*, late of *Glorybutts*, in the Parish of *Bury*, in *Lancashire*, and *Rich. Ashworth*, late of *Brockclough*, in the said County, Chapmen and Partners.—*John Trendar*, of *Christ-Church*, *Middlesex*, Butcher.—*Tho. Horn*, of *Old Swan Lane*, *London*, Cutler.—*Charles Ashburn*, of *Gotswell-street*, Salesman.—*Tho. Roxbee*, late of the *Soke* near *Winchester*, Chapman.—*Will. Sparrow*, of *Sudbury*, *Suffolk*, Staymaker.—*James Bradley*, late of *Bromyard*, *Herefordshire*, Mercer.—*James Bush*, of *Tower-street*, Watchmaker.—*Tho. Louch*, of St. *James*, *Westminster*, Butcher.—*John Rix*, of *Bury St. Edmund's*, *Woolstapler*.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 97½		*Afric.* 13½	
—*Bonds* 13*s.* Prem.		*Royal Ass.* 88	
—*Anna.* 1 10		*Lon. ditto* 11	⅛
Bank 139		3 *per C. An.* 100	
—*Circ.* 2*l.* 15*s.*		*Salt Tallies* ½ a 1	¼
Mil. Bank 113		*Emp. Loan* 110	¾
India 159		*Equiv.* 112	⅛
—*Bonds* 4*l.* 7*s.*		*Lot. Tick.* 6*l.* 15*s.*	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 9	2½28	*Bilboa* 39¼	
D. Sight 35 5	½	*Leghorn* 49⅛ a 49	
Rotter. 35 11	a 10	*Genoa* 52⅛ a 52	
Hamb. 34 5	2½a4	*Venice* 50	
P. Sight 31	2/6 a ⅛	*Lisb.* 5*s* 5*d* a	1/16
Bourdx. 31	⅛	*Oport.* 5*s* 4*d* ½ a	⅜
Cadiz 39	⅞ a 40	*Antw.* 36 5	
Madrid 39	⅞	*Dublin* 8⅛	

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29 35	*Oats*	12 15
Rye	14 17	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 18	*Pease*	21 29
H. Beans	16 23	*H. Pease*	16 18
P. Malt	19 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Nov.* 29. to *Dec.* 25.

Christned	Males 718	Females 719	1437
Buried	Males 1119	Females 1407	2526
Died under 2 Years old			853
Between 2 and 5			222
5	10		98
10	20		65
20	30		197
30	40		214
40	50		233
50	60		243
60	70		168
70	80		154
80	90		64
90 and upwards			15
			2526

Hay 34 to 47*s.* a Load.

WE

WE have the following Article of the 13th of *Auguſt* from *Jamaica*, *viz.* That Commodore *Brown* having received, by the *Shoreham*, his Majeſty's Orders of the 15th of *June* laſt, for granting Letters of general Marque and Repriſals againſt the *Spaniards*, is preparing to put to Sea To-morrow, with his Majeſty's Ships the *Hampton-Court*, *Windſor*, *Falmouth*, *Torrington*, *Diamond*, and *Shoreham*. And we have ſince heard, that he accordingly made a Trip with theſe ſix Men of War, and appeared in a hoſtile Manner at the *Havana*, *Cartagena*, and ſome other of the *Spaniſh* Ports in that Part of the World; after which he returned to *Jamaica*. This appeared a little ſurprizing to our People in thoſe Parts; becauſe, as he had no Fire-Ships, nor Bomb-Ketches, along with him, nor any Land-Forces on Board, he could do no Harm to any of the Enemy's Settlements at Land, nor to any Ships in their Harbours, ſo that the Hoſtilities he committed, could ſerve only to give them Notice, that there was a Rupture between the two Nations, and thereby prevent their ſending any of their Ships to Sea; which ſeems contrary to his Majeſty's Intentions; for by ſending theſe Letters of Repriſal to the *Weſt-Indies*, near a Month before they were publiſhed in *Europe*, his Majeſty certainly intended, that our Men of War and Privateers ſhould have an Opportunity to pick up ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships in the *American* Seas, before they could have Notice of the Rupture at any of their Ports or Settlements.

We hear from *Vienna*, that on the Day the annual Diet of the States of *Lower Auſtria* aſſembled, the Grand-Chancellor of the Court, in the Name of the Emperor, opened the Diet with a Speech, in which he repreſented, That a Peace had been juſt concluded with the Porte, but the Method of proceeding to it, particularly with regard to the Preliminaries, had been quite contrary to his Imperial Majeſty's Orders and Inſtructions; for that the Frontiers had been thereby left ſo naked and expoſed, that his Imperial Majeſty would be put to a great Expence in building new Fortreſſes, and repairing thoſe that ſtill remain in his Hands; and farther, that his Army which was ſo numerous and ſo well provided, was greatly reduced, ſo that he muſt be at great Charges to put it upon its former Foot, which in the preſent uncertain Situation of Affairs, was abſolutely neceſſary. To this the Marſhal of the Diet, in the Name of the States, anſwered, That the Circumſtances of the Peace concluded with the *Turks* were diſſatisfactory to all: That as to his own Part he was very ſenſible, how much the Emperor took to Heart every Thing that had paſſed upon that Occaſion, without his Knowledge, and againſt his Orders: That the States acknowledged the Neceſſities his Imperial Majeſty was under; and that they would not fail to give the ſame Marks of Affection they had formerly done to his Perſon and Government. Since which they have granted, according to Cuſtom, all his Imperial Majeſty aſk'd of them, which was 25,000 Recruits, with the uſual Subſidies; and they are to begin next Month to raiſe thoſe Recruits.

They begin to doubt at *Vienna* of the Continuance of the Peace; for the *Porte's* Ratification of the laſt Treaty is not yet arrived, and 'tis ſaid, there are two Factions at *Conſtantinople*, one of which labours hard to renew the War, and the other to have the Treaty of Peace ratified. In the mean Time the Court of *Vienna* has thought proper to ſuſpend the Demolition of the Citadel of *Belgrade*; and 'tis doubted if the *Turks* have as yet begun to demoliſh the Fortifications of *Meadia*.

Our Advices from *Peterſburgh* ſay, they have diſcovered that there was a moſt dangerous Combination againſt that Empire, between *Sweden*, ſeveral of the noble Families of *Poland*, and ſome of the great Families of *Ruſſia*; and that if the War between them and the *Turks* had continued, they would probably have been attacked before now, by a great Army of *Swedes* upon the Side of *Finland*, an Army formed by the *Poliſh* Nobility upon the Side of *Poland*, and at the ſame Time a moſt dangerous Inſurrection in the Heart of their own Empire; but all theſe Schemes have been defeated by the great Succeſs of their Armies, which compelled the *Turks* to agree to a Peace; and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction have already been condemned at *Novogrod Weliki*, ſome to Death, and others to perpetual Impriſonment, for being concerned in theſe Conſpiracies. To which 'tis added, that the great Family of the *Dolgaorouky's* appear to have been concerned, but we do not hear that any of them have as yet been condemned. Tho' it may be ſuſpected, that *France* was privy to, if not the chief Author of theſe Conſpiracies, yet as no ſuch Thing appears, the Court of *Ruſſia* has play'd the Part of a Politician ſo much, as to ſend Orders to their Miniſter at *Paris*, to thank his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for his Mediation between them and the *Turks*.

From *Naples* we are told, that his *Sicilian* Majeſty's Council of Commerce holds frequent Aſſembles, upon various Projects for ſecuring and improving the Commerce and Navigation of the two *Sicilies*; among which, the two moſt conſiderable are, To ſue for the Conſent of the King of *Spain*, for a Liberty to ſend Ships to trade in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; and to permit all Foreigners, particularly the *Jews* who ſhall think proper to ſettle in thoſe Kingdoms, to have the free Exerciſe of their Religion. Theſe are fine Projects; but if *France* ſhould take ſhare in the preſent War between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, his *Sicilian* Majeſty's Poſſeſſion of his two Kingdoms may become a little precarious. The

HISTORICAL.

1. AN Eſſay on the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XIV. By Mr. *Voltaire*. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 6*d*.

2. A brief Account of *Spain*. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

3. The Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of the Czar *Peter the Great*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 12mo, price 3*s*.

* 4. A Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*. By *Henry Maundrell*, M. A. The 6th Edition. Sold by *W. Meadows*, 8vo, pr. 5*s*. 6*d*.

5. An hiſtorical Account of the Life and Reign of King *David*. By the Author of *Revelation examin'd*. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, 8vo, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

6. *Quintus Curtius*'s Hiſtory of the Wars of *Alexander*. Tranſlated by *John Digby*, Eſq; The 2d Edition. Printed for *A. Millar*, 2 vols. 12mo, price 6*s*.

7. Geography anatomiz'd; or, the Geographical Grammar. By *Patrick Gordon*, A. M. The 16th Edition, 8vo, price 6*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

8. *Horace*'s Odes, *&c.* in Proſe. The third Book. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 1*s*.

9. Aphoriſms relating to the Pregnancy, Delivery, and Diſeaſes of Women. From the *French* of *Mauriceau*. By *Tho. Jones*, Surgeon. Sold by *S. Birt*, price 2*s*.

10. The Examiner examin'd; in relation to Mr. *Catcott*. Printed for *G. Straban*.

11. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XIV. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

POETRY.

12. Sir *Roger de Coverly*; or, the merry *Chriſtmas*. By Mr. *Dorman*. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

13. *Horace*'s 12th Epiſtle. By *G. Ogle*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s*.

14. The Satiriſts. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s*.

15. The Lover. A Poem. By the late Dr. *Drake*, of *Saliſbury*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

16. The firſt Book of Paradiſe Loſt, attempted in Rhime. Sold by *A. Jackſon*, price 6*d*.

17. The firſt Æneid of *Virgil*, tranſlated into blank Verſe. By *Alex. Straban*, Eſq; Printed for *G. Straban*.

POLITICAL.

18. Some Reflexions upon the Adminiſtration of Government. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

* 19. Jus Feciale Anglicanum. By *Samuel Brewſter*, Eſq; The 2d Edition. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

20. A Letter from a Freeholder of H—*r*—*d* to their Repreſentatives. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 3*d*.

21. The King of *Spain*'s Declaration of War. Printed for *R. Amey*, price 1*s*.

22. A Propoſal for humbling *Spain*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

23. The Farmer reſtor'd; or, Landed Intereſt preſerv'd. Printed for *G. Foſter*, price 6*d*.

24. *E—d—b—b*'s Inſtructions to their Members, price 6*d*.

25. The learned Speech of *J—— P——* to the G—— J—— of *M——x*, price 3*d*.

26. The Sentiments of the old Whigs upon a Place-Bill. Printed for *T. Gardner*, pr. 1*s*.

27. A Collection of Proceedings and Tryals againſt State Priſoners. Publiſhing in Numbers, at 1*s*. each.

28. A Draught of a Bill for the Recovery of ſmall Debts. By *Chriſt. Tancred*. Printed for *Ward* and *Chandler*, price 1*s*.

* 29. Ways and Means to man the Navy with not leſs than 15,000 able Sailors. By *Tho. Robe*, Eſq; The third Edition. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

30. A ſhort Account of the State of our Woollen Manufacturies. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

SERMONS.

31. A Caution againſt Conformity to the World. By *N. Lardner*. Sold by *J. Gray*, price 6*d*.

32. A Sermon preach'd *Nov.* 4. By *B. A. Atkinſon*. Printed for *D. Farmer*, price 6*d*.

33. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Mary le Bow*, *Sept.* 16. By *J. Brownſword*, A. B. Printed for *G. Straban*, price 6*d*.

34. A Sermon at *Ipſwich*. By *J. Pitts*. Printed for *J. Oſwald* and *J. Buckland*, pr. 4*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

35. An Eſſay towards demonſtrating the Immateriality and free Agency of the Soul. Printed for *J. Shuckburgh*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

36. Remarks on the Divine Legation of *Moſes*. By the Author of the *Miſcellany*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

37. Remarks on the Plain Account, *&c.* By *W. Lamb*, A. B. Printed for *R. Minors*, price 1*s*.

38. An Explanation and Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* concerning Regeneration, *&c.* By *Tho. Church*, A. M. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

39. Deiſm and Chriſtianity fairly conſidered. Sold by *C. Hitch*, price 3*s*.

40. A Defence of Dr. *Whitby*'s Treatiſe of Original Sin. By *H. Heywood*. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 6*d*.

41. The thirty-nine Articles of the Church of *England*. Tranſlated from the *Latin* of Mr. *Welchman*. Printed for *C. Rivington*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

* 42. The *Engliſhman* directed in the Choice of his Religion. The ſecond Edition. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 1*s*. or 10*s*. a Dozen to thoſe who give them away.

INDEX

INDEX to the DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, to the ESSAYS, POLITICKS, Domeſtick and Foreign OCCURRENCES, &c. 1739.

A.

ABSENTEES. *See* Seceſſion
Act of Settlement, a Clauſe in it 40, Notes. Articles of it 242
Acts paſs'd 100, 152, 204, 307 ——— ——— 663
Addreſs. *See* Lords
Addreſs, Debate in the Political Club on the Form of one 261—276. Arguments in favour of an Amendment 264. Anſwer to them 272, 313. Other Speeches on the ſame Subject 317, &c.
Addreſſing, antient and modern Way of 264. A Matter of mere Complaiſance 272
Adminiſtration, Neceſſity of Meaſures to make the People well-affected to it 123, 124
Æmilius Paullus, L. his Speech on the Form of an Addreſs 335 C
Affairs, Obſervations on the preſent State of 4 G, 5. State of Affairs at home and abroad 315. Growing more and more formidable 324 B. To whom it is owing 325 A
Affections of the People, the Weight and Credit of our Government muſt always depend upon it 380
Agrippa, M. his Speech on the Form of an Addreſs 321. His Speech againſt the Convention 478
Aldermen, Election of 48
Aldermen of *London* formerly choſen Annually, and when that Method was alter'd 587. That Alteration makes it more eaſy to corrupt them 588
Alfred, King, his Regulations 26. Of the Form of Government in his and *Edward* the Confeſſor's Time 27. What Sorts of People were in the Kingdom in his Time 57
Allies, a Declaration that we have none to aſſiſt us 562
Amelia and *Caroline*, Princeſſes, their Birth-Day celebrated 256
American Seas, material Differences between them and the *Britiſh* 483. They ought to be look'd upon as a large Common 554
Annals of the Oppoſition, Propoſal for 246
Anne, Queen, a Speech of hers 590. Obſervations upon it 591
Anticipating the Money at the Offices 278 D
Appius Claudius, the Decemvir, an Account of him 139. His Management 613
Ariſtocracies, their Riſe 582
Armies of *France* and *Flanders*, how they are diſpos'd of 79
Army, Danger of its turning upon their Maſters 72
Army, the *Craftſman*'s Remarks in relation to it 69. *Common Senſe*'s Remarks on it 73. Farther Thoughts on it 76, 122. Extracts from ſeveral *Gazetteers*, in Anſwer to the Papers about the Army 82. Debate in the Political Club upon a Queſtion about reducing it 434—445
Aſs, Story of a Fellow who undertook to make one ſpeak *Greek* 117
Aſſiento Treaty, an Article in it 554 E
Aſſizes, 152, 153, 204, 411, 412, 464
Aſſogue Ships, their Cargo 415
Atbol, Duke of, receiv'd as *King in Man* 411
Atilius, M. his Speech on the general Belief of the fundamental Principles of Natural Religion, as neceſſary to the Well-being of Society 210
Attorneys and Counſel, the antient Cuſtom with reſpect to them 425 B, 429
Auſtria, Lower, Diet of the States of 667

B.

BACHELOR, his Landlady and her Neice, pleaſant Story of 184
Bacon, Lord, his Obſervations on Penal Laws 396 A
Bank, Directors choſen 203
Baron, of that Word 61
Barons, great and ſmall 111
Barracks, of new-erected ones 70 E, 74, 82, 83. Of the Deſign of erecting them at the Time of the Plague at *Marſeilles* 74 F
Bath, Compliments of that City on the Birth of a Prince 204
Belgrade, Siege of 415. Given up to the *Turks* 467
Ben Johnſon, Verſes from him 34
Bender, Baſhaw of, beheaded 103
Bergue and *Juliers* 155
Bernclau, General, his Stratagem 414
Bill of Mortality. *See* Burials
Blackwell-Hall Factors 119
Bob Booty's Speech to his Gang 126
Bonneval, Count, diſgrac'd 51, 155. Recall'd from his Exile 311
Boroughs or Free Towns, their Original 57, 58
Bourdeaux, a Fray there 259
Bremen, ſad Accident there 465
Brennus, the *Gaul*, Affair of 597 A
Briſtol, Compliments of that City, on the Birth of a Prince 203
Brown, Commodore, his Expedition, with Remarks upon it 667
Brutus, an Example of preferring the publick Good to private Friendſhip 135
Brutus, L. Junius, his Speech relating to Inſtructions, Memorials, &c. to be addreſs'd for 366. His Speech for hearing the Petitioners againſt the Convention by their Counſel 428
Buckingham, Duke of, his Adminiſtration and Impeachment 289. Part of Sir *John Elliot*'s Speech againſt him 289 E
Building and Gardening, Luxury in 650

Bull,

Bull, 'Squire, Caſe between him and Lord *Strutt* 175
Burials, Monthly Account of 50, 102, 154, 205, 258, 310, 362, 413, 466, 518, 629, 666. Yearly Account of 664
Burleigh, Lord, his Maxim concerning Parliaments 236
Burnet, Biſhop, a Quotation from him 141
Byng, Sir *George*, of his deſtroying the *Spaniſh* Fleet 569, 571

C.

CAIUS Claudius, his Speech, occaſion'd by the Seceſſion of the beſt Part of the Senators 140
Calpurnius Piſo, *C.* his Speech, ſeconding the Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks for the Convention 563
Cantabrigian, a Letter from one, offering himſelf for a Miniſterial Writer 245
Capital Puniſhments 396 G
Carolina and *Georgia* 91, 189, 475
Cato, Extracts from that Play 223
Cato, *M.* his Speech in relation to Inſtructions, Memorials, *&c.* to be addreſs'd for 374
Champion, Sir *George*, ſet aſide from being Lord Mayor 499, 500
Characters, ſome odd ones expos'd 183
Charles II. Character of him and his Government 223. Governing by Corruption began in his Reign 228. He was a Penſioner to *France* 235. Of his Miniſters 290
Charon and *Mercury*, or the *Elyſian* Ferryman, a Dialogue 449
Choczim taken by the *Ruſſians* 467
Chriſtnings. *See* Burials
Cicerejus, *C.* his Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks for the Convention 469. His Speech in favour of it 485
Cicero, a judicious Paſſage of his 610
Citizens. *See* Liverymen
City Members, the Paper of Thanks and Inſtructions to them 500 E
Civil Liſt 277, 279
Clans, or natural Societies among the *Germans* 18
Claudian, Verſes from him 32 D, 33
Clothieres and *Blackwell-Hall* Factors 119
Commerce, Projects for improving it in the two *Sicilies* 667. *See* Trade
Commiſſaries, of their lumping Things in favour of *Spain* 490
Common Council for drawing up a Petition in relation to the Convention 100. Remarks on a printed *Liſt* of it 136, 138, 140. Additions to thoſe Remarks 140 G. What was printed in the Front of that Liſt 151. Their Addreſs to his Majeſty on the Birth of a Prince 152. To the Prince and Princeſs 203. Obſervations on a late Reſolution of theirs 246 B
Common Senſe's Remarks in relation to the Army 73. His Papers about the Convention 86, 116, 188, 350. His Poſtſcript in relation to Dr. *Urban* 92. His Recommendation of the *London Magazine*, in Oppoſition to the *Gentleman*'s 140 F. A ſecond Volume of *Common Senſe* 136 F, 145. His Anſwer to a great Writer in the *Gazetteer* 181. His Petition to the Poſt-Maſter-General 197. His Animadverſions on another Letter in the *Gazetteer* 231. His Obſervations on a Reſolution of Common Council 246 B
Commons, Houſe of, Original of it 112, 113
Conqueſt, how our antient Conſtitution was alter'd by it 109 B, 163. The Nature of the firſt Parliaments, and the Form of Government after it 109 D, 110
Conſtitution, Orignal of the preſent Form of it 112, 113. The ill Habits it contracted, during the Struggles about it 113, 114. Of the Defect in it, relating to our Cities and Boroughs 114. Concluſion of the Remarks on the Hiſtory of it 115, 116. *See* Government. Excellency of our preſent Conſtitution aſſerted 162. Alterations introduc'd into our antient Conſtitution by the Conqueſt 163. To what Periods only we can have Recourſe for the Original of our preſent Conſtitution 164. The Excellency of it, and how to preſerve it 584, 633
Contraband and Prohibited Goods, Difference between them 322
Convention between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, Articles of 83. The King of *Spain*'s Proteſt on ſigning it 86 B. The City of *London*, &c. petition againſt it 100. Lords Addreſs on it 151. Of the Writers for it 179. Lords Proteſts in relation to it 292, 293. L—d *G—ge*'s Speech againſt it 294. Petitions of the Merchants, City of *London*, &c. againſt it 381, 382, 383. Debate in the Political Club, whether the Petitioners againſt it ſhould be allow'd to be heard by their Counſel 383, 417. King of *Spain*'s *Manifeſto*, juſtifying his Conduct in relation to it 445, &c. Debate in the Political Club, on the Queſtion about an Addreſs of Thanks for it 469—499. Shewn not to be agreeable to the Reſolutions and Addreſſes of laſt Seſſion 478. Whether any Satisfaction be obtained by it 488. It is a general Releaſe 498 E. Continuation of the firſt Day's Debate upon it 521—556. The ſecond Day's Debate upon it 557—580. Conſequences of approving it 569, 570. Objections to the complicated Nature of the Queſtion 572 E
Coram, Mr. his Speech in the firſt General Meeting of the Governors of the Foundling Hoſpital 627
Corn, Scarcity of, in *France* 259
Corrupt Influence in Parliament, Riſe and Increaſe of it, the Oppoſition that has been made to it, and the Methods made uſe of for removing it 227, 234, 241, 277, 288.
Corrupt Influence, how an Adminiſtration gets

gets it, over popular Elections 586. Frequent Elections the Way to prevent it 587
Corruption and legal Tyranny 185 B, F
Corruption in a State, Danger of it 193 G. Like Dram-drinking in private Persons 194. Governing by it began in *Charles* IId's Reign 228. How it has increas'd since 229. The Methods for preventing it 241 A, &c. The *Gazetteer*'s Arguments in favour of it consider'd and exploded 402. Absurdity of acquitting the Giver of a Bribe, and only charging the Receiver with Corruption 403
Corsicans, Affairs between them and the *French* Troops there 51. Their Reasons for not accepting the Accommodation propos'd by *France* 103. Progress of the *French* Arms there 311. They all submit, and the Island to be given to *Don Philip* of *Spain* 630
Costs, of the *Spaniards* paying them 492
Counsel, their Business and Necessity in Affairs of Importance 418 F, 419. Their Business with regard to Facts 420. Of admitting them in Criminal Cases 426 D. The antient Custom relating to them continued with regard to Felony, but alter'd with respect to Treason 429. Business of Counsel, Witness and Judge 433
Country, the Duty we owe to it 134. Methods of enslaving it 184
Court of Equity, Scheme for a new one 454
Court Whisperers 455
Courts Baron, Original of 124 A
Courts *de Mare*, and Privy Council 106
Courts in *Westminster-Hall* 109
Craftsman, Advertisement concerning him 7. His Remarks in relation to the Army 69, 122. *Common Sense*'s Advertisement concerning him 76. His Postscript in relation to Dr. *Urban* 78 G. His Remarks on the Convention 90, 127, 141. Another Postscript of his in relation to Dr. *Urban* and the *Gazetteers* 92. His Recommendation of the *London Magazine*, in Opposition to the *Gentleman*'s 130, 145. His Observations on the *Spanish Manifesto* 456. On the late Election of Lord Mayor 508. His Ways and Means for supporting the Expence of a War 509. His Wishes, and remarkable Postscript 658
Cromwell, Oliver, his Letter to the *French* King 6. Reflexions upon it ibid. F. His good Policy 539 B. His wise Management in the Treaty between him and the *Dutch* 546, 547, 548
Crown, how the Power of it was limited before the Conquest, with respect to the Witenagemotes, Courts of Justice and the Army 107, 108. The good Effects of it 108. Its Power in the Time of *Edward* I. with respect to the Members of both Houses of Parliament 158. Danger of its having the sole Power of appointing Magistrates 167, 168. Of the present Power of it 169, 170, 635
Cumberland, Duke of, his Birth-Day celebrated 203. Provision for him and the Princesses 255
Cupar Instructions to their Representative 647
Custom, the Force of 30
Czarina, Preliminary Articles of Peace between her and the *Turks* 630. Her Letter to the Emperor ibid. Conspiracy against her 667

D.

D'*AUBIGNY*, M. Story of 193
D'*Avenant*, Dr. his Observation on Trade 3. Several Quotations from him 184 D
DEBATES in the Learned and Political CLUB. *See* JOURNAL
Decemvirate, what, and their Management 613
Declaration of War against *Spain* 511. Order of the Ceremony of proclaiming it 516. Observations occasion'd by it 605, 606, 644
Democracies, their Rise 582. The Reasons why they never continue long, but end in absolute Monarchy 584
Dependency, Difference between a constitutional and a venal one 402 G
Discontented and Disaffected, a Distinction between them 441 C
Discussion, what Things only allow of it 576 F
Disinterestedness, Publick-spiritedness and Wisdom of the present Times 351
Disorders at home, the only effectual Remedy for 444
Dividing, the Art and Mischief of 28
Doctor, a Rev. Story of 194 F
Doing as we would be done by, the Law of 31, 32
Dolphin, a *Barbadoes* Ship, taken by a *Spanish* Privateer 626
Domitian, Story of him and his Courtiers 455
Dress, the Absurdity of placing any Part of Religion in it 603
Dropsy, a Cure for it 298 F
Drunkenness, of the Laws against it 396
Dundee Instructions 658
Dutch Ships stopt and visited by our Men of War on the Coasts of *Spain* 630

E.

EALDERMEN among the antient *Germans* 18. Of that Title 60
Earl, of that Word 61
Earthquake in *Yorkshire* 48
East-India Company, Affair between them and Mr. *Nesh* settled 158. Directors chosen 203
Education, modern 40, 346, 351
Edward and Eleonora, the Representation of that Play forbid 153
Elections, the Way to prevent Bribery and Corruption in them 165. Of frequent ones 458

Electors of Members of Parliament, their Duty 261

Elizabeth, Queen, what Sort of Army hers was 74. Her Conduct with regard to *Spain* 431. Story of her and Sir *Francis Bacon* 455. Her wise Management 538, 539

Elliot, Sir *John*, Part of his Speech against the Duke of *Buckingham* 289 E

Embargo laid on 307. Taken off 360. An Observation upon it 593

Emperor makes a separate Peace with the *Turks* 467. Articles of it 519. He resolves upon a Neutrality in the War between *Great Britain* and *Spain* 631

England, Number of People in it, and of Men able to bear Arms 505 F

English Prizes taken by the *Spaniards* 630

Enquiry into the Fitness of attending Parliament, &c. Remarks on it 190

Enthusiasm, and the present Practices of the Methodists 238. Remarks on that Letter 344 G. Bp. of *London*'s Caution against it 391, *&c.*

Europe, the present Circumstances of, to what owing 495 E. Very different from what they were in Q. *Elizabeth*'s and *O. Cromwell*'s Time 526

Executions at *Tyburn*, *&c.* 152, 203, 256, 359, 411. 464, 664

Extream, one makes Way for another 391

Eyles, Sir *Joseph*, elected Alderman 48, 49, 100

F.

FABIUS Maximus, Q. his Speech on the Form of an Address 332. His Speech against the Convention 534

Faction, of its assuming the Name of a Party 282. Difference between it and a Party 288. Mischiefs of it 610

Farce, of a new one 3 G

Fast, Proclamation for 628

Felons transported 48

Female Education, modern 351 E

Female Soldier and Pensioner at *Chelsea-Hospital* 561

Fleuri, Cardinal, Parallel between him and another Prime Minister 91 B

Forces under his Majesty, Number of 628

Foreign Affairs, the State of 5

Foremast, *Will.* his Letter to *Common Sense* 177

Foundlings, Hospital for, first General Meeting of the Governours and Guardians of it 627, 628. Names of the first Committee 663

France and *Spain*, how we may have nothing to fear from their Union 538, 540

French, Burlesque on our copying after them, 197 D. Their Behaviour in relation to an Edict regarding Commerce 259. Their Proceedings in *Corsica* 51, 103, 311. Their Naval Preparations 630. Their ambitious Views, with seasonable Reflections 654, 655, 656

French King declares the Marriage of his eldest Daughter with the Infant of *Spain* 103

French Privateer with *Spanish* Colours taken 625

French Squadron at *Stockholm* 363

French Surgeon, Story of 608 E

Funeral Orations, the *Roman* History corrupted by them 600, 601

Furius Camillus, *M.* his Speech for the Petitioners against the Convention being heard by their Counsel 417. A moving Speech of his against approving the Convention 580. His Concluding Prayer ibid D

G.

G—ge, L—d, his Speech against the Convention 294

Game-Laws 78

Gaming Act, Clauses in it 308

Gazetteer censur'd, for publishing an atheistical Letter 209

Gazetteer's Address to the Gentlemen that met at *Salters-Hall* in *November* last, about the Repeal of the Test 37. A Piece of secret History in relation to that Affair 38 A

Gazetteer's Defence of the Convention 131

Gazetteer's Arguments for Corruption consider'd and exploded 402. Two Passages of it relating to K. *Charles* I. and K. *William* 404. Extracts from it, concerning the Counsels of a single Person, and Placemen 611. Remarks on some late ones 645, 646. More Extracts from 650

Genoa, the fitting out Privateers there against the *English* forbidden 631

Gentleman's *Magazine*, *Common Sense* and the *Craftsman*'s Remonstrances against it 78, 92. Their farther Censures of it 130, 137, 415 E, F. Censur'd for publishing an atheistical Letter 209

George, Prince, his Birth-Day celebrated 256

German Dominions 63

Germans, antient Clans or natural Societies among them 18. Their Ealdermen ibid. Their Form of Government, to which ours is originally owing 19. Their General Assemblies 20. See *Saxons*

Glover, Mr. his Speech and Motion at *Guild-Hall* 500

Glovers, Difference between them and the Stocking-Weavers 411

Government, the Origin and Nature of it in general 16. The Form of it among the *Germans*, to which ours is originally owing 19. Alterations from the original Form of it 23. Of the Form of it in K. *Alfred*'s and *Edward* the Confessor's Time 27. Of the Form of it after the Conquest 109 D, 110. Of the Alterations made in it by K. *Stephen* and K. *Henry* II. 111. Of the Jurisdictive and Military Parts of it 159. Duty of the three Constituent Parts of it 634, 635. *See* Constitution

Gout, a Cure for it 298

Grand Question, *whether War or no War*, &c. Re-

Remarks on it 179. Interrogatories to the *Grand Queſtioniſt* 180
Great Britain and *Spain*, their different Politicks 577
Grotzka, Battle of 414
Grove, Rev. Mr. Inſcription on his Tomb 48
Guard-Ships, Practice of ours with regard to the Ships of other Nations 473, 483
Guelfs and *Ghibelines* 282 C

H.

HABITS, Force of, and Weakneſs of human Reſolution 455 D. Caution againſt indulging any particular ones 642
Haddington Inſtructions to their Repreſentative, for obtaining a Place-Bill, *&c.* 641
Haddock, Admiral, order'd to remain in the *Mediterranean* 206. Takes two *Spaniſh* Prizes 625
Hague Letter, concerning an intended Invaſion 363
Hanoverians and *Danes*, of the late Action between them 62
Heathcote, Mr. Alderman, his Speeches and Motion in relation to the Court of Aldermens Negative 501, 503, 504
Helvius, C. his Speech on the Form of an Addreſs 329. His Speech for approving the Convention 521
Hengiſt and the *Saxons*, of their ſettling here 23
Heretogh, of that Title 60
Hill, Mr. his Motion in the Common Hall 503
Hiſtory, antient, Uncertainty of 599. Funeral Orations one Cauſe of it among the *Romans* 600. 601
Hobnail, Story of 6 6 E
Holland, Diſpute about the Promotion of General Officers there 155. Obſervations on the Government of 506 F
Holſtein, Duke of, his Death 311
Holt, Lord Chief Juſtice, Story of 80
Horatius Barbatus, Q. his Speech 613
Hortenſius, L. his Speech for approving the Convention 571
Hypocriſy in Religion expos'd, and Sincerity recommended, in the different Characters of two Ladies 595

I.

JAMES II. Behaviour of the Parliament in his Reign 235 A
Icilius, L. his Speech for approving the Convention 549
Illicit Traders 482. An Underſtanding between the *Spaniſh* Governours and them 484
Imperialiſts, their Motions 311, 414, 467
Influence at foreign Courts, upon what it depends 440
Inſpiration, Miracles the only Proof of it to others 287 A
Inſtructions. *See* Place-Bill
Inſtructions, Memorials. *&c.* Debate in the Political Club on the Motion for addreſſing for them 365. Reaſons for addreſſing for the Letters and Inſtructions ſent to the Governors of our Plantations, *&c.* 366. For thoſe ſent to our Miniſter in *Spain* and Conſuls in *Europe* 367. For the Memorials and Repreſentations made to the K. of *Spain* or his Miniſters 368. Reaſons againſt addreſſing for thoſe Papers 369, *&c.*
Interrogatories to the *Grand Queſtioniſt* 180
Invaſions, a Diſcourſe on 505. The *Gazetteer* on the Subject 506
JOURNAL of a Learned and Political CLUB, *&c.* Containing, a Debate on the Queſtion, Whether by the original Form of our Government, the People in ſome Shape or other ought not to have the Nomination of, or at leaſt a Controul over all the Magiſtrates and Officers neceſſary for the Support of our Government 16, 53, 105, 157. A Speech, ſhewing the Benefit that accrues to Society from a general Belief in the fundamental Principles of Natural Religion, and the dangerous Conſequences of countenancing any Thing that may tend towards Atheiſm and Irreligion 210—216. Debate upon the Form of an Addreſs in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech 261—276, 313—335. Upon a Queſtion relating to Inſtructions, Memorials, *&c.* propos'd to be addreſs'd for 365—380. Upon the Queſtion, whether the Petitioners againſt the Convention ſhould be allow'd to be heard by their Counſel 381—391, 417—434. Upon a Queſtion about reducing the Army 434—445. The firſt Day's Debate upon the Queſtion, whether an Addreſs of Thanks ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty for the late Convention with *Spain* 469—499, 521—556. The ſecond Day's Debate on the ſame 557—580. Upon the Queſtion, whether the Citizens of *London* had wiſely, juſtly and properly exerted their Right of chuſing a Lord Mayor at the laſt Election 581—590, 633—640
Iſraelites deſiring a King 584
Judges, of their being of Counſel for the Priſoner 429
Julius Florus, his Speech againſt the Convention 572
Juſtices of the Peace, Original of them 161

K.

KEENE, Mr. the Anſwer ſaid to be made to him, upon his ſolliciting the Payment of the 95,000*l.* 259. His Declaration to the *Spaniſh* Court 363. His Tranſactions 458. M. *de la Quadra*'s Letter to him 493 D. He returns to *England* 516
KING's Speech at the Opening of the Seſſion 98. His Anſwer to the Lords Addreſs 92. To the Commons 100. To the Lords Addreſs on the Convention 151. To the Commons 152. To the Congratulations on the Birth of a Prince ibid. His Meſſage to the Houſe of Lords about the *Denmark* Treaty, *&c.* 255. His Anſwer to their Addreſs thereupon 256. His Speech at the Cloſe of the Seſſion 308. Of preſenting Addreſſes which he cannot comply with 373. Of uſing his Name in Debates 374. His Declaration of War againſt *Spain* 511. His Birth-Day celebrated 625. His Speech at the Opening of the preſent Seſſion 626. His Anſwer to the Lords Addreſs 627. His Anſwer to the joint Reſolution and Addreſs of both Houſes 628

King's Power of making Senators formerly limited 60
Knights of the Shire, Original of 111
Kouli Kan, his Succeſs and terrible Ravages and Slaughters in the Great *Mogul*'s Dominions 631

L.

LADIES, a Defence of 453 F
Land-Forces, an Obſervation on the Words always made uſe of in the Reſolution about the Number of them 442 E. *See* Army
Law, a Thing may not be contrary to it, and yet may be contrary to our Conſtitution 442
Laws, of ſuch as are diſagreeable to the Body of the People 106. Obſervations on the State of our Laws 396. Lord *Bacon*'s and Mr. *Sidney*'s Opinion of them ibid A, 397
Lawyers, their Practices 387, 388. Defended 418 F, 419
Legborn, the fitting out Privateers there againſt the *Engliſh* forbidden 631
Lentulus, L. his Speech when the *Roman* Army was pent up by the *Samnites* 598
Letters of Marque and Repriſals, Subſtance of an Act made in the Reign of K. *Henry* V. concerning them 12. The Regard that has been ſhewn to Commerce by our Governors ſince 12, 13. Order of Council for ſuch Letters againſt *Spain* 359. Of the Backwardneſs of the Merchants in taking them out 647, 650
Letters and Inſtructions, private as well as publick, ſent to thoſe employ'd in Negotiations 371, 372
Liberty of Conſcience ſhould not be abſolutely unbounded, and the Example of the *Romans* in not allowing it 215, 216. The Difficulty of ſettling juſt Bounds to it 216
Limits, of the Article of regulating them 495, 531, 544
Limpus condemn'd and executed for robbing the Mail 464
Linlithgow, Shire of, their Inſtructions 663
Liſt of Common-Council. *See* Common-Council
Liſt of Voters for the Convention, with their Salaries 299. Of Voters againſt the Convention 336. Names of thoſe who were abſent 338. Queries relating to the Liſt ibid. Of thoſe who voted for the Convention and againſt the Exciſe, and againſt the Convention and for the Exciſe 339. Extract from the *Gazetteer* on the Liſt ibid
Liverymen, their Conduct juſtify'd 509, 510, 589. Cenſur'd 638 G, 639, 640
London, Biſhop of, Extract from his Paſtoral Letter againſt Enthuſiaſm, with his Abſtract of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Journals 391—395. His Account of Lukewarmneſs 395
London Citizens, their Treatment 608
London Inſtructions. *See* City Members
London Magazine recommended by *Common Senſe* and the *Craftſman*, in Oppoſition to the *Gentleman*'s 92, 130, 140 F
Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen congratulate his Majeſty on the Birth of a Prince 152
Lord Mayor, Proceedings at the late Election of 499 — 505. Obſervations upon them 508. Debate in the Political Club on that Affair 581—590, 633—640
Lords Addreſs in Anſwer to the King's Speech 99. On the Convention 151. On his Maje'ty's Meſſage in relation to the *Denmark* Treaty, *&c.* 255. In Anſwer to the King's Speech at the Opening of the preſent Seſſion 626
Lords Proteſts in relation to the Convention 292, 293
Lotteries, Reflexions on 349, 350
Lottery Scheme, the preſent one 309. Remarks on it 406 D. The Drawing begun 663
Lukewarmneſs, what 395

M.

MACCLESFIELD, late Lord, his Caſe 195
Mæcenas, his Speech for reducing the Number of Forces 443. His Speech againſt the Convention 575
Magiſtracy, the People's Regard to it, and what occaſions their Contempt of it 225
Magiſtrates, the Duty of 31. The Advantages of having all inferior ones choſen by the People 166, *&c.* Danger of the Crown's having the ſole Power of appointing them 167, 168. Good Conſequences of the frequent Elections of them 583
Malefactors. *See* Executions
Manifeſto of the King of *Spain* 445, *&c.* Obſervations upon it 456. Which Party can beſt anſwer it 457 A. It is agreeable to the Writings of the *Gazetteer* ibid D
Manlius Torquatus, T. his Speech for the Convention 579
Manors, Original of them 23
Manſion-Houſe for the Lord Mayor, the chief Corner-ſtone laid 517. Inſcription on it 625
Marconitz, Major, accus'd and honourably acquitted 155
Marmor Norfolcienſe, with the Inſcription, and the ſame in *Engliſh* Verſe 244
Marque and Repriſals. *See* Letters
Meaſures, of changing them 328
Mecklemburg, Princeſs *Anne* of, married to Prince *Anthony Ulrick* of *Wolfembuttle* 415
Melkſham, a particular Account of the Riot of the Weavers there 9. A particular Account of their Trials 186, 217—221. The Judge's Speech at their Condemnation 221. Some of them executed 203
Merchants, how their Demands were reduc'd 296
Members leave the Houſe 152
Methodiſts, their Practices 238. Character of one 451, 452. See *Whitefield*
Militia 77. Project for regulating it 122, 123
Milton's political Letters 6
Miniſter, of ſtanding by him 134. Of making him eaſy 603
Miniſterial Party, and the Oppoſition or Country Party, Obſervations on 399
Miniſterial Writers, a Scheme for mending their

their Brains 349. Their Practices 614
Miniſters anſwerable for the Succeſs of a War, tho' it was againſt their Opinion 592, 593
Miracle of the Skull, a pleaſant Story 259
Monarchies, abſolute, their Riſe 582. Elective ibid. Mix'd 584
Monuments and Inſcriptions, Project of a new Society for 7
Morton, Earl of, choſe one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland* 256
Munich, Count, his Motions 311. His Succeſſes 415, 467
Murders. *See* Aſſizes. *and* Seſſions
Mythology and Fables of the Antients, &c. Abſtract of N. 196

NAMES and Forms uſeleſs in a State, when Realities are gone 405
Naſh, Mr. how the Affair between him and the *Eaſt-India* Company was concluded 153
Natural Religion, a Speech ſhewing that a general Belief of its fundamental Principles is neceſſary to the Well-being of Society 210. Thoſe who have Deſigns againſt the Liberties of their Country, begin with weakening thoſe Principles 214. No Man ought to be allow'd to publiſh any Thing againſt them 214, 215
Nature, Beauty and Variety of 604
Naval Force, of reducing it, and not our Land Forces 439 D, 440
Negative of the Court of Aldermen, Speeches and Motion in relation to it, in the Common Hall 501, 503, 504
Negotiations and Treaties, a View of them for ſeveral Years paſt 267. Of raiſing Armies and fitting out Squadrons, under Pretence of giving Weight to them 478 B
Newo-Market, State of 195
News-Papers, on the Report of a Project for regulating them 192
No Search, ſhould have been inſiſted on previous to our treating at all with *Spain* 576
Nobility, their antient Privilege of informing their Sovereign in Caſes of Danger 64 F
Norton, Mr. Trial relating to his Will 256
Nottingham Inſtructions to their Members, about a Place-Bill, &c. 649

O.

OPPOSITION, Remarks on 344. Of charging our Misfortunes upon it 615
Orange, Prince of, Clauſe in his Declaration 236 F
Orange, preſent Princeſs of, deliver'd of a dead Princeſs 663
Orders, military, Story of a Converſation between ſome Gentlemen of the Army about obeying them 71 G
Orleans, Duke of, his princely Charity 259
Orphan, Extracts from that Play 224
Oſſend Company 325 F
Over-Arming, Inconveniencies of 592, 593
Oxford, late Earl of, his Caſe 65

P.

PACIFIC Meaſures 130 C
Panegyrick, when it becomes Satire 272 A
Pantalon made a Miniſter. *See* School of Politicks
Paper-Peace, of calling the Convention ſo 331. Difference between it and a real Peace 335
Parliament, of the late Alteration in the Time of its meeting 64. Of exhorting it to avoid Animoſities 271 D. Its Approbation alters not the Nature of Things 325. Of a Harmony between the King and them 380
Parliament meets, and is prorogued 48. Meets, and opens the Seſſion 98. Prorogu'd 308. Proclamation for its meeting, and ſitting again 464. Meets, and opens another Seſſion 626. Joint Reſolution and Addreſs of both Houſes upon the War 628
Parliament-Houſe, Plan for a new one 643
Parliaments, the Nature of the firſt after the Conqueſt 109 D, 110. How they have been alter'd 227. Arguments againſt long ones in *Charles* IId's Reign 230. Lord *Burleigh*'s Maxim concerning them 236. Of their not being accountable 511. The true Deſign and Uſe of them 564
Parties, a new Diſtinction of 194 B
Party, which is beſt juſtify'd by the Courſe of Events, and his Majeſty's Declaration of War 599, 605, 606
Party Names, why kept up 283, 284
Peace, a warlike one 498. What Peace on'e is valuable 578
Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*, the Continuance of it doubted 667. *See Turks*
Pecuniary Influence, Danger of 353
Penal Laws 31. Lord *Bacon*'s Obſervations on them 396 A. Their Number ſince the Beginning of *Charles* I. to the preſent Time ibid E
Penſioners of *Chelſea-College*, and Workmen in our Dock-Yards 70
Penſioners. *See* Placemen
People, whether Judges of Merit, or influenced by it 637. Whether they have not a Right to inſtruct their Repreſentatives 638
Pericles, his Speech on our antient Conſtitution 162
Perquiſites of Offices 609 A, 615 D
Perſecution, a Letter againſt it 138
Perſian Ambaſſadors at *Peterſburgh* 51. At *Conſtantinople* ibid. and 103
Petitioners againſt the Convention 381, 382, 383. Debate on the Queſtion, whether they ſhould be heard by their Counſel 383 —391, 417—434
Piſiſtratus, his Speech on our antient Conſtitution 157
Piſo, *L.* his Speech on the Form of an Addreſs 317. His Speech againſt the Convention 486
Piſtol's threatning Letter to *Common Senſe* 240 B
Place-Bill, Expediency and Neceſſity of 191, 192, 291. Whether this be a proper Time for deſiring it 611. Of the Inſtructions to ſeveral Members for promoting it 640, 641
Placemen and Penſioners, how they have increaſed 231, 290 E. The Neceſſity of limiting the Number of them in the H. of Commons 234. Of the Repeal of the

Article concerning them 243. Caution against chuſing them 608
Places more in Fault than Perſons 191
Play-Houſe Bill 193
Plays, Extracts from ſeveral Political ones, with Obſervations 221 D
Plenipotentiaries, *L. Piſo*'s Opinion of our late ones 488
Plinius Cæcilius, C. his Speech for approving the Convention 470
Political Bill of Mortality 308, 309
Political Botaniſt 453
Political Builders 496
Political Dance, or the Plan of a new Play 4
Political Writers on both Sides, State of the Caſe between them 197
Politicks on both Sides compar'd 605, 606
Pomponius Atticus, his Speech for approving of the Convention 557
Pontifical Annals, Project for new ones 599, 600
Poor, an Apology for them 13
Pope, Mr. Verſes of his 7 C
Popular Elections in large Kingdoms 161 B, 164, 637
Popular Elections and long Parliaments 507
Popular Prejudices, Remarks on that Pamphlet 137
Popularity, deſpiſing it no good Sign 586
Porcius, M. his Propoſal for an Addreſs 262
Portugal, King of, his Anſwer to our Ambaſſador 519
Poſthumius, P. his generous Behaviour 598 C
Poſts and Penſions 635, 636, 637
Preheminence and Power, the Difference between them 581 A
Preſs, true Notion of the Abuſe of it 443
Pretender, Conſequence of uſing his Name in Debates 575 F
Prices of Grain, Stocks, *&c.* 50, 102, 154, 205, 258, 310, 362, 413, 466, 518, 629, 666
Prime Vizir depos'd, and Character of the new one 259
Prince *Edward* born 152. Chriſtned 203
Princes ruin'd by their Miniſters 397 E
Private Perſons, their Duty and Buſineſs 634
Privy Council 106
Problem for Navigators 40 F
Prohibited Goods. *See* Contraband
Proteſts. *See* Lords
Proto-Pirate, who calls himſelf the Author of the *Gentleman*'s *Magazine*, his Fallacies expoſed 195
Publiſhing any Thing blaſphemous or atheiſtical is a publick Offence, and ought to be puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate 212
Purging and Poiſoning the Houſe 291

Q.

QUADRA, M. *de la*, his Letter to Mr. *Keene* 493 D
Quarrelling Scene of *Ben Johnſon*'s 347. Apply'd to Nations 348
Quartering Soldiers, the Burden of it 70 A
Queries in the *Craftſman*, occaſioned by the *Gazetteer* 245 F. Queries in the *Gazetteer* in Anſwer to them 281
Quintius Capitolinus, T. his Speech againſt hearing the Petitioners againſt the Convention by their Counſel 425
Quintius Cincinnatus, L. his Speech for reducing the Number of Forces 437

R.

REDDISH, Capt. brave Action of his 256
Regiſter-Ship, *Spaniſh*, Account of 487 C
Regulating Rights is deſtroying them 494
Reparation ſtipulated by the Convention, only a ſham Reparation 545, 568
Repreſentative, Inequality of 507
Repreſentatives of Counties before the Conqueſt 105
Repriſals. *See* Letters
Reputation, Importance of a State's preſerving it 596, 597
Revolution, and the State of the Government after it 237. The Error at that Time 241
Right, of a Diſtinction between it and the Enjoyment of it 472, 493, 530, 543
Rights, Opportunities of vindicating them neglected 499
Riots and Tumults, of the late ones 226 B
R——, Dr. to Mr. *W———d* 285
Roman Hiſtory, its Uncertainty for the firſt five Ages 599
Roman Senators, of the Seceſſion of the beſt Part of them 139. *Caius Claudius*'s Speech on the Occaſion 140
Romans allow'd not an unbounded Liberty of Conſcience 215. Their Behaviour 225. Nice Senſe of Honour amongſt them 597. Their Convention with the *Samnites*, and what follow'd thereupon 597 C, 601. Their Behaviour with regard to the *Decemvirate* 612. What made them ſo obedient to the Dictates of their Emperors 636
Royal Aſſent, Riſe of the different Words in giving it to Bills 59
Royal Convert, Extract from it 223
Ruſſians. See *Munich*, and *Turks*

S.

SAINT Joſeph, and another rich *Spaniſh* Ship taken 625
Saliſbury Inſtructions to their Members, for endeavouring to obtain a Place-Bill 641
Salter, Sir *John*, declar'd Lord Mayor 503. Sworn in 517
Samnites. See *Romans*
Santry, Lord, condemn'd for Murder 255
Sarum. See *Saliſbury*
Sary-Bey-Oglu, the *Turkiſh* Rebel, beats the *Turkiſh* Army near *Smyrna* 103
Savings from vacant Regiments, *&c.* 72 E
Saxons, of their ſettling here 23. Of their Witenagemote 24, 25. Of their firſt Kings 25. Three Sorts of People, when their Kingdoms were firſt eſtabliſhed here 55, 56
Scævola, C. Mucius, his Speech on the Form of an Addreſs 321
School of Politicks, or *Pantalon* made a Miniſter 35, 36
Searching and Viſiting Ships, the Difference between them 323
Seas, *Britiſh* and *American*, ſome very material Differences between them 483

Seas, of the Dominion of them 552, 553
Secession, the late one, Observations upon it 189. The suppos'd Reasons for it 190. The *Gazetteer* upon it 193
Secret-Service Money, Increase of 278
Semiramis, Queen, Story of her 352
Sempronius Tuditanus, P. his Speech against the Convention 564
Senators, King's Power of making them formerly limited 60
Series of Wisdom and Policy, &c. a Letter concerning that Pamphlet 144
Servilius Priscus, his Speech against hearing the Petitioners against the Convention by their Counsel 387
Sessions at the *Old Bailey*. 48, 100, 255, 307, 360, 464, 516, 663
Seville, Treaty of, justify'd 313
Shakespear's Fool in *King Lear* 346 E
Sham War ending in a sham Peace 534
Sheriffs appointed 49
Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* elected 308, 359
Sheriffs, when the Method of appointing them was alter'd 161
Ships in Commission, Number of 664
Sidney's Opinion of Troops hired from abroad 124. His Opinion of the Law 397
Sinclair, Oliver, Favourite of *James* V. of *Scotland*, Consequence of making him General 648
Sinking Fund 592
Societies, it is natural to Mankind to form themselves into them 16. Natural and accidental Societies 17
Solon, his Speech concerning the original Form of our Government 16, 53, 105. His Speech in Vindication of the Proceedings of the Citizens at the late Election of Lord Mayor 581
Sons of the Clergy 100
South-Sea Company, Directors chosen 98. General Court of, wherein they refuse to pay the 68,000*l.* to the King of *Spain* 151. Of that Claim upon them 491, 528. Another General Court of 663
Spain, of the State of Affairs between us and them 65, 125. Pensions and Salaries reduc'd and abolish'd there 363
Spain, King of, his *Protest* on signing the Convention 86 B. His *Manifesto*, justifying his Conduct in relation to it, and his Reasons for not paying the 95,000*l.* 445, 446, *&c.* His Majesty's Declaration of War against him 511. A suppos'd Dialogue between him and M. *de la Quadra* 545 C. His Declaration of War against *Great Britain* 652
Spaniards, how they lost their Liberties, with Remarks 142. Their Insolence 333. Nature of the Disputes between us and them 472. Of their searching our Ships on the open Seas 479. Of their prohibiting the Exportation of their Gold and Silver 551.
Spanish Ambassador leaves *England* 464
Spanish Frier, an Occurrence relating to it, and a Speech from it 193
Speech in Parliament in 1675 191 E
Speeches from the Throne consider'd in Parliament as Speeches from the Minister 265. Custom of echoing them back Paragraph by Paragraph in Addresses 320
Squadrons, of the several sent out 522
Stage, a Proposal to the Town for the better Regulation of it 66
Standing Army, mercenary, how little to be depended on in Case of Danger 123. *Trenchard*'s Opinion of it 125. The only Uses of it 441
Steinborst, the Dispute about it made up 155. The Treaty in relation to it 206
Stephens, Mrs. her Discovery of her Medicines for the Cure of the Stone and Gravel 297. Persons appointed to examine them 308
Stock, of wise Nations having a reserv'd Stock for extraordinary Emergencies 592
Stocks. *See* Prices
Storm, the Psalmist's Description of one, and *Virgil*'s in his Georgicks, compar'd 648, 649
Storms, remarkable ones 48, 464.
Sugar Colonies, and our Colony of *Georgia* 189
Swallow and other Birds, Fable of, with two Morals 75
Swearing, common 642
Sweden, Senators expell'd the Senate there 155. A farther Account of it 206. Several Parties there 311
Sweets Act, Trial upon it 100
Sword, of governing by it 79

T.

Tacitus, Remarks on 401, 405
Tamerlane, Extracts from it 222
Tartars routed by the *Muscovites*, and the Ravages they committed in their Retreat 206. More of them routed 311
Taste, an arbitrary Thing 651
Temporary Expedients 577 G
Thane, of that Word 61
Theatrical Land-Forces and Marines 657
Theatrical Sale 3
Thrasea Pætus, his Secession and Death 401, 405
Thucydides Milesius, his Speech in the Political Club, against the Proceedings of the Citizens in the last Election of Lord Mayor 633
Torrington, late Lord, Preamble to his Patent 137 A
Tottenham-Court Fair, Remarks on the Order of the Justices in relation to it 406
Trade, its present State and Importance to the Nation 1. Indications of its Decay 2. Dr. *D'Avenant*'s Observation upon it 3. Whether it be in Danger 579
Transactions, Review of our late ones, since 1724 144 F, 171
Transilvanian Protestants clear'd of the Charge of a Conspiracy 51
Travelling Education, modern, expos'd 346
Treasurer's Place sold in *James* IIst's Reign 289 C
Treaty of 1670, then thought disadvantageous to the Nation 541, 543
Treaty between their *Britannick* and *Danish* Majesties, in relation to the Affair of *Steinborst* 206. Between the Emperor and Grand Seignior 519. Between the Czarina and Grand

Grand Seignior 630
Treaty-making, Method of, now and formerly 438
Trials 100, 186, 217—221, 255, 256
Triennial Parliaments 241
Troops, of keeping them up for Oſtentation 444 C
Tucker, Mr. his Queries to Mr. *Whitefield* 340. His Remarks on the Anſwer to them ibid A
Tullius Cicero, M. his Speech in relation to Inſtructions, Memorials, &c. to be addreſs'd for 369
Turks, their Preparations for the Campaign 155. Their Motions 415, 467. A ſeparate Peace between them and the Emperor 467, 519. Peace between them and *Ruſſia* 630
Turpin, as was ſuppos'd, condemn'd at *York* 153. Executed 203

U.

VALERIUS Corvus, M. his Speech on the Queſtion, whether the Petitioners againſt the Convention ſhould be heard by their Counſel 383
Valerius Flaccus, L. his Speech and Motion for the ſame Number of Forces 434 E
Vaughan, (commonly called) Lord, apprehended and committed 411
Venice Preſerv'd, Extracts from it 224
Vienna, Mobbings and Tumults there, on account of the Peace with the *Turks* 519
Villius Tappulus, P. his Speech againſt the Convention 579
Viſiting. *See* Searching
Union, the Benefit of it among a People 28. What is neceſſary to a thorough Union in the Nation 640, 648
Urban, Dr. *Common Senſe* and the *Craftſman*'s Remonſtrances againſt him 78, 92, 130, 137, 145. Poſtſcript in relation to him 171. The Liberties taken by him 209 C
Utrecht, Treaty of, of charging our Misfortunes upon it 615 G

W.

WALES, Prince of, his Birth-Day celebrated 48. His Anſwer to the Congratulation of the Houſe of Commons, on the Birth of a Prince 100. On the Birth of another Prince 152. His Anſwers to other Congratulations on that Occaſion 203. Congratulated on his and the Princeſs's Arrival at *Tunbridge-Wells*, and his Anſwer 359
Wales, Princeſs of, deliver'd of a Prince 152. Addreſſes and Congratulations thereupon ibid. 203, 204. With Child again 411
War under a corrupt Miniſter 280
War with *Spain*, Preparations for it 307. Farther Steps towards it 359, 360, 361, 411. Declar'd 511. What has been loſt by deferring it 577 G. Obſervations on it 644
Watſon, Mr. committed to *Newgate* for printing the Lords Proteſts 152
Weavers, Riot of, in the *Weſt*. See *Melkſham*
Weavers, Riot of, in *Spital-Fields* 625
Weſtern Mail robb'd 255
Weſtminſter-Hall, of the Courts there 109
Whiggiſm, modern 290 B
Whigs, old ones, Conſequences of their deſerting their Principles 185
Whitefield, Mr. Copy of a private Converſation of his 240. His Conduct examin'd 287. Different Opinions concerning him ibid. Queries to him 340. Remarks on the Anſwer to them ibid. His Method of Confeſſion for the Women 343. Biſhop of *London*'s Abſtract of his Journals 392
Winnington, Sir *Francis*, his Speech in Parliament for a Place-Bill, in *Charles* IId's Reign 291 D
Witenagemote among the *Saxons* 24, 25. The common Meaning and Derivation of the Word diſprov'd 53. The true Derivation and Meaning of it 54. The *Saxon* People's Right of being preſent at it 55. The conſtituent Members of it in K. *Alfred*'s Time 58. What it was that gave Perſons a Privilege of being preſent at it, as Senators or Counſellors 61, 62

Y.

YEARLY Bill of Mortality 664

Z.

ZUNCHIN, the laſt Emperor of *China*, Story of 398

INDEX *to the* POETRY, 1739.

N. B. *The ſeveral* Poetical Extracts, *&c. intermix'd with the* Proſe Eſſays, *are directed to in the former* INDEX.

A.

ACROSTICK 306
Advice to a Clergyman 252
Advice to a Lady in Autumn 622
Anacreon, from his 23d Ode 44. Imitation of him 306
Anagram to *Venus* 254
Antediluvian Novel 248, 304
Apollo, *Bacchus* and the *Graces* in *Vaux-Hall* Gardens 356
Argyll, Duke of, Verſes on him 150

B.

BACHELOR's Wiſh 409
B——, Madam, Verſes to her 356
Bath, Orders for 254
Bath Waters 623
Battledor and Shuttle-Cork 94
Beauty, Power of 93
Belcher, Mrs. to her, on her curious Shell-Work 249
Bigotry deſcrib'd 97
Bird, on one dying on a young Lady's Boſom 251
Boerhave, Harmanni, M.D. Epitaphium, extempore dictum 306
Bridges, Mr. Author of the Hymn to the Supream Being, Verſes to him 515
Brooke, Mr. Author of *Guſtavus Vaſa*, Verſes to him 407
Br——ke, Mrs. of *Norwich*, Verſes to her 251

INDEX *to the* POETRY.

C.

CARY, Rev. Mr. an Epistle to him, on his Retreat into *Cornwall* 459
Catullus imitated 410
Celadon's Complaint, a Song 622
To the Charming Miss ——, a Song 93
Chloe, Advice to her 45. Upon her being wak'd by the Singing of a Nightingale ibid
Clarinda, an Answer to her, desiring the Character of the deceas'd *Orinda* 45
Clarissa, or the She-Philosopher 96
Clergyman, Advice to 252
Corby, to Miss *H*——, on her Poem on it 618
Correspondent, from one on our omitting some of his Poems 96
Country Innocence, or the Rural Repast 200, 251, 354
Criticism 47
Cupid, from the *Greek* 254
Cupid and *Death*, a Fable 408
Curzon, Rev. Mr. *John*, Epitaph on him 306

D.

DAMON to the *Lovee* 659
Daughter, a Poem on the Death of an only one 148. Her Epitaph 149
De Ch——r, Rev. Mr. his Advice to a Brother Clergyman 252
Declaration of War, Verses on it 620, 623
Dialogue 620
Discontented Ape, a Fable 462
Downfal of Bigotry, Extract from that Poem 97
A Dream 409

E.

ECCLESIASTICK, on a certain one 95
Edward and Eleonora, the Motto to it Engli'sh'd 254
Envious Man, a Dialogue 620
Epitaphs 149. 306, 358
Eternal Misery, Verses to Mr. *Whitefield* on it 357
European Race 253
Exeter Maidens Petition 43

F.

FALSE Morning 250
Female Heroism, or the Cockaded Coxcomb 623
A Flight 47
Florella, to her, on working an Apron, &c. 251

G.

GENIUS, Verses upon it 43
Gin-Act, Epigram upon it 45
Gold, the Thirst of 150

H.

HADDOCK, Admiral, on the Fleet under him 515
Happiness, none real below 408
Happiness and Grandeur never Companions 660
Happy Shepherd; or, Riches bring Cares 407
Health and Content, a Soliloquy 460, 619, 659
H—, on the ingenious Mr. 410
The Hero, a *Latin* Ode 661
Hope, an Ode 408
Horace, an Ode of his imitated 47. Another 409. Another 659

I.

JOB cursing his Birth-Day 42
Ivy and the Oak, a Fable 202

L.

LADY, Verses by one 96. To one with *Waller*'s Poems 147. To one with Mr. *Walsh*'s Defence of Women 253. To one on her Picture 254. To one in Affliction 407. On seeing one at her Chamber Window ibid. To one who said I had forgot her 460. To one who spoke in Defence of Liberty 462. To one commanding her Lover's Absence 463. Advice to one in Autumn 622. To one on her reading *Sherlock on Death* 623. To one with *Mustapha* 624
Lady of the *May*, a Madrigal 250
Lælia, a Song 515
Laureat, on him and his New-Years Odes 47
Letters of Marque, to Capt.—on hearing of his having taken out such Letters 459
L—ndf—y, Capt. on his Recovery 249
London, Thoughts after having left it 94
London, Bp. of, Verses occasion'd by his Remarks on Mr. *Whitefield*'s Journals 621
Love for Interest, a Song 250
To *Lucius*, or the Rev. Mr.— 198

M.

MAN's Happiness, the Contemplation of God and his Works, and the Practice of Virtue 41
Marco, a Song 254
In *Marlburiensem Ducem* 661
Marriage for Interest, illustrated by a Simile 200
Martial Ode 620
Masters Mrs. her Justification of her self 199
Matter of Fact 150
Medea, Part of the last Chorus of the 4th Act imitated 463
Merlin in Miniature, Verses occasion'd by it 662
Merry Milk-Maids, with a *Latin* Version 146
Milton's Epistle, to *F. S.* the Editor of it, translated from the *Latin* 46
Miranda, Verses on her 462
Molly and *Fanny* compar'd 358
The Monkey, a Fable, translated from the Abp. of *Cambray* 357
Mother *Gurton*'s Tale 305
Mustapha, to a young Lady with it 624
Myrtilla to *Mira* 93

N.

IN *Natalem Serenissimi Walliarum Principis Filii Natu Secundi* 201
A Night-Piece 150
Norris, Sir *John*, on him and the Fleet under his Command 624

O.

OLD Lion, Fable of 622
Oxonian, Lines by one, upon his receiving an Account of his Friend's Death 356

P.

PARSONAGE House, its Complaint for being let out for a Tavern 202
Parvish, Mr. Verses occasion'd by his Book 515
Pious Conflict 46
Power of Beauty 93
Psalm xxix. paraphras'd 149
Pulteney, *William*, Esq; an Ode to him 95

Q.

QUACK Doctor, his Advice to his Poetaster in Ordinary 617

INDEX *of* NAMES.

R.

RAPE of the Lawn, with Advice to *Sylvia* 198
Raphael Urbin, Epitaph on him, in *Latin* and *Engliſh* 358
The Rhythmical Rant 661
A Riddle 200
Rocheſter, Earl of, Verſes by Mr. *Pope*, on lying in his Bed at *Atterbury* 407
Rowe, Mrs. on her Death 147
Rural Repaſt 200, 251, 354
Ryder, Mr. on his Death 97

S.

SATIRES, to a certain Gentleman upon his *Satires* 618
Scott, Margaret, Inſcription on her Tombſtone 306
Seneca's *Thyeſtes*, Second Chorus in the Second Act, Imitation of 354
Seſſion of the Gods 513
Shakeſpear, Prologue on Occaſion of a Monument to be erected to him 250
Shalum and *Hilpa*, or the Antediluvian Novel 248, 304
She-Philoſopher 96
Sleep, an Elegy to it 147
Songs, *viz.* To the charming Miſs — 93. *Strephon* and *Celadon* 147. The Winter-Evening 148. The Lady of the *May* 250. Love for Intereſt ibid. To *Silvia* 254. *Marco* ibid. *Lælia* 515. *Celadon*'s Complaint 622
Spaniards, on their ſearching our Ships 150
Speaker, on his Addreſs to the King the laſt Day of the Seſſion 357
Spell Monger 94. Additions to it 202
Stoke's-Bay 201
Strephon and *Celadon*, a Song 147
Sylvia, Advice to 198. A Song to her 254. More Verſes to her 358

T.

T—y C—ge, D—n, on the late Falling out there 660
Tunbridge-Wells, on the firſt View of it 460

V.

VENUS, an Anagram to her 254
V—, Miſs, Ode on her Birth Day 659
V——te, M—m, on ſeeing her Picture 200
Urania, to a Painter beginning her Picture 93
De *Urbe & Ponte Londinenſi* 47

W.

WALSH, Mr. to a Lady with his Defence of Women 253. A Paſſage from him ibid
W—, Miſs, Verſes to her 45
W—m, Miſs *Katty*, Verſes on her 407
W—n, Miſs *U—la*, Verſes to her 202
W—s, P—e of, on his having no Guards 306
War, on the Proſpect of 357. An Epiſtle to Mr. *S—G—*, written on the Day it was declar'd 620. Verſes on the Declaration of War 623
Whitefield, Mr. Verſes to him 355. Other Verſes to him on eternal Miſery 357. Verſes occaſion'd by the Bp. of *London*'s Remarks on his Journals 621
Wife, Choice of 461
Winter-Evening, a Song 148

Y.

YOUTH, the Pleaſures of 150

INDEX *of* NAMES *to the* MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, DEATHS, PROMOTIONS, *&c.*

A.

AFfleck 101
Albemarle 628
Aldercron 665
Allen 465
Ancram 517
Anderſon 257
Andover ibid
Andrew 466
Andrews 665
Antrim 204
Appleby 153
Apreece 257
Archer 49, 361, 517
Armſtrong 465, 466
Arſcott 665
Aſhburnham 413
Aſheton 309
Aſkew 204, 517
Aſpin 665
Aſtley 361, 412
Atwell 413
Audley 518

B.

BAKER 204, 205, 413
Ballard 257
Bance 205
Albemarle *Bankrupts* 50, 102, 154, 205, 258, 310, 362, 413, 518, 666
Barker 664
Barnes 204
Barneveldt 309
Barnſton 665
Baron 361
Barret 257
Barrington 413
Bateman 361
Batt 153
Beal 628
Beard 49
Beauclerc 309, 466, 664
Beaumont 49
Beckford ibid
Bedford 257, 517
Bell 154
Bellew 309
Belton 465
Bennet 101, 309
Bertie 309
Beſborough 518
Betteſworth 309, 466
Brydges 153
Binford 309
Biſſe 361
Blackburne 257
Blackett 154
Blagrave 665, 666
Blake 309
Bland 204
Blondeau 517, 518
Bolt 466
Bolton 465
Bouverie 629
Bowater 153
Bowen 101
Bowler 412
Bowles 309, 466
Bowman 153
Boynton 465
Brackhouſe 413
Bradford 153
Brandenbourg 101
Brandreth 309
Brereton 310
Brett 257
Bridges 361
Brooke 101
Broome 310
Broughton 257
Bruce 153, 309
Bulkeley 205
Bull 49
Bullock 413
Bundy 50
Burbridge 517
Burchet 309
Burgh 361
Burgoigne 49, 465
Burton 465
Bury 517
Bute ibid
Butler 257
Byng 310

C.

CAITHNESS 204
Calvert 309
Campbell 102, 309
Cardroſs 153
Carew 102
Carey 153
Carr 257
Carrington 466
Carteret 204
Caſtlemain 250
Cater 49
Cathcart 205
Caulfield 518
Chamberlaine 629, 665
Channing 517
Chapman 153
Cheſter 361
Chudleigh 466
Church 412
Churchill 101, 466
Clarke 101, 205, 412, 665
Clavering 49
Clayton 361, 629, 665
Cochran 665
Cockburn 309, 629
Cocks 49, 101
Coghill 153
Cole 204
Collet 100
Colombine 664
Colſon 258
Compton 664
Conolly 49
Cookſey 50, 101, 361, 665
Cooley 153
Cope 466
Copley

Copley 412
Cornwallis 49, 518
Coryton 361
Coster 517
Cotterel 665
Cotton 629
Courtney 257
Cowper 258
Cox 257, 412
Craigentenny 465
Craven 412
Crawford 665
Creamer 412
Crispe ibid
Crowley ibid
Curteis 310
Cuthbert 629

D.

D'AETH 204
Dalhousie 665
Dallway 413
Dance 412
Daniel 257
Dashwood 100, 309, 664
Davis 361
Dawes 154
Deacon 361
Dean 204, 412
Dent 49
Digby 465
Dillon 49
Dodd 465
Douglas 665
Dowdeswel 413
Drake 466
Drogheda 257
Drurioure 665
Drury 102
Ducket 310
Dufour 629
Dummer 257
Duncannon 518
Dysart 517

E.

EDborough 517
Eden 257
Edmonson 665
Edwards 629
Elbridge 153
Elibank 665
Elliot 310
Elphinston 257
Elton 204
Errington 153
Erskine 517
Essex 629
Estwick 101
Evans 153, 362, 465
Evanson 361
Evelyn 664
Everard 465
Everett 629
Eyles 48, 49, 205
Eyre 154
Eyres 153

F.

FAIRFAX 101
Farwell 361
Fedalgo 309
Filmer 153
Finch 466
Finlater 205
Fitzroy 102, 412
Fludger 629
Foley 665
Forman 412
Forrester 102
Foulkes 664
Fountain 205
Fowler 153, 517
Frankland 100, 465
Franks 465
Frazer 665
Freke 517
Fromanteel 466

G.

GAinsborough 205
Galway 412
Gardner 154, 204
Garnett 101
Garnier 629
Garrard 153
Gay 466
Gearing 309
Geary 204
Gibbons 465
Gibson 361
Giffard 101
Gilbert 101, 309
Glynne 49
Godolphin 362
Goodere 204
Gordon 665
Gore 257, 412, 517, 629
Gorges 101
Gough 309
Gould ibid
Grafton 49
Granson 466
Green 49, 517
Greenberry 465
Greenwood 49, 412
Gregg 665
Gregory 101
Griffith 309, 310,
Grosvenor 362
Guise 258

H.

HALE 465
Hales 101
Halifax 257
Hall 665
Halsey 49
Hamilton 257
Hanbury 517
Hanbury-Williams 665
Handasyde 465
Harding 629
Hargrave 413, 629
Harpur 309
Harris 101, 204
Hart 465
Harvey 102
Hawkins 50, 413
Hay 665
Hayley 412
Hayter 101
Head 629
Henchman 665
Henley 257
Hervey 102
Heywood 49, 517
Hickman 466
Hicks 101
Higham 412
Hill 204
Hippesley 100
Hirst 309
Hobart 665
Holdsworth 154
Holford 465
Hollings 257
Holt 412
Hooper ibid
Hord 100
Hornby 465
Horne 49
Hornsby 204
Hotchkis 205
Hotham 517
Howard 50, 310, 361 517, 664
Huddleston 466
Hull 665
Hulse 50
Humble 517
Humphreys 49, 153
Hutchinson 361, 517
Hutton 309
Hyett 101
Hyndford 102
ibid

J.

JACKSON 205
Jacobs 309
Jernegan 629
Jervase ibid
Jesson 465
Inglis 517
Inwood 101
Jocelyn 466
Johnson 412
Jones 101, 361
Ireland 629

K.

KECK 465
Kendal 101
Kenerick 49
Kenneday 257
Kidder 665
King 49
Kirkby 517
Knight 665

L.

LAmpton 466
Landaffe 50
Lane 665
Langley 465
Lawley 412
Lawson 49, 257,
Le Blanc 517
Le Cocq 465
Lee 466
Legard 412
Le Heup ibid
Leigh 257, 518, 664
Le Merchant 310
Lempster 517
Lethieullier 466,
Leveson Gower 412
Lewin 153, 466
Liddiard 517
Lillo 309
Limerick 665
Linsey 361
Lisle 154.
Lister 517
Lloyd 465
Loftus 50, 518
Logan 257
Lombe ibid
Lothian 49
Love 205
Lowbridge 465
Lowther 49
Lucas 204
Lumley 517, 665
Lupton 310,
Lutwyche 465

M.

MC. Donald 257
Mackee 50
Mc. Laud 517
Mackworth 666
Macroe 102
Mainwaring 517
Makepeace 309
Manchester 629
Mandeville 101
Manley 518
Margrave 50
Marines, Officers of ibid
Marlborough 665
Marsh 517
Massareene 49, 50, 101, 466
Master ibid
Maunder 472
Mawson 361
Meadows 101
Medley 629
Members, new ones 49
102, 205, 629,
Mendez de Costa ibid
Meredith 664
Merritt 665
Metcalf 465
Meyrick 466
Middleton 664
Mingay 629
Missing 154
Molesworth 628
Molineux 361
Moncrief 100, 309
Monson 257
Montagu 517
Montandre 102, 154
Montgomery 466
Morgan 362, 412
Morse ibid
Morson 309
Morton 205
Mosely 310, 666
Mostyn 466
Murray 257, 665
Musgrave 517

N.

NAPIER 361
Napper 205
Nappier 665
Naylor 361
Neave ibid
Needham 153
New 49
Newton 465
Nicholls 49, 101
Norris 257
North and Guilford 205
Nourse 413
Nutt 101

O.

ODDY 361
Ogilvie 257
Ogle 204
Oldfield 517
Orme 360
666
629

P.

PAGET 362
Paine 629
Palmer 412
Panting 154
Parker 101
Parsons 629
Partington 664
Paten 412
Payne 309
Pearce 665
Pearse 49
Peers 361
Pelham 101
Pemberton 153, 465, 629, 664
361, 664
Pendergrass 49
Percival 310
Perry 517
Peters 258, 664
Pettinghall 665
Philips 413
Philipson 309
Pickering 517
Piggot 257
Pinfold 629, 665
Pinnell 49
Pole 101
Pomfret 466

INDEX *to the* BOOKS.

Pomfret 518, 665
Portland 361
Pottinger 629
Pottle 664
Powell 101
Powlett 49
Powney 665
Preston 101
Primerose 412
Pulteney 629

R.

RAdcliffe 257
Ramsay 309
Ratcliffe 101
Reyner ibid
Reynolds 101, 309
Rich 413
Richmond 628
Roberts 466
Robinson 665
Roe 465
Rofue 517
Rogers 628
Rook 629
Rudd 361
Ruftina 101

S.

SABINE 629
Saint-John 49, 518
Salisbury 154
Salter 310
Sanderson 309, 629
Saunderson 205
Sayer 664
Schaw ibid
Schutz 257
Seafort 465
Selkirk 153
Selwyn 310
Seymour 49
Shankimeer 413
Shannon 362
Sharp 101
Shaw 153, 412
Shephard 517
Sherman 257
Shirley 412, 465
Shower 204
Silveſter 412
Simpſon 413
Slaughter 628
Smart 257
Smith 664
Snow 101
Sootie 204
Southwell 665
Spincks ibid
Squire ibid
Stafford 257
Stambourg ibid
Stamford 629
Stanhope 204, 518
Stapleton 100, Treby
Stedman 49
Sterling 665
Stevens 153, 154,
Stevenſon 413, 465
Stonehouſe 309
Strafford 629
Strahan 50
Strange 629
Strode 153
Sumner 517
Sun 49
Sydenham 517
Syndersome 665

T.

TALBOT 628
Tart 413
Taylor 205, 257
Teaton 465
Temple 664
Tenniſon 101
Teſſier 50
Thomas 361, 517
Thompſon 665
Thomſon 628
Thorne 101, 361
Throckmorton 101
Tilſon 465
Titley 154
Townſend 205,
Townſhend 465
Treby 49
Trefuſis 102
Trevor 466, 517
Tryon 465
Tucker 257
Tuckfield 153
Tunſtall 665
Turner 101, 102, 465, 628
Turvile 466
Twycroſs 413
Tyrwitt ibid
Tyſon 205

U.

VAillant 629
Vanbrugh 50
Venn 101
Vere Beauclerc 204
Vernon 360
Villiers 665
Umfreville 517
Urquhart 101, 154
Uxbridge 309

W.

WADE 310,
Wood 154
362 Woollaſton 361
Waldegrave 258 Worſley 465
Wallop 629 Wright 49, 361, 629
Walpole 257, 258
Walton 629 Wrightſon 518
Watſon 204, 665 Wyche 628
50 Wyndham 309
Webb 257 Wynne 101, 361
Welchman 361 Wynyard 665
Weldon 413 Wyvill 153
Wentworth 629
Weſley 204 Y.
Weſtall 101 YATES 665
Weſtcomb 665 Yonge 361
Weymouth
Wharton 101, 133
Whitaker 517
White 412, 465, 629
Whiting 153
Wilkinſon 154
Williams 309
Wills 413
Wilſon 49
Winchelſea *and* Nottingham 664
Winchester 361
Windſar Hunloke 49
Withers 153
Wittel 629
Wolf 665
Wolſenholme 257, 465

INDEX *to the* BOOKS, 1739.

HISTORICAL.

ACCOUNT of Spain 668
Actions againſt Spain 416
Clarendon and Whitlock 207
Foreign Libraries 631
Grey againſt Neale 207
Hiſtory of Prince Edward ibid
——— Guſtavus Vaſa ibid
——— Anabaptiſts ibid
——— Peter the Great 260
——— Ditto 668
——— Ægyptians 260
——— King Apprius 416
——— King David 668
——— all Religions 631
——— Lewis XIV. Voltaire 668
——— Eſſex 631
——— Carolina 104
——— Soliman ibid
Hiſtoria Joſephi 416
Jewiſh Spy 631
Life of Biſhop Fiſher 520
——— Dr. Dickenſon 260
——— Mrs. Davies 631
——— David Nefas 416
——— Halyburton 104
Lives of Eaſtern Worthies 260
Lumley's Journal 207
Maundrel's Journey 668
Memoirs of Ripperda 416
Miſſon's Voyage 52
Modern Hiſtory 207
Oldmixon's Hiſtory ibid
Remembrancer 520
Rollin's Ægyptian Hiſtory 416
——— Roman Hiſtory 631
Rudiments of antient Hiſt. 260
Spaniſh Painters 207
Stanyan's Græcian Hiſt. 631
Windward Paſſage ibid
Young's Chronology 207

LAW, POLITICAL.

ABridgment of the Stat. 364
Addreſs to Proteſtants ibid
——— Electors 416
——— Liverymen 520
——— Merchants 156
Advance of Coals 104
Appeal to the Unprejudic'd 207
Attendance on Parliaments ibid
Attorneys Practice 260
Bacon's Laws of England ibid
Caſe of Allegiance 520
——— Jehoſophat 207
Caſes in Chancery 631
Champion's Defence 520
Claudio Tolomei 207
Common Senſe, Vol. 2 156
Conduct of the Tories 52
——— Remarks 104
Conſiderations on Affairs 52
Contempt of the Clergy 104
Convention Bill ibid
——— vindicated 207
——— Obſervations on it 156
Country Common Senſe 104
Delays dangerous ibid
Deſcents in Fee ſimple 364
Diſſenters not excus'd 207
——— Apology 631
Edinburgh's inſtructions 668
Eighth Champion 520
Eſſay on Civil Power 207
Excurſory View 416
Expoſtulat. with the Clergy 156
Falſe Patriot 416
Farmer Reſtor'd 668
Farther Conſiderations 156
French Counſels 364
——— Politicks ibid
Hale's Common Law ibid
Hawkins's Crown Law ibid
——— Pleas ibid
Honor Legis ibid
Humbling of Spain 668
Impartial Inquiry 631
Intereſt of Princes 364
Jus Parliamentarium 260
—— Feciale 668
K. of Spain's Manifeſto 468
——— Examin'd ibid
——— In Metre ibid
——— Obſervations on it ibid

K. of Spain's Reasons 631
——— Declaration 668
Knight and his Man John 364
Law Dictionary 631
—— of Deviſes 260
——— Jamaica 631
——— Poor 364
Lay Tyranny 104
Letter S. S. Company ibid
—— abſent Member 207
—— on Liberty ibid
—— to Sir R. Walpole ibid
——— Lord Walpole 260
—— of an Italian Mercht. 416
—— to the Livery 520
——— Sir G. Champion ibid
—— from a Freeholder 668
Manning of the Navy 688
Marmor Norfolciense 260
Men and Meaſures 416
Miniſters Appeal 520
Narrative of the Ld. Mayor 520
National Diſpute 312
Objections 207
Old Whig 156
——— Sentiments Place Bill 668
Orders in Chancery 364
Paſquin 468
Peace or no Peace 104
Pigot on Recoveries 364
Politicks of Europe 104
Political Review 156
——— Reflections 207
——— Tranſactions 364
——— Preparation 468
——— Catechiſm ibid
——— Eſſay on Commerce 520
Preſent Conjuncture 631
Proceedings of Huſtings 520
Reaſons for the Seclusion ibid
Recovery of Debts 668
Reflections on Adminiſtration ibid
Remarks on Obſervations 207
Reply to Obſervations 631
——— Popular Prejudices 156
Review of Cromwell 207
Sailors Encouragement 631
Schiſmaticks delineated 104
Scurrility and Defamation 207
Serious Conſiderations 520
Shower's Caſes 631
Spaniſh Inſolence 104
Speech of *J*—— *P*—— 668
Standing Forces 104
State of Rome 312
Stile of the Turks 104
Trials of State Priſoners 668
Veſtry laid open 156
View of the Exchequer 364
War and no War 156
Whatley's 3 Letters 260
Wiſdom and Policy 156
Woollen Manufacture 668
Word to the People 631
Young Clark's Magazine 156

MATHEMATICAL, PHYSICAL, &c.

ADdreſs to Phyſicians 468
Annuities for Lives 632
Appendix to Whiſton 260
Becket's Surgery 632
Boerhaave's Materia Medica 364
Bracken on the Stone 207
Bradley on Nature ibid
Cheyne of Regimen 520
Hales Experiments 207
Helſham's Lectures 260
Hewet's Arithmetick 104
Human Frame 260
Haxham's Obſervations 364
Improvem. in Navigation 632
Jurin's Reply 520
Keil's Lectures 156
Keir's Briſtol Waters 416
Kennedie's Supplement 52
Ladies Diſpenſatory 104
Leadbetter's Gauging ibid
——— Mathematicks 416
Lobb of Diſſolvents 364
——— Diſtempers 52
Manningham's Compend. 632
Martin's Logarithms 416
——— Geometry 52
Mauriceau's Aphoriſms 668
Meaſuring compleated 104
Obſervations in Surgery 416
One Phyſician as good, &c. 520
Oration on Boerhaave 52
Overlie's Meaſuring 156
Patoun's Navigation 416
Phyſick a Jeſt 312
Robins againſt Euler 156
Rowland's Menſuration 468
Schaw on the Stone 207
Stephens's Medicines 364
——— examin'd 416
Stuarts Supplement 632
Thompſon's Syllabus 207
Treatiſe of Fractions 632
Truth unveil'd 364
Turner's Syphilis, Part 2 52
Uncertainty of Phyſick 632
Weſtminſter Bridge ibid
Worgan's Tables 631

MISCELLANEOUS.

ABridgment of Dugdale 104
Addiſon on Learning 468
Addreſs to the Ch. of Scotl. 104
Adventures of Le Brun 312
Art of War 416
Aubin's Hiſtories ibid
Banyer's Mythology 104
Bellamy's Miſcellanies 364
Britiſh Repreſentatives 260
—— Sovereignty 312
Byng's Expedition 520
Character of the Chimpanzee 207
Chubb's true Goſpel 52
Church Leaſes 632
Cibber's Letters 52
Clothiers and Weavers 156
College Wit 364
Comforts of Matrimony 52
Conſtitutions of Free Maſons 52
Critical Diſcourſe 312
Cruden's Caſe ibid.
Cure of Schiſm 416
Curious Creatures 364
Decay of Woollen Trade 207
Degradation of Gold 52
Diſſertation on Tythes 104
Eſſay on the Stork 156
——— Muſick 468
Examination of the Quak. 520
Examiner examin'd 668
Foundlings Charter 632
——— Hoſpital 52
French Lovers 156
Gardners Dict. Vol. 2 416
Golden Calf 52
Grove's Miſcellanies 268
Hayes's Book-keeping 364
Hiſtory of the Rhinoceros 416
Honour of Cuckoldom 52
Houſekeeper's Companion 312
Human Knowledge 364
Jewiſh Spy 260
Imitation of Horace 207
Improvem. of Free Think. 632
Index to the Records 52
Inſtitution of Marriage 104
Language of Beaſts 207
Langley of Gardning 260
Locke's Works 520
——— Pieces ibid
Lyſiæ Orationes 207
Man ſuperior 632
Memorials and Characters 668
Merry Companion 104
Moral Philoſopher ibid
—— Obligation 416
Neceſſitarian Scheme 156
Odes of Horace, Proſe 364
Oriental Languages 520
Pennyman's Miſcellanies ibid
Perſian Tales 312
Philoſopher's Stone 156
Plato abridg'd 104
Poetæ Minores 416
Poetical Tranſlations 312
Preſent Appr. 632
Prior's Works 520
Reflections on Polygamy 364
Rules of the Militia ibid
Running of Wool 260
Seneca's Epiſtles 52
Smith's Longinus 156
Stage Licenſers 312
State of Matrimony 364
Stirling's Corderius 312
Sun ſtanding ſtill ibid
Taſte of Poetry 207
Terence, Delphin 416
Trader's Guide ibid
Trial of Turpin 207
Trowell's Huſbandry 104
Turnbull of Painting 520

Value

Value of Leaſer 156
Vindication of Pope 632
Viſions of Hell 104
Vocal Muſick ibid

PLAYS and POETRY.

ADVICE to the Ladies 520
Amorous Humours ibid
Art of Life 156
Ayer on ibid
Bachelor of Salamanca ibid
Bravo turn'd Bully 520
Britiſh Lyon 468
Browne's Poems 520
Brownſword on Prophecy 156
Buckingham's Works 632
Candor 260
Celibacy 632
Characters 156
Church-Yard 260
Compleat Booby 207
Counterpart to Pope 312
Don Sancho 364
Dudley's Perſius 156
Edward and Eleonora 260
Epidemical Madneſs 156
Epiſtle to Duck 468
——— Sir R. Walpole 260
Fairy Queen ibid
Fatal Retirement 632
Fear of Death ibid
Green Cloth 156
Gualtherus and Griſelda 312
Guſtavus Vaſa 260
Hemp 468
Hoſpital for Fools 632
Hudibraſtick Dialogue 104
Hymn to the Supreme Being 260
Jews Complaint 52
Imitation of Perſius 468
——— Horace 364
Irreſiſtible Fair 156
Juvenal, Engliſh 104
Lark 468
Laugh and lye down 364
London, by Glover 632
Lover 668
Manners 104
——— decypher'd 156
Matrimony 364
Menalcas 104
Modern Engliſhman 156
Mourning Nuptials 312
Muſtapha 104
Norfolk Dunces 468
Odes of Horace 260
Ode to the Prince 52
——— Ld. Walpole 632
——— Pultney 104
Ogle's Horace 668
Orrery's Plays, &c. 520
Panegyrick on the Court 104
Paradiſe loſt, in Rhime 668
Paſtoral Letter verſify'd 468
Peruvian Tales, Vol. 3 364
Pious Youth ibid
Pleaſure and Virtue 104
Poem on 1739 156
Pope's Poems 632
——— additional Vol. 104
Progreſs of Honeſty ibid
Raven and Owl 52
Roger de Coverly 520
——— and Joan ibid
Rowe's Works ibid
Satiriſts 156
Saul, an Oratorio ibid
——— a Tragedy 520
Sermo Pedeſtris 468
Sheridan's Perſius 520
Stag-Chace ibid
Statues 632
Surprize 260
Taſte 632
Touch on the Times 156
Tunbridge Miſcellany 468
Verſes on Swift 207
Virgil's Æneid blank Verſe 312
Unfortunate Dutcheſs 364
Univerſal Songſter 156

SERMONS.

ALLEN at Reading Aſſizes 260
Annet's Lectures ibid
Aſaph (Bp. of) Weſtm. Infir- mary 312
Atkinſon on Nov. 4 668
Audley at Deptford 416
Bangor (Bp. of) at St. Brides 260
Banyer to the Sons of the Clergy 416
Batty's Sermons 632
Bedford of Aſſurance 312
Berryman to the Truſtees of Georgia 208
Bolton at St. Brides 416
Briſtol (Bp. of) Prop. Goſp. 260
Brownſword at le Bow 668
Chapman at a Conſecration 207
Cleaver at Warwick Aſſizes 312
Cobden on St. Mark's Day 416
Cradock at Cambridge 468
Cumming at Andover 520
David's (Bp. of) Charity Chil- dren 312
Divine Life 632
Duncombe of Swearing 208
Gally on June 11. 312
Hebden at a Funeral 416
Holloway on Repentance 260
Hughes in Monkwell Street 632
Johnſon at Canterbury ibid
Kilmore's (Bp. of) Sermons 52
Lardner againſt Conformity 668
Milner at an Ordination 416
Mudge's Sermons 207
Oakes of Unworthineſs 104
Orr's Sermons 52
Oxford (Bp. of) on May 29 312
Pitts at Ipſwich 416
Randall at Oxford 208
Read in Gravel Lane 52
Rochester (Bp. of) on March 17 52
——— 260
Romaine at Oxford 208
Sermons at Boyles Lectures 104
Skerrit on Regeneration 312
Smith, Reformation of Man- ners 156
——— 208
Stebbing of Deluſions ibid 416
Story's Sermons 312
Thomas on May 29 312
Trapp againſt Whitfield 312
——— at Oxford Aſſizes 468
Warren's (J.) Sermons 312
Webber at Oxford 104
Weſton at Cambridge 208
Wheatland's Sermons 416
Wheatley at St. Paul's 520
Wilder at Oxford 468
Wilſon on March 7. 260

THEOLOGICAL.

ADDRESS to Students. 52
Analogy of Reaſon 520
Anſwer to Chubb 208
——— Objections 312
——— Remarks on Slofs 416
Babel of Quakeriſm 52
Becke on the Euchariſt 468
Bragge of Church Diſcipline 468
Campbell of Revelation 312
Chriſtian a new Creature 52
——— Worſhip 104
Church of England vindicated 52
Church of Regeneration 668
Defence of Baptiſm 208
——— Wayman 468
Deiſm and Chriſtianity 668
Deiſts Catechiſm 260
Dialogue of a Baptiſt, &c. 208
Engliſhman directed 668
Epiſtolary Debate 632
Erroneous Tranſlations 208
Eternity of Hell Torments 468
Family Expoſitor 104
Fleming againſt Chubb 208
Future State 468
Genealogy of Chriſt 208
Gerhard's Meditations ibid
Gill of Good Works 104
Gittin's Anſwer to an Exami- nation 208
Hammond's Expoſition 468
——— Letters 208
Harris on Iſaiah 312
Hebden on the Lord's Prayer ibid
——— 468
Horler's Apology 312
Hutchinſon on the Demoniacks 208
——— 208
Jackſon againſt Chubb ibid
Immateriality of the Soul 668
Law of Regeneration 520
Leſtrange's Duties 312
Letter to Chubb 208
——— Philalethes 312
——— Dr. Waterland ibid
Liturgy in French 52

10 45 FEB